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SOCIO-SPATIAL MOBILITIES IN AN IMMIGRANT GATEWAY CITY: ANALYZING LATINA\O EXPERIENCES IN EAST BOSTON

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky

By

Mitchell Beam Snider

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Michael Samers, Professor of Geography

Lexington, Kentucky

2016

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

SOCIO-SPATIAL MOBILITIES IN AN IMMIGRANT GATEWAY CITY: ANALYZING LATINA\O IN EAST BOSTON

This dissertation analyzes the ways in which Latino migrants in East Boston represent their material and imagined socio-spatial mobilities in the city. It considers the ways in which participants discuss the relationship of their mobilities to experiences of social exclusion and inclusion as well as feelings of belonging. The first empirical chapter specifically analyses how participants' motility—or capacities for being mobile—interfaced with their experiences (or lack thereof) of onward migration. It finds that there is a complex relationship between onward migration and participants' motility. The second empirical chapter considers how participants represented encounters with others in the city as emotional moments that then further impacted where they felt comfortable going in the city, how they traveled in the city, and the places they avoided. The third empirical chapter analyzes the intersection of mobility with subalternity through some recent contributions to urban studies. Specifically, it considers two categories of analysis—gray spaces and peripheries—to analyze how domination is produced through mobility as well as to contribute to the categories of analysis meant to disrupt the equation of certain types of 'subaltern space' with the condition of subalternity.

KEYWORDS: *Latina/o mobilities; socio-spatial exclusion; East Boston; onward migration; emotional encounters; subalternity*

Student's Signature: Mitchell Snider

Date: 9/7//2016

SOCIO-SPATIAL MOBILITIES IN AN IMMIGRANT GATEWAY CITY: ANALYZING LATINA\O PERSPECTIVES IN EAST BOSTON

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September 7, 2016

For family, friends, and colleagues
For bikes, muses, and laughter
For questions and incomplete answers
For all the participants who made this possible
Not either/or
And…and…and

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A large thanks goes out to those at the University of Kentucky who have been so helpful in the completion of my research—Dr. Michael Samers, Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp, Dr. Tad Mutersbaugh, Dr. Cristina Alcalde, and all others in this welcoming and open department. Further, many thanks to Dr. Patrick Bigger, Hugh Deaner, Dr. Michelle Flippo-Bolduc and Joe Bolduc, the Condras, the Snowdens, the Petots, Dr. Christopher Oliver and Kelsey Hanrahan, and Dr. Christine Smith for their constant support and companionship. Large thanks go out to my mother, father, and sister, and other friends. Finally, a great thanks to the research participants who were welcoming, supportive, and contributed so much to this research. I hope that the simple act of asking these questions impacted your lives, hearts, and perspectives in some small fashion.

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Chapter 1: Initiating conversations around mobility, belonging, and exclusion

Maria was the first person to respond to flyers I had posted around East Boston, a neighborhood of Boston, MA (*Figure 1*). We met in the East Boston branch of the Boston public library, and Maria listened intently with polite interest as I outlined my research. I described my interests in how Latinas'\os'[1] everyday material and imagined mobilities impacted their feelings of belonging and experiences of socio-spatial exclusion/inclusion in the neighborhood. As I finished my first explanation of the research to a research participant, I was elated when she seemed to connect with its aims and eagerly began to tell me her migration story.

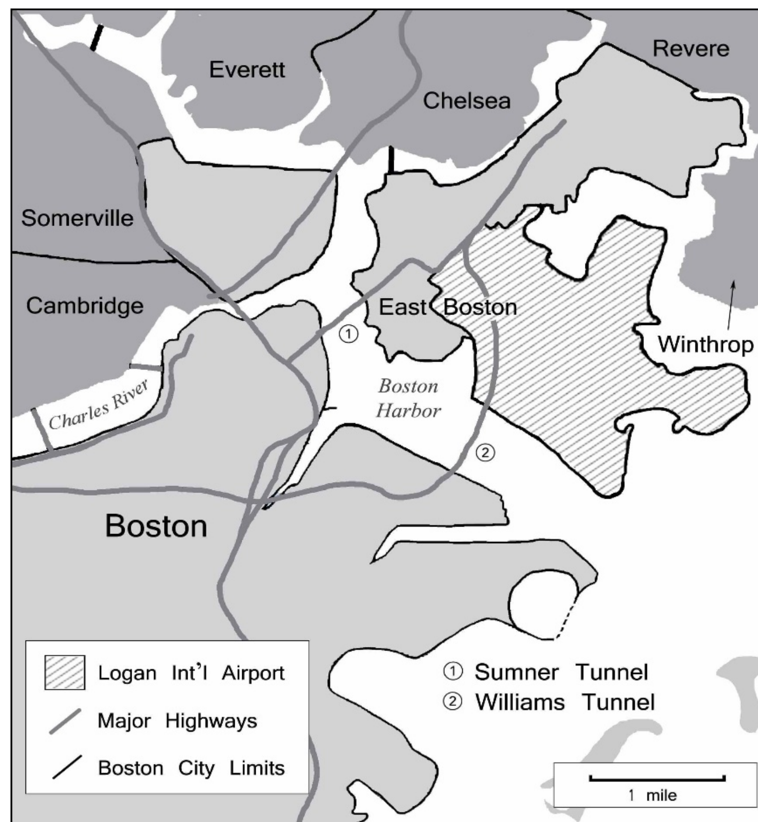

Figure 1: East Boston in context. Map by author.

Maria migrated to the US from Colombia 15 years prior. It had been a harrowing journey alone through Central America and Mexico that had taken multiple months. She had initially settled in California, but after she had a child that was the result of rape, she

[1] Throughout the rest of this dissertation, the terms Latino and Latina will be used to describe research participants. I recognize that this term is problematic, contested and, over all, political. I discuss some aspects of these issues in the concluding section of this chapter.

had decided it was time to move from the area and begin life anew in a different setting. She followed up on job opportunities that she had heard about through friends living in New England, and moved to Boston in 2010. In the interim, Maria had found a man she described as caring to live with and was currently learning English and working at a local market in the neighborhood. This story was told readily and with feeling; it appeared to be well-rehearsed and Maria likely had told it to others on occasion. Due to her apparent excitement, I felt that my interests in Latina/os' perspectives on socio-spatial imagined and material mobilities, experiences of socio-spatial exclusion/inclusion, and feelings of belonging resonated with her. Her excitement suggested that the project had merit and I would therefore have an easier time recruiting participants and during interviews.

Still, though she spoke readily and passionately about her migration journey, I realized that this story was in a substantial way tangential to the focus of the research at hand. These stories seemed incredibly important and obviously formative to Maria as they addressed a long arc of her migration. However, it largely ignored how her story of migration continued into the present. Though the story she told was of clear importance, I was interested in Maria's mobilities *after* she had migrated from one place to another. Thus, this study seeks to ask: How are Latina/o migrants' urban mobilities related to the journey of migration as it continues in their destination and in the spaces of everyday life? It thus considers material mobilities and 'everyday practices' such as moving about to shop, visiting friends, commuting to work, relaxing, taking children to school, or numerous other activities (de Certeau 1984, 37). It also indicates the speed, rhythms, routes, experiences, and friction of these various mobilities (Cresswell 2010). Yet people's' mobilities are also shaped by their imaginations (their fears, hopes, perceptions, spatial imaginaries, *etc*.) that in turn shape their relationships to friends and colleagues, various institutions (*e.g.*, schools, churches, hospitals), as well as immigration officials and other authorities (Cresswell 2006). For example, how did walking in the neighborhood alter Maria's and other participants' experiences of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion? How did the ways she imagined she had access to or was prevented from going to certain parts of the city change her life? What was important to her as she walked, took a train, rode a bus, or biked around the city? How did participants' socio-

spatial, material and imagined mobilities interface with their experiences of socio-spatial exclusion/inclusion and feelings of belonging?

It took more questions to clarify my question of how *everyday material and imagined mobilities* factored into experiences of socio-spatial exclusion and inclusion. I was worried that trying to nudge Maria towards these questions would make it seem like I thought her incredibly difficult migration story was not important, interesting, or valuable. Therefore, I had to figure out how to better frame or explain the goals of my research so that the first 15 minutes of the interview did might mitigate this initial miscommunication. Though it was repeated in many preliminary interviews, the miscommunication suggests that participants recognized the importance of 'mobility' to stories of migration—not altogether unsurprising. Yet this confusion also had two further unexpected results. Firstly, it provided a way for me to introduce the importance of 'mobility' as a concept in interviews. That is, after conversations about migration stories, I could guide the discussion by saying that these were important aspects of mobility, but what about more recent stories of mobility in the city. These discussions therefore acted as a kind of bridge that helped to discuss their everyday urban mobilities.

The research is directed toward the analysis of these everyday mobilities of migrants in the US during a time of anti-immigrant sentiment, politics, and laws, and policies. It analyzes these socio-spatial material and imagined mobilities because the ways in which people, objects, and ideas move is of increasing importance (Sheller and Urry 2006). Peoples' mobilities are acutely surveilled, controlled, policed, guided, quantified, maligned, and celebrated as the ease of travel, migration, communication, and the mobilities of other objects becomes easier, cheaper, more numerous, and more interconnected. That is, in an increasingly mobile society, mobility has become a central component of identity, a tool of exclusion, and an aspect of belonging and inclusion.

This research was performed in East Boston in 2012 and 2013 with 27 Latina/o immigrants who participated through semi-structured and photo-elicitation interviews. Out of the initial 27 respondents, 11 agreed to participate in a photo elicitation interview for which we would meet for a follow-up interview to discuss around eight photographs (*Table 1*).

			Legal Status				
Country of Origin	*Total*	*Female/ Male*	*authorized*	*Unauth-orized*[2]	*TPS holders*	*n/a*	*Photo Inter-views*
El Salvador	10	5/5	2	2	3	3	5
Colombia	11	6/5	5	5	n/a	2	4
Mexico	2	1/1	2	0	n/a	0	0
Dominican Republic	2	1/1	2	0	n/a	0	0
Honduras	1	1/0	0	1	0	0	1
Venezuela	1	0/1	0	1	n/a	0	1

Table 1: Participant Overview

To consider the possible relationships between socio-spatial mobilities and belonging and socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, this study utilizes contributions of the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry 2006). Thus far, work that utilizes the contributions of the new mobilities paradigm to examine the socio-spatial mobility of immigrants has been sparse (though see Schuster 2005; Svašek 2010; Uteng 2009). Engaging with an emerging interest in people's mobilities and why they are important, I set out to answer the following research questions:

> **RQ1: What are the material and imagined socio-spatial mobilities of Latina/o immigrants who live in East Boston? How are these implicated in their feelings of belonging?**

[2] Though the interviews did not inquire about immigration status, many people offered up the information when it came up in conversation; about a third of the interviewees disclosed that they were unauthorized. Most interviewees made it clear that immigration status played a large role their everyday material and imaginary mobilities. In the unauthorized column, if there is a '0', it means that there were zero people who reported being unauthorized, not that everyone was authorized.

RQ2: How do Latina/o immigrants consider their socio-spatial mobilities to be affected by recent immigration policies and practices?

What emerged from these questions are four contributions. First, the study forges an innovative theoretical perspective that utilizes a 'mobilities' framework to consider the daily mobilities of immigrants and how they relate to feelings of belonging. Secondly, it fills a current gap in the literature on Latina/o experiences in Boston, a 'traditional gateway city' (Singer *et al.* 2008) in a context of restrictive and often contradictory federal and local immigration policies and practices. Thirdly, the research has policy significance through its analysis of Latin American immigrants' mobilities or lack thereof—the ways that participants both perform and imagine their urban mobilities can impact local decision-making regarding access, education, and public awareness. Fourthly, this inductive and qualitative study expands understandings of current federal, state, and local immigration policies and practices from immigrants' perspectives.

Chapter outline

The remainder of this chapter gives a brief summary of the proceeding chapters, an overview of immigration policy in the US and how it relates to immigrants' experience in Boston and the US more generally, and a more in-depth look at the context of immigration in Boston.[3] It details the methods utilized in the study, discusses the phases of the research and how it unfolded, and includes a detailed research site description. Though chapters 2, 3, and 4 are in various stages of being submitted to peer-reviewed journals and are therefore intended to be taken as stand-alone articles, they will be referred to herein as 'chapters'.

Chapter 2, 'Onward and upward? Latina/o migrants and the dialectic relationship between onward migration and social exclusion', analyzes participants' mobilities as they relate to onward migration by first considering how *onward migration* as a concept might be utilized in migration studies and some problems that may arise in qualitative analyses.

[3] In accordance with the University of Kentucky Department of Geography's rules outlined in the Graduate Handbook Section E.1 Three-Article Dissertation Option [https://geography.as.uky.edu/sites/default/files/Graduate_Handbook_2014-01-17_0.pdf] the methods appears as Appendix 1.

Secondly, it provides an analysis of how onward migration can increase immigrants' actual, potential, and imagined mobilities. It does so through an analysis of how participants represented their exclusion and inclusion in various moments in the city, how these past histories mattered for their current mobilities, and why those who had migrated from other cities in the US seemed to have higher motility. Results also indicate that many immigrants migrated internally as a result of contact with friends and family, to find employment, or to escape violence.

Chapter 3, 'Moving encounters: Latinas/os about town in East Boston, MA', focuses on the emotions of East Boston residents while they are moving around the city as a way to better understand the breadth and variety of their urban experiences and contemplate various barriers and pathways to belonging. In this chapter, I consider Latinas'/os' accounts of 'moving encounters', which I define as emotional encounters while mobile in the city. While some scholars have analyzed the emotional dimensions of the encounter, this paper suggests that immigrant perspectives on belonging and social inclusion/exclusion are heavily mediated by entanglements with their everyday socio-spatial mobilities. While these encounters often occur while 'on the move', they also influence immigrants' movements after the fact. Through semi-structured interviews and participant observation, participants discussed the limits they placed on their own mobilities as they refrained from certain activities, areas, or modes of transportation as a result of these emotional encounters. Thus fear, sadness, relief, joy, anger, and surprise result from both real and imagined encounters with others in the city and are relied upon to interpret their range of choices and experiences as they relate to moving around in the city.

Chapter 4, 'Latina/o migrant perspectives on peripheries and gray spaces: disrupting metonymies of subalternity in the global North', considers the production of subaltern subjectivities and spaces through the mobilities of objects and the participants of this study. Migration has a tenuous relationship to the theorization of subalternity and, relatedly, the global North has sometimes been seen as a space where subalternity cannot conceptually exist. This chapter follows recent contributions to the formulation of subaltern urbanism, and uses concepts forwarded by Ananya Roy to consider subalternity in the global North through her conceptual categories of 'gray spaces' and 'peripheries'.

It analyzes subalternity in the global North through the circulation of petroleum commodities in the neighborhood of East Boston and considers their impacts upon the residents' health and spatial/mobile imaginaries. It then considers how the production of 'peripheries' and 'gray spaces' are effected through the perceived bodily affects of unauthorized migrant residents. Finally, it considers the 'after-life' of Maria, and how her considerations of her body's post-mortem mobilities impact her experiences and thoughts on exclusion and belonging in the present.

Overview of US immigration policy in the 21st century

This research takes place during a time of significant changes in US immigration policy. Further, policies often change piecemeal and often leave immigrants in legal limbo, waiting for their status to be changed, recognized, or authorized. Immigration policies are therefore inseparably tied to other myriad forms of belonging and socio-spatial exclusion/inclusion.

The general trend of US immigration policies and practices indicates an exclusion-based politics predicated on limiting the number of immigrants allowed authorized entry, removing those that are here without authorization, and detaining many of those who get caught having entered into the US without authorization. In large part, immigration laws and policies have historically targeted Latin Americans through such mechanisms as annual quota restrictions; the Immigration Reform and Control Act [IRCA] of 1986; the Immigration Act of 1990; the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act; and the Patriot Act. These policies—many part of what has been called the 'severity revolution' of immigration policies targeting so-called illegal immigrants (Coleman 2012)—created miles of triple fences along the US-Mexico border and increased border patrols; denied welfare and education to illegal immigrants; decreased the number of migrants leaving the US while leaving rates of in-migration unchecked; and constructed immigrants—especially Latinas/os—as a threat to American society (Berg 2009; Castles and Davidson 2000; Chavez 2008; Massey 2002; Massey and Sánchez R. 2009).

In the 2000s, attitudes, policies and practices towards immigrants—while multiple and varied—have continually targeted immigrants (and citizens) through policing and enforcement practices in multiple US states. In a post-9/11 context that has fetishized

security (though this tendency has been evident in all past epochs of US immigration policy), a deep distrust and resulting hostilities towards immigrants is the norm rather than the exception.[4] This can be illustrated by considering the role of SB1070—an Arizona law that expanded police powers of immigration enforcement to check immigration status during routine stops while also punishing those who sheltered, hired, or transported immigrants—and the subsequent proliferation of copycat bills in other states such as Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, Alabama, and Utah.

These state laws sit alongside the federal policies and programs such as Secure Communities and 287(g). While these programs are in flux and have wide ranging effects, Secure Communities establishes connections between local law enforcement, Immigration and Customs Enforcement [ICE], and the FBI to check the immigration status of those arrested. 287(g) delegates immigration enforcement duties to local law enforcement. There is a complex geography of the enforcement and popularity of these programs in addition to local ordinances and social dynamics that immigrants might encounter in any given location (Walker and Leitner 2011). For example, it has been noted that as 287(g) devolves control from federal to local authorities, it permits local officials "to set enforcement priorities to meet local concerns rather than to contribute to a broader national enforcement agenda" (Rodriguez *et al*. 2010, 13).

As the geography of immigration enforcement changes, so too do the impacts upon immigrants' spaces of social reproduction. Coleman (2012) has noted a shift from worksite policing to more public and pervasive enforcement that, in large part, targets drivers for minor infractions. This has placed enforcement firmly within the domain of the everyday mobilities necessary for social reproduction. As a result, immigrants in

---

[4] Yet, as these chapters show, immigrants' perspectives often indicate the complexity of their experiences while eschewing narratives that emphasize socio-spatial exclusion; immigrants' perspectives in this research often emphasize the things that they *like* about their lives in the US while deemphasizing the travails they have endured. Clearly the effects of my identity and positionality must be recognized: being a white male academic interested in immigrant perspectives on life in the US undoubtedly changes the dialogue. For example, if the participants were talking to an old friend back home the balance of observations and critiques would undoubtedly be different. Yet research that seeks to amplify the voices participants therefore might do well to recognize the good, the bad, and the complex interplay of the two. Rather than being uncritical, the incorporation of narratives of inclusion are important because they can help to better identify possibilities and perspectives for inclusion.

Boston (though surely elsewhere) have adopted coping strategies to policies such as these that include "rushing errands to return to the safety of their homes quickly, or refusing to drive to medical appointments for fear of being pulled over" (Conti 2012, 1). This simply reinforces the significance of investigating the ways in which discriminatory and increasingly restrictive immigration practices and policies affect Latina/o immigrants' urban socio-spatial mobilities and thus their feelings of belonging in a national and more local context. Though Massachusetts has no analogous laws to SB 1070, federal migration laws such as Secure Communities and 287(g) establish connections between local law enforcement, Immigration and Customs Enforcement [ICE], and the FBI, the outcome of which is to monitor and surveil both criminal and non-criminal immigrants. This increased surveillance clearly leads to situations wherein those who are the target of this surveillance feel or experience increased and pervasive socio-spatial exclusion.

For example, federally mandated laws certainly have had their effects in East Boston and the larger region. In August of 2012, immigrants in East Boston and the surrounding neighborhoods were arrested by police through "Operation: Threats against the Community" that targeted immigrants in raids for deportation firmly placing federal immigration laws, policies and practices into the domain of social reproduction and mobility. In another similar program, the use of ankle GPS bracelets are being used to monitor unauthorized immigrants under the 'alternative to detention' program that will likely be expanded in 2016 (Sacchetti 2015). Combined with incendiary discourses that often provoke nativist sentiment (*e.g.*, Malone 2015), the mobilities of immigrants in Boston and elsewhere in the US are unquestionably negatively affected by migration laws and policies, attitudes of native-born and other migrant groups, violence, deportation efforts, and other factors.

Participants in this study spoke little of their specific knowledge of these policies. This could be due to a number of reasons. For example, they might have not known about specific legislation or programs such as those mentioned above. Alternatively, perhaps we were using different words to describe them, and I failed to engage with participants with the terminology with which they were familiar. A third consideration might be that they were uncomfortable discussing these policies, laws, and programs with me due to their immigration status and my identity as a white male researcher.

Regardless, the context described above seemed to cast participants' mobilities in a certain light and, even if indirectly, were implicated in the participants' understandings and experiences of their material and imagined socio-spatial mobilities. For example, in our conversations Alfredo discussed how the changing migration regime in the US impacted his ability to travel in the US; he was now relegated to highways and rarely left the metro area. Yet these policies and practices have a further influence. They change the terms of debate around immigration in the US. They often harden the hearts of Americans towards immigrants in daily life. Thus these policies and practices feed into narratives about the nation and state that are very often exclusionary based upon legal status, language, race, class, gender, religion—just a few of a considerable aspects of people's identities that are used to reproduce the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'.

Context of immigration in Boston

While migration to many destinations in the US (*e.g.*, Baltimore, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit) declined since the early 20th century, some cities, such as New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Boston have continuously attracted relatively large numbers of immigrants on a continuous basis (Singer *et al.* 2008). However, in the recent past there has been a proliferation of work on emerging/re-emerging/pre-emerging '21st century gateways' (*ibid.*), the 'new Latino south' (Smith and Winders 2008), 'small town America' (Nelson and Hiemstra 2008), and the 'nuevo new South' (Coleman 2012; Mohl 2003). These scholars are analyzing migration to places with historically low levels of migration in the 20th century. Yet it is not only the changing spatiality of immigrant settlement that has heralded shifts in research. In the opening decade of the 21st century, migration to the US from Mexico has slowed while the number of immigrants from Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay and Venezuela has more than doubled. Despite this, there is a lack of engagement with these other Latina/o groups or focuses on an ill-defined 'Latina/o population'.

Despite the proliferation of these new destinations and emerging areas of migration, migration to traditional immigrant gateways remains an important facet of US migration. Boston itself has the sixth highest proportion of immigrants in the US arriving from a large variety of countries. The sustained numbers of migrants to the city is the result of many factors that likely include perceived benefits to potential migrants' quality

of life, the promise of family reunification, job possibilities, and how potential migrants imagine the receptivity of the existing population to newcomers. Yet Boston is an important research site for other reasons. For example, Boston was the testing ground for the aforementioned Secure Communities program that was piloted there in 2008. Since, the program has been in conflict with the city's government, police force, and community members due its negative effects on community/law enforcement relations. It is therefore an area that is intimately connected to the politics and practices of immigration enforcement that has been adopted at a federal level.

Boston has invested heavily in public transportation, is very densely populated, and likely has very different avenues and possibilities of political participation as well as other social resources. Its status as a continuing immigrant gateway also indicates its centrality in migrants' own socio-spatial imaginations about migrating to the US. The fact that it remains a top-destination for many immigrants demonstrates that it is a desirable place to live for those migrating here that likely has much to do with these transportation investments, access to social services, and community organizations. Thus, while this study considers how the participants encountered racism or struggled with daily life, it also necessarily includes views that incorporate positive perspectives on belonging as well as those that indicate the boundary-work of exclusionary attitudes and practices.

'Latina/o' as discourse and an intersectional approach to difference

Though there have been varied and valuable criticisms of the label Latina/o (Gimenez 1992; Massey 1993; Melville 1986), Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral (2000) argue that these often inappropriate and generic terms are in constant use and thus partly form an emergent reality as they are adopted and deployed by multiple actors. The implications for studies such as the one at hand are many. They include the necessary recognition that Spanish-speaking migrants from South or Central America often self-identify through their country of origin—*e.g.*, as Salvadoreños or Colombianos—not as Latina/o. The term Latina/o is actually an identity that is utilized in the context of the United States more than in countries in South or Central America. This practice in the US is deeply rooted in the term's usage as an ethnic /racial category in the national census but extends to multiple other sites and actors.

As indicated by the racializing practices of the ‘papers please’ law in Arizona, Latinas/os are often considered to be of a darker complexion than ‘Americans’ (itself a term evacuated of ‘blackness’) and by extension ‘non-white’. This understanding (on the parts of police officers, legislators, and the portions of the general public) does multiple things. First, it reinforces the racial binary that characterizes Americans’ understanding of race as black/white. This is in obvious contrast to racial formations in South and Central America as well as Mexico—Latina/os in Latin America and South America come from a wide range of phenotypes that are more fluid and less essentializing. Yet these differences in treatment do not solely arise from the racialization of Latinas/os through laws, policies, and practices; gender, class, and numerous other aspects of identity problematize simple understandings of laws and policies as affecting all ‘Latinas/os’ equally.

Yet this identity is not simply ‘enforced’ or ‘applied’ to groups or individuals; migrants from South and Central America may claim a ‘Latina/o’ identity in the US (the practice of strategic essentialism) to form political communities, leverage power, or claim space and power in political discussions (Wildman 1997). However, identification as a Latino/a does not erase or preclude other identities based upon nationality or ethnicity, but neither does it erase tensions between different groups in the ‘emergent ethnic identity’ of Latino/a (Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral 2000). Thus, it is a political discourse—who deploys it, when, and for what purpose are contingent moments that are formed through power relations and dependent upon a person’s positionality, intention, and how that discourse is utilized and received. The term is utilized here as a shorthand to discuss migrants in the US from South and Central America in the recognition that “we have to name things in order to talk about them and that sometimes we should” (*ibid.* 311; Spivak 1990).

Yet not everyone who is born in, or migrates from, Central or South America claims to be ‘Latina/o’. The term can therefore further marginalize those whose sociocultural and linguistic origins are not ‘Latina/o’ (*i.e.*, certain African-origin [Afro-Argentine; Afro-Brazilian] or indigenous communities). The term has also been critiqued for its erasure of women, and thus the ‘Latina/o’ has been widely adopted. Yet, even this term is problematic in that it recreates a gender binary where there is instead great

diversity and complexity. It also works to essentialize gender while discursively marginalizing, for example, queer ontologies of gender.

Further, though the term Latin@ is being picked up by advocates such as Latin@ and Chican@ Studies at the University of Wisconsin, I have chosen not to utilize it here. Firstly, though more than a gesture, it still does not problematize the apparent gender normativity inherent in the masculine/feminine of Latina/o terminology. Secondly, it does not translate well into spoken word, and therefore is likely not a viable alternative to 'Latina and Latino' discourses. Thirdly, current search engine optimization parameters make the term difficult to search for as they default to searching only for the term 'Latin'.

Additionally, immigration policies and practices in the US—even if they are seemingly oriented towards Latinas\os—do not affect all Latinas\os equally. That is, someone living in Chicago from Uruguay might experience the US much differently than a Mexican in the same neighborhood. What's more, people from the same country do not experience these policies and practices in similar fashion because of differences of race, class, gender, and numerous other aspects of identity. The recognition of this complexity is central to the study at hand as the participants were from diverse backgrounds, countries with radically different histories, came with a wide range of understandings about sexuality and gender, were of various skin colors, within a large age range (about 18-65), and of markedly different class backgrounds. To incorporate this diversity without flattening this diversity of identity and experience (as well as to focus more intently on the qualities of their socio-spatial mobilities), I reflected up some of the recent contributions of the literature on intersectionality.

To help discern what kinds of affiliations, identities and mobilities are most important to immigrants an intersectional approach seeks to understand the ways that identities are formed concomitantly, inseparably, and non-reductively through many categories such as race, class, gender, religion, age, ability and sexuality. An outcome of work in black feminist legal studies, an intersectional approach's strength comes from an ability to speak to intra-group differences and a potential to destabilize binaries created within categories (Nash 2008). For this study, its importance lies in the way that it helped structure conversations between the research participants and the researcher. Since an intersectional approach does not 'arrive at the scene' with the assumption of the primacy

of one category over another, I utilized an intersectional approach to analyze issues of mobility. I therefore asked participants about their mobilities and why they were important, and then created space wherein individuals had the chance to "talk themselves into existence" (Staunæs 2003: 106). I therefore asked, for example, how they felt comfortable or not while moving through the city, and participants would then talk about experiences, and often remark upon how their skin color, country of origin, gender, or class mattered to those experiences. It is therefore an alternative way to study identities that makes an effort not to essentialize people's identities and also recognizes the shifting and socially constructed nature of identities. It is an approach that seeks to understand how identities "occur in interactions, not on stable or given understandings of social difference" (Valentine 2007, 13).

While problems with the term Latina/o abound, it was utilized with its limitations in mind to group together diverse peoples to discuss their common experiences. Its use is further augmented by an intersectional approach that seeks to amplify the participants' observations regarding whichever aspects of their identity they deemed relevant to the discussions at hand. Rather than flattening, for example, gender or race, this allowed for me to better engage with the diversity of experiences represented by the participant group –the goal of such exploratory studies such as this. Though problematic, the usage of the term is justified in that Latinas/os are often understood to belong to a singular group and therefore must cope with limitations and expectations upon their lives, but also because the term 'Latina/o' is often used in a 'bottom-up' manner to group together diverse peoples for political reason—to multiply the power and voice within a discursively constructed group. It is a discourse that constructs the object that it intends to analyze, but by incorporating an intersectional framework, I worked towards the recognition of difference rather than its flattening by the imposition of the broader category.

Concluding remarks

This study was largely qualitative and feminist in that it sought to let participants' own words and perspectives guide the research once discussions had begun. Though the language barrier was significant due to my inability to speak beyond an intermediate level, I feel it also relaxed participants and often led to moments of humor that led them to feel comfortable. Participant observation was crucial to the success of this project as

the time necessary to recruit contacts was considerable, and much data was gathered by simply living in the neighborhood. Photo interviews were helpful, if only because they allowed another time to meet and discuss things that participants had thought of while we were apart. Though these photos were not incorporated into the main text of this dissertation, they will likely be included in forthcoming material.

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Chapter 2: Onward and upward? Latina/o migrants and the dialectic relationship between onward migration and social exclusion

Introduction

Pedro[5] is a 26 year-old Salvadoran who has lived in the US since he was in high school. We had often talked in both formal and informal settings about his thoughts on East Boston (a neighborhood of Boston), and being an immigrant in the US in general. Below, he describes moving to East Boston from Somerville[6]:

> When I used to live Somerville, they'd say, "Don't go live in East Boston! It's so noisy! They have the aeroport [sic], the train—you won't be able to sleep!" And I'm also afraid to come here and live in East Boston. But guess what? My mother bought a house here in East Boston, and I had to move here [from Somerville], and start going to school here. And I started you know, like going, going, and I didn't like it, East Boston[…] [Now] I am a person who likes to go out and, when I go to my house to the station, there is no way that I don't raise my hand and say, "Hi, how are you!" because I know everybody!

Taken from our second interview, the above quote illustrates how Pedro's *motility*—or capacities for being mobile—partially shaped his experiences of both 'social exclusion' and 'social inclusion'. At the same time, it points to how onward migration affected his motility.

This paper is concerned with the intersection of motility and onward migration, especially how they relate to migrants' experiences of socio-spatial exclusion and inclusion. Motility indicates the potentials that people have to move by considering people's knowledge, skills, and *appropriation,* or choices to be (im)mobile (Kaufmann *et al.* 2004). Onward migration differs from international and internal migration in that onward migration denotes the *internal* migration (within a particular nation-state) of

[5] The interviewees' names, their identities and those of their acquaintances, as well as other identifying information have been changed to protect their identity and keep their information confidential.

[6] Somerville is a distinct city from Boston and—along with Cambridge, Malden, Medford, Everett, Revere, Chelsea, *etc*.—is part of the Northeast megalopolis. Cities such as Somerville have their own governments and jurisdictions but share, for example, transportation infrastructure such as the MBTA (Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority).

international immigrants. It is therefore exclusive of internal migration that indicates the movement of people within their countries of origin, for example, from rural areas to cities. Herein, I utilize the concepts to consider how onward migration might impact the motility of migrants I interviewed in East Boston.

Pedro's comments above suggest that the process of onward migration—in his case entailing a number of moves including from nearby Somerville, to and from a small town in Vermont, as well as time in New York—impacted how he moved around the neighborhood, came to know various residents, and became familiar with its spaces. Onward migration is thus connected to where he feels he has access as well as how he chooses to interact with the neighborhood. Pedro recognizes that his and others' limited knowledge about East Boston contributed to his initial dislike of the neighborhood, but he also recognizes that as he familiarized himself with the neighborhood and its residents, as he increased his access and chose to appropriate his mobility by going around the neighborhood, he became more outgoing and at ease.

Using interviews and participant observation with immigrants living in East Boston, this research contributes to the analysis of how immigrants' experiences during and/or after onward migration (or lack thereof) affected their everyday motilities and therefor experiences of socio-spatial exclusion and inclusion. Thus, it considers the ways that participants talk about their everyday mobilities in the city in the context of their migration trajectories. It demonstrates that onward migration has considerable effects upon how participants represented their motility.

Onward migration

Migration usually involves a non-linear and complex set of trajectories and does not lend itself to simple dichotomies such as 'onward' or 'international' migration (van Liempt 2011; Faist 2008; Ahrens *et al.* 2014). King and Skeldon (2010) have encouraged scholarship that bridges studies of internal and international migration to create richer understandings of immigration processes at a variety of different 'scales', even while recognizing that the boundaries between international and internal moves are increasingly blurred due both to changing geopolitical definitions of borders but also the intensification, complexity, and fragmentation of migrant journeys (*e.g.* Adepoju 1998). King and Skeldon also claim that both internal and onward migration are largely ignored

in migration scholarship. Their evidence consists of the numerous volumes that are dedicated to international migration that tend to neglect internal and onward migration (*e.g.,* Brettell and Hollifield 2015; Castles and Miller 2009; Massey and Taylor 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Samers 2010), glossing over or ignoring the importance of migrants' moves in both their countries of origin and as migrants in destination countries.

However, some scholars have contributed to fledgling analyses of multiple aspects of onward migration. For example, Jeffrey and Murison's special issue that analyzes the ways in which immigrants choose certain opportunities over others that result in their decisions to "remain, return, circulate, or migrate onwards" (2011, 136). In a similar vein that seeks to better understand the multiple and overlapping moments of migration, van Liempt (2011) cautions against ideas of 'orderly migration' where immigrants' trajectories are represented and/or understood as straightforward, rational, known, or predictable. She stresses instead how migration is better understood as a group of dynamic, fragmented (yet interrelated) processes that vary greatly in the different moments of migration (arrival, departure, becoming familiar with a new residence). Though not specifically discussed through the concept of onward migration, the complexity of migration and the non-linearity of migration trajectories and destinations have been discussed in other contexts (*e.g*., Zelinsky and Lee 1998).

Dealing more explicitly with how onward migration impacts immigrants' identities and opportunities, Ahrens *et al.* (2014) find that naturalized EU citizens whose country of origin include Somalia, Iran, and Nigeria often migrated onward in order to leave situations of discrimination, thus utilizing their freedom of movement to affect increased social and economic mobility. Similarly, in the US, it has been found that foreign-born internal migrants are choosing cities with fewer migrants, the implication being that they are less reliant on migrant social networks while experiencing 'upward assimilation' as a result or coinciding with the move (Kritz *et al.* 2011). Though more limited to considerations of social and economic mobility as they relate to onward migration, Ahrens *et al.*'s observations regarding onward migration in the EU have parallels to those found in this research that point to the importance of onward migration in migrant identities, cosmopolitan attitudes, and 'socio-cultural integration'.

Though addressed implicitly, studies of immigrant experiences in the US that occur in non-traditional gateways such as "small town" America (Nelson and Hiemstra 2008); the US South (Smith and Winders 2008); rural spaces (Lichter and Johnson 2006); and suburban locations (Singer *et al*., 2009) often address some aspects of onward migration because migrants in these spaces often arrive from immigrant gateway cities such as New York or L.A. (Price and Benton Short 2008). To further this nascent area of study, Mark Ellis (2012) proposes applying the concepts and approaches developed in international migration studies to the multiple aspects of internal migration such that scholars critically appraise dichotomies such as 'origin' and 'destination', 'emigration' and 'immigration', or 'temporary' and 'permanent' that work to obscure complex differences between internal and international migration in the first place (*e.g.,* Faist 2008, 36 in Samers 2010, 9).

Throughout the course of research, I was able to differentiate some instances of onward migration discussed in the interviews with participants. I analyzed these moments and discerned how they might contribute to better understandings of how onward migration affects immigrants' *motility* (skills, access, and appropriation). I argue that experiences of onward migration often work to increase immigrants' *motility* which in turn affects their actual mobilities in the city, both of which are processes that impact their experiences of socio-spatial exclusion and inclusion. To approach these questions, it will help to better define motility and social exclusion/inclusion.

The dialectical relationship between mobility and social exclusion/inclusion

The concept of *motility* originates from scholarship within the 'new mobilities paradigm' that became popular in the early 2000s as a way to analyze what its adherents saw as the changing liquidity, speed, distribution, and concentration of the physical travel of people, the physical movement of objects, as well as imaginative, virtual, and communicative travel (Graham and Marvin 2001; Urry 2008). Kaufmann proposes a typology of mobility that is constructed through the overlapping categories of migration, daily mobility, tourism, and travel (2002). Of special interest here are people's everyday material socio-spatial mobilities, such as moving about to shop, visiting friends, commuting to work, taking children to school, or numerous other activities (de Certeau 1984, 37). However, *imagined* aspects of mobilities are equally important and include

peoples' fears, desires, trip-planning, and so forth. For example, participants' imaginations often precluded the possibility of movement; if someone imagines a neighborhood or the subway as dangerous, they may work hard at avoiding it.

Mobility does not neatly correspond to how free something moves or how fast it can arrive (Adey 2010). Mobilities are political because they "engender and sustain social relations (Urry 2007, 196). Tim Cresswell identifies this politics of mobility through the actual fact of movement, how those movements are represented (by various actors), and how those movements are relationally and differentially experienced and embodied through 'race', sex, class, and other aspects of identity (Cresswell 2006). In short, Cresswell signals that mobilities have a 'politics' because they are both productive of and produced by social relations (2010). Therefore, as participants in this study recount the difficulties they faced while actually moving or imagining certain types of mobilities they are describing how their mobilities shape and are shaped by their experiences of inclusion/exclusion. In other words, they are invoking aspects of what Vincent Kaufmann and others have defined as *motility*.

Motility can be defined as "the way in which an individual appropriates what is possible in the domain of mobility and puts this potential to use for his or her activities" (Kaufmann 2002, 37; emphasis mine). It is often composed of three overlapping aspects: *Access* indicates the possible choices one has regarding transportation, communication, and services; *skills* refers to the physical ability required by the mobility in question (walking; knowing how and being licensed to drive), and *appropriation* indicates how people interpret and make use of the previous two components (Kaufmann 2002, 39). Kellerman alters this model, and argues that access, socio-cultural contexts, and competences (skills) inform how actors appropriate mobilities (2012). The importance of socio-cultural contexts is illustrated in this study, as appropriation hinges upon contexts (*e.g.*, legal statuses and the discourses around them; sentiment towards immigrants; everyday interactions) that the native-born do not necessarily have to consider.

To illustrate how Cresswell's 'politics' of mobility interrelate to Kaufmann's concept of motility, one can imagine how a migrant may have access (to a subway/car) to move through the city as well as the skills (license/knowledge of subway) but may not choose to appropriate this mobility out of fear or feelings related to their use (*i.e.*

receiving mean looks on the subway; feeling scrutinized or unwelcome). In this example, fear of others does not simply indicate the ways in which people might appropriate their mobility (or not). It also suggests the differential, relational character of how people might represent their mobilities or not, and how this impacts appropriation and therefore their access to mobility. That is, if someone feels they cannot go on the subway at night, they may represent these fears through stories that they might share with others (*i.e.*, friends, acquaintances, *etc*.). If feelings of fear are such that a person feels they may not be able to go to a certain part of town, able to ride a subway at a particular time, or walk down a particular street, then that individual may not feel as if they have access, thus reproducing not only fear of certain mobility pathways or spaces, but how they represent access in the first place. Thus, access is not a clear-cut quality; it can imply how someone feels about their mobilities and includes the relation described above to how people represent their mobilities. To return to Cresswell, these feelings, instances of appropriation, access, *etc*. are relational, situated, intimately related to identity, and therefore political. This example also demonstrates the overlap between these categories of motility, and suggest the value of analyzing mobilities beyond the fact of actual movement.

Taken in concert with Cresswell's notion of a politics of mobility, the concept of *motility* helps to frame the interrelation of actual movement, choice, imagination, perception, competencies, and representation in people's mobilities. This view of motility and mobility more generally can tell us much about a person's abilities and desires as well as how they relate to the experiences of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2004).

Though often perceived as a measure of poverty, socio-spatial exclusion implies being disconnected or cut off from various aspects of society, and may include experiences of being unemployed, being in positions of higher risk or isolation from socioeconomic supports and networks (*e.g.*, healthcare, housing, education (Musterd *et al.*, 2006). The term includes both material and discursive dimensions (Samers 1998) and is useful in that it describes relations between actors rather than 'qualities' they might have or the distribution of resources (Room 1995).

The 'mobility dimension' of social exclusion describes:

> [t]he process by which people are prevented from participating in the economic, political and social life of the community because of reduced accessibility to opportunities, services and social networks, due in whole or in part to insufficient mobility in a society and environment built around the assumption of high mobility. (Kenyon *et al*., 2002, 210-211)

As in Kenyon *et al*.'s study, the connections between mobility and social exclusion are often in large part cast as a relationship between mobility and access to transportation. Yet, Uteng (2009) demonstrates that, if not primary, mobility is a major factor in socio-spatial exclusion of migrant women in Norway in that they are socially excluded through multiple mechanisms such as gender norms among and between immigrant and 'host' communities, depressed wages, or professional exclusion that impact, reinforce, and sometimes change mobility regimes. Thus, the "ability to trade time for space in movement and interaction through various forms of mobility can effectively exclude some individuals and groups from the institutions, services, and information that are standard for a particular society" (Miller 2006, 30; see also Uteng 2009).

Further broadening analysis beyond access to transportation, Ureta (2008) found that for a low-income group in Santiago, Chile, the "central problems associated with a precarious integration into society are reflected in the way people move through the city and the meaning that they attach to these movements" (*ibid*. 285). Rather than as a minor or even significant form of social exclusion, Ureta sees the changing role of mobility in everyday life as one of the main avenues of present-day social exclusion. The people in his study were aware of how their destinations and the modes of transport they used were of central importance not just to the practicality of access and opportunities, but to the ways in which they considered themselves to be included in broader aspects of society. Significantly, these feelings were engendered through (among other things) the ability to perform "unnecessary trips" through which the participants might make sense, or become familiar with urban space. Conversely, if they were unable to take these trips, they felt

their lives were governed by 'necessary travel' that in turn made them feel excluded from society.

These unnecessary trips point to the right of some to move more freely than others. They point not only to more 'prized' mobilities, but the "freedom of staying put or moving" (Dean, 2016, 62; see also Sager 2006). Yet Sager points to the fact that, like political rights, 'mobility rights' might whither from disuse. Thus migrants who perform, for example, 'unnecessary trips', may be expanding the rights that migrants have to public space. This bluntly points to the relationships described below of how the participants' motility not only relates to their experiences of socio-spatial exclusion, but impacts a broader mobility regime for migrants living in the US. Before turning to the research participants' discussions of these considerations, I first give a brief description of the context of immigration in East Boston.

East Boston, participants, and methods

The Boston area is a metropolitan region that has high rates of economic, educational, and other inequalities. For example, in a recent study conducted by the city of Boston, it was noted that median annual income was highest for 'Non-Hispanic Whites' ($51,000), followed by 'Asian' ($36,000), 'Black' ($29,000) and finally 'Hispanic' ($21,300)[7]. Thus, the income for the 'Hispanic' population (including both immigrants and non-immigrants but possibly not the undocumented who would no doubt bring the figure down further) is substantially less than half for what it is for 'Non-Hispanic Whites'. In this context, the recent price increase for the Boston Metro (adult monthly passes increased nearly 10% from $75 to $84.50) is a substantial burden on those who likely do not have an alternative to public transportation.

The neighborhood of East Boston is well-connected to the city by subway and bus services. There are also three tunnels that connect East Boston to downtown Boston. One tunnel is solely used for the subway while Sumner and Williams Tunnels are restricted to autos. Small cars and trucks are charged $3.50 per trip into Boston proper. Residents of 'Eastie' (as the neighborhood is often called by locals) can defray costs by obtaining a

[7] http://owd.boston.gov/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/2015-Office-of-Workforce-Development-Workforce-Report-Booklet_v1_r8_spreads.pdf

resident sticker, but this can prove difficult for unauthorized immigrants who often lack the necessary documentation to apply. There is no bridge to downtown Boston and thus no way for pedestrians to get to and from downtown. It is a mostly residential area, and has modest concentrations of small businesses. While there is a centrally located supermarket, most houses and rental apartments are also located within a very short walking distance of a small neighborhood *bodega* (grocer) that often have a greater variety of imported and hard-to-find items. The neighborhood is therefore reasonably self-sufficient regarding the items necessary to daily life.

Separated by Boston Harbor, East Boston is a majority Latina/o neighborhood of Boston, MA. Unlike most other Latin American neighborhoods in Boston that are home to large numbers of Puerto Rican residents, East Boston is one of the more diverse Latin American communities in Boston; most Spanish-speaking immigrants in East Boston are from El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Guatemala (Lima *et al*., 2009). Estimates of the number of unauthorized immigrants are only available at the state level, and in 2010 it was estimated to be around 160,000[8] (Passel and Cohn 2011).

The two largest groups of immigrants—Salvadorans and Colombians—have quite different backgrounds. Colombians have double the rate of naturalization (around 50%) of Salvadorans. Many Salvadorans arrived in the US during the 1980s and 1990s as a result of civil war, but in 2001 many arrived and are currently under TPS[9] due to two catastrophic earthquakes in El Salvador. *Table 1* (below) displays some basic information collected about the participants in this study.

[8] The number of unauthorized immigrants in a given area is notoriously hard to estimate.

[9] TPS stands for Temporary Protected Status. It is a status granted to people from countries that are deemed unable to safely repatriate them. The move to grant TPS to Salvadorans was the result of two major earthquakes in El Salvador in 2001. The first was measured to be between 7.6 and 7.9, while the aftershock had a magnitude of 5. 7. Around 1,000 people lost their lives, while the country's domiciles and infrastructure were affected on a grand scale.

			Legal Status				
Country of Origin	*Total*	*Female/ Male*	*authorized*	*Unauth-orized*[10]	*TPS holders*	*n/a*	*Photo Inter-views*
El Salvador	10	5/5	2	2	3	3	5
Colombia	11	6/5	5	5	n/a	2	4
Mexico	2	1/1	2	0	n/a	0	0
Dominican Republic	2	1/1	2	0	n/a	0	0
Honduras	1	1/0	0	1	0	0	1
Venezuela	1	0/1	0	1	n/a	0	1

Table 1: Participant overview

To recruit interviewees, I placed flyers on various community message boards, handed out flyers at subway exits in East Boston, posted the recruitment flyer on Craigslist, went to church services and events, recruited through ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) courses, and recruited through contacts supplied by previous participants. The material for this study comes from 27 semi-structured interviews, 11 photo interviews, and 12 months of participant observation[11]. Participant observation consisted of living in the neighborhood, attending festivals and rallies, talking with locals, and teaching classes at an adult education center. Interview questions asked participants about the places they travelled in the city; the places they avoided; the services they utilized; the services they felt excluded from; encounters outside the

[10] Though the interviews did not inquire about immigration status, many people offered up the information when it came up in conversation; about a third of the interviewees disclosed that they were unauthorized. Most interviewees made it clear that immigration status played a large role their everyday material and imaginary mobilities. In the unauthorized column, if there is a '0', it means that there were zero people who reported being unauthorized, not that everyone was authorized.

[11] Participant observation occurred in two periods: August-November of 2012 and March-December of 2013.

neighborhood; and the nexus between mobility and employment. Photo interview participants were asked to take pictures that related to the themes discussed from the first interview and participate in an interview centered on these photos.

I transcribed all interviews and interpreted them through axial coding—the qualitative categorization and interpretation of materials (Cope 2010; Crabtree and Miller 1999). Initial codes were broad and included constraints, the body, public transportation, family, leisure, racism, work, the law, encounters, walking, automobiles, and enjoyment. As time went on, certain codes became more prevalent (encounters, leisure, isolation, surveillance, police, racism, language barriers, friends walking, public transport, translocal imaginaries) while others were deemphasized (most often from a lack of repetition across multiple interviews).

As alluded to above, the terms 'internal migration', 'onward migration', international migration', *etc*. often have considerable overlap. Feminist scholarship and qualitative ethnographic approaches can help to analyze this overlap rather than working to instantiate rigid and misleading definitions and understandings of these and other terms (*e.g*., Haraway 1988; Stacey 1988; Sundberg 2003). Herbert (2000) notes how ethnographers can work to enter the 'field' without rigid categories and let order emerge rather than imposing it. This approach is useful here in that it allows the research participants to guide how they view their migration trajectories' nodes and vectors, allowing for greater complexity and nuance in the analysis of migration and mobility. Combined with an inductive approach used here, this approach allowed for the participants' views on onward migration to emerge through conversations about daily mobility and migration.

Participants' international and onward migration trajectories

As indicated above, many participants in this study indicated more-or-less direct paths of international migration to Boston. For example, Sonia who was a refugee as a result of the Salvadoran Civil War moved directly to the Boston metro area and had lived for a brief period of a few months in Somerville before moving to Eastie. Camila, a grandparent from Colombia, moved directly to East Boston to join her daughter's family. Inez and her brother Julio arrived directly from Mexico to East Boston. Their story could

not be more direct as they landed at Logan International Airport situated in the neighborhood itself.

Yet others had more complex routes of migration. Rita, Juan, Pedro, and other participants had settled in another city in the US and had later moved to Boston. Pedro, for example, had moved to a number of cities, navigated them successfully, and taught his mother how to use the subway system in Boston because he saw it as a necessary step towards her inclusion.

The move that establishes a change of address as onward or even internal migration could be minutely small—for example, moving from Somerville to East Boston—a mere five miles—is technically onward migration for international migrants though a move from Los Angeles and Boston is as well. Rita, a single mother from El Salvador, has unauthorized status because she overstayed her visa while living in Santa Monica, and she moved directly to Boston about a year ago for work. She loves the city, works in Boston proper in a kitchen for a large institution, and is actively involved in her church that meets in both Everett and Somerville. During conversations about her mobilities, she mentioned that she enjoys riding her bike north of East Boston, getting out of the city on intercity rail to visit places like Providence, and using the park near the airport to exercise.

Juan is a single man in his late 50s who arrived in the US from Colombia. He initially overstayed his visa and has been living in the US for more than 15 years; he is a jack of many trades, and full of laughter. Juan moved from Los Angeles to a number of different neighborhoods of Boston (including Hyde Park and Roslindale) and one other city in the metro area (Somerville). Asking why he moved to so many locations he replied:

> *Oh! A veces, como por la facilidad de trabajo. Muchas veces[…]si te queda un poquito más cerca, trata de moverte para no gastar mucho en transporte[…] [T]ienes que mover, tienes que moverte para que puedas salir [inaudible] para económico para las tener un poquito más de dinero. La situación por el menos vive uno inmigrante. Unos no tiene la facilidad como las personas que tienen todos documentos.*

[Oh! At times, for the ease of working. Many times[…] if you stay a little closer, you try to get around so you don't spend much on transportation[...] [Y]ou have to move, you have to get a move on to so that you can go [inaudible] to save to have a little more money. This is the situation that immigrants basically live in. It's not as easy as the persons that have all their documents.]

Juan's reasons for moving mostly revolve around the availability of work as well as the cost and ease of access to transportation. Rita moved directly from California to East Boston due in part to the availability of jobs, but also noted the influence of family and friends had on her choice of city and neighborhood.

Somewhat differently, Pedro (with whose words I began this paper) cited his familiarity with East Boston as a reason for staying in the neighborhood. He moved from El Salvador in his early teenage years after the earthquakes and multiple aftershocks devastated infrastructure, housing, and sanitation in much of El Salvador. Since 2001 when he migrated from El Salvador he has lived in Washington D.C., Houston, Miami, and Somerville, and briefly thought about moving to New Hampshire to join his partner. Despite this high degree of interurban mobility, he said he "feel(s) at home here (in East Boston)" and, for the foreseeable future will remain there. Rather than simply equate his feelings with length of residency (*e.g.*, Park and Burgess 1924), he indicates the primacy of how he imagines other neighborhoods and his mobilities. To the first point, he said, "[i]f I go out there [Vermont], I will feel like I'm in prison, because I'd be afraid to talk to my neighbors." In contrast to his feelings of being imprisoned by his unfamiliarity with the town and its characteristics (*e.g.*, no Latina/o music or nightlife), he describes how the process of becoming familiar with another neighborhood's residents is rooted in his daily mobilities: "I wouldn't know anybody until I start moving (around) and involving (myself) with the people." Here, Pedro directly connects his ability to move around his neighborhood to being able to get to know his neighbors and, relatedly, feel like he belongs and is included in the neighborhood.

Imagining the material: onward migration and everyday urban mobilities

Unlike Pedro, Maria felt isolation, exclusion, and unable to move as she wanted. During our interviews, she often related that she resented her insecurity in the city, felt insecure going to restaurants, moving around the city and neighborhood, and additionally

experienced extreme feelings of exclusion while moving through various social, political, public, and private spaces within Boston.

> *Hay momentos tan críticos en las vidas del otro lado de América. Llega la gente hacer estas cosas, y sufrir para pasar, a entrar, para empezar a, saber cómo pedir una hamburguesa, para aprender a conocer a comer una hamburguesa, para aprender al esconderte. Para aprender tantas cosas—para aprender a subirte en el bus. Tantas cosas que fueron tan difíciles. ¡TAN DIFICILES!*
>
> *[There are moments that are so critical in life on the other side of America. People arrive to do these things, and suffer to go, to enter, to begin to know how to order a hamburger, to learn how to eat a hamburger, to learn to hide. To learn so many things—to learn how to take a bus. So many things were so difficult. SO DIFFICULT!]*

Maria expresses difficulty in the seemingly most mundane aspects of everyday life—learning how to order food, how to eat it, or how to use (and feel comfortable using) public transportation. Briefly in this interview and later in more informal conversations she spoke of the difficulties of being able to hide or appear inconspicuous—especially of avoiding the police because she feared being deported and taken away from her American son. However, this extended to more quotidian aspects of her life. For example, she avoided going to Boston proper because of how she thought she stuck out and was scrutinized. Her ability and practices of 'hiding', along with being able to escape and avoid multiple types of surveillance are all important aspects of "powerful" mobilities. Said another way, "power is the capacity to escape" (Albertson and Diken, in Sager 2006).

On the other hand, Rita's experience immigrating, above, was much easier even though at times she too experienced difficult struggles and was emotionally distressed. She often referenced her relationship with god and the church, a relationship that was stressed on multiple occasions during our two interviews together. She often visited *Parque Azul* (a park on the waterfront that is officially named Piers Park) to commune with her god, to reflect on her experiences, "remember her family," and to plan for the

future. Her faith also led her to travel to Everett and Somerville regularly to meet with her fellow parishioners to "hablamos, compartimos experiencias… a los lugares que yo visito estos días, para mí son una experiencia que yo aprendo" [talk, share experiences… of the places that I visit these days, for me they are experiences where I learn]. Of interest here is not just the distance that she travels to meet with friends, but the social distance that is overcome as a result of her connection to the church and parishioners. In the interviews, she made this observation and noted how her onward migration from California affected her experiences of social exclusion/inclusion:

> When I go out, um, for me it's been like, like a good experience to be able to visit other places here. Either being inside the state [Massachusetts], or outside the state, [or] other cities here, it's always going to be a pleasurable experience for me. When I go on the road, especially in the train, I really enjoy the trip.

The experience of finding her way—first from El Salvador, then from California and finally to East Boston—is recognized by Rita to be valuable and educational, leading to a much more positive view about travel, mobilities, encounters, and her own place in the city. As she stated about her experiences in America, "[c]oming here was the best life school for me, to be in this country alone. It was like a training for me".

Rita appropriates mobility to reach her church and social group, but through this movement acquires new skills and is familiarized with different types of access that are available. This contrasts sharply with Maria's experiences of social exclusion and immobility outlined above. These speak to the realities facing many women migrants as her story often included instances of abuse, neglect, and circumscription within the home. Relating these feelings she said that:

> *En la noche no me siento bien, y tengo miedo siempre. Y cuando salgo la escuela, estoy corriendo!* [both laugh] *Y otro parte que no me siento es cuando camino del lado del airport, me parece que no está[…] Sí, hay mucha gente, pero me parece…. It's unsafe. Y esta parte de aquí a Shaw's* [a local supermarket] *tampoco. Es lo más para poder tomar el bus y lleva el market, pero no me gusta el área de liquor, me da... No me siento bien… Siempre da me los él mismos. Siempre. No cambian.*

[In the night, I don't feel safe, and I always am scared. And when I leave the school, I'm running! (both laugh) And the other moment when I don't feel [safe] is when I'm walking on the side of the airport, it doesn't seem […] Yes, there are a lot of people, but I don't feel… It's unsafe. And this part here at Shaw's [a local supermarket] too. It's best to take the bus and get to the market, but I don't like the area around the liquor store, it makes me… I don't feel safe... I always feel the same. Always. It doesn't change.]

In contrast to Maria, Rita is seemingly more at home in East Boston and is well-connected with other communities (*i.e.*, her church, shops, fitness partners, and her child's school). Maria however thinks of herself as immobilized in perpetuity; she is not free to return to her home and family in Colombia, but neither is she free to move around her own neighborhood or the city as she wishes. She confided that if it were not for the opportunities for education and upward economic mobility as well as safety for both her and her son she would return to Colombia. Her son adds a further dimension. She does not want him returning to Colombia because he doesn't speak Spanish like a native-born, and would in her view be targeted for violence if he returned, especially alone.

It would be a mistake to necessarily equate a person's motility with either the presence or absence of onward migration. For example, Rita and Maria both had fairly complex migration trajectories that include onward migration in the US. Yet the differences between their motility and feelings of either inclusion or exclusion point to the importance of past experiences during non-linear migration trajectories that include arrival, departure, becoming familiar with a new residence, and multiple other experiences. Rita seemed to have an easier time than Maria who had experienced substantial physical and emotional violence during her stay in California (not to mention on her long journey through Central America and Mexico). In fact, it was this violence that compelled her to move to Boston—to leave behind troubling memories, relationships, and feelings. Rita felt that being in the US, of moving to different places, of learning how to be independent with her son, were like a training, but Maria's more violent history point to the impacts her more traumatic migration experiences had on her present mobilities. The contrast between these two cases clearly points to how the experiences of onward migration (itself not clearly demarcated from other processes of

settlement, international migration, *etc*.) affect migrants' motilities and thus their experiences of socio-spatial exclusion and inclusion in the present.

Somewhat similarly to Maria, Bea related her feelings about going out at different times of night to her country of origin. She said, "[y]ou have to be careful [in East Boston]. But [we don't] feel like we cannot go out like in Colombia. In Colombia you have to lock in." Bea's recollection of previous experiences are transferred to the present; there is a balancing act between perceiving and recognizing existing dangers in a place on the one hand while relying on previous experiences to inform one's actions in a new place on the other. Thus, how one *imagines a place to be* is connected to past experiences. This is significant here in that experiences of onward migration, which entails moving to an unfamiliar place, can often be traumatic as in the case of Maria as well as instructive, as in the case of Rita. Yet these experiences do not 'stop and start' with international or onward migration.

To again return to Maria, take for instance her description of Cali, her home city in Colombia as "very, very pretty, the parts [where] there's money. But it's unsafe. It's very sad to say. You can't go to your country because it's not safe enough. It's not safe enough. But it's very pretty." Maria imagined Eastie to be dangerous and threatening, much as her home city. In East Boston, Maria would not go out after dark without someone accompanying her, she avoided the two main squares in Eastie mostly due to the presence of liquor stores and their patrons, and she avoided the other areas because she felt these spaces were deserted. Significantly, Cali has one of the highest murder-rates in the world—about 10 times that of Boston and double that of Medellín—which seemed to influence her perceptions of East Boston as a thoroughly threatening neighborhood. To imply that her perception of Eastie is based upon how she imagines it to be dangerous is not to imply that Eastie is not *really* threatening for her. In my short stay I witnessed multiple occasions of violent crime in East Boston, and many of the women in this study stressed that it is not a place where one should be wandering around (especially alone) at night. This indicates that people's multiple and extended past experiences matter to present day motility, feelings of belonging, and experiences of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion.

In contrast, most of the men interviewed felt that Eastie as very safe, pointing to gender differences of onward migration, urban mobilities, and settlement. As indicated above, the neighborhood certainly has the potential to be dangerous. However, here I am more interested in the range of experiences in the neighborhood described by Maria, Felix, and Lorena. Lorena and her partner, Felix—now unauthorized after overstaying their tourist visas—had moved directly from Colombia, but had first tried to find work in Panama. They lived there for two years, but decided to move to Boston for work, to have their child, and to enjoy the cooler climate. Felix was from Bogota and spoke of how his home city was much more dangerous than Boston and he imagined Eastie to be much safer. He clearly felt that East Boston was safer than Maria did. He said that people from all over the world lived in East Boston, and that they were "*…muy amable* […] *Es muy tranquilo. Los parques, incluso este tren [el metro]. Es una parte atractiva visualmente" […very friendly (…) It's very tranquil. The parks, including this train [the subway]. It's a very visually attractive place.]*

Maria and Felix both came from cities in Colombia that they saw as dangerous, yet Maria's imagination about East Boston has closer parallels to her thoughts about Cali which has a much higher murder rate than Bogota. Felix seems more willing to interpret East Boston as a unique city separated from his experiences in Colombia, but Maria feels that the city is very unsafe and rarely leaves her home alone.

Felix travelled widely around the Boston metro area. In part, this is due to having to travel large distances for work at multiple jobs both inside and outside Boston as well as visiting the hospital regularly due to the birth of his child and subsequent checkups. Though Felix and Maria's migration stories are remarkably different, Felix and Lorena have travelled extensively in the area and in other countries. Thus, there is likely a familiarity with the unknown that, for Maria, seems to have transformed into an overwhelming fear about the city and its inhabitants. Though not technically an 'onward migrant' in the US, Felix and Lorena have migrated beyond their home country previously. Though they worked for little money at a call center in Panama, their journey and time there also seemed largely uneventful. Thus, their motility in East Boston seemed to be rather high—they seemed able, willing, and knowledgeable about how they could and could feel comfortable around the city.

In contrast, Maria now relies upon avoiding many public situations and feels excluded from everyday interactions with many people—including those within her neighborhood. These feelings do not simply lead her to avoid the 'rougher' parts of the neighborhood around the liquor store; these areas of exclusion extend to the grocery, all three of the metro stops in East Boston (and the paths to reach them), downtown Boston, and most spaces that have ties to the government. Though it is of course a factor, these fears are not simply a question of being an unauthorized person. Rita is also unauthorized, but the process of onward migration in the US described above seemed to familiarize her not only with the skills she needs to move around more freely, but also changed her outlook on life by her more readily appropriating her mobilities. Therefore, it seems like migration is a practice that can build certain skills, the recognition for possibilities of action, and lessens trepidations regarding everyday mobilities within the city. Yet as Maria's story shows, it is not a zero-sum relationship. Maria had an extensive migration story, but one that was likely much more traumatic than Rita. It is not the case that having extensive experiences of onward migration increase urban mobility, but that onward migration can both increase motility and restrict it, depending upon how the experiences occurred. To further think about these possibilities of onward migration as positively affecting immigrant motilities (and therefore related to increases in social inclusion while being a hedge against social exclusion), I return to Juan, a Colombian day-laborer in his mid-50s.

Like Rita, Juan visited many places around Boston. Though he had migrated from California as well, Juan had also moved to the multiple neighborhoods throughout his 15 years in Boston. In addition, his work took him all over the metropolitan area. In the city, he seemed very relaxed and comfortable. When asking about his leisure time in the city and where he liked to go, he said:

> *Como el acuario. Mover al cine. Como ir al downtown, mirar cosas diferentes. Unos siempre quieren salir, porque… a veces no con frecuencia, porque siempre es más difícil cuando uno no tienen un transporte de uno. ¡Pero sí! Sale el motivo de visitar a las familias o amigos. O—o ir un sitio de diversión. Solamente saber uno de esto.*

> *[Like the aquarium. Going to the cinema. Like going downtown, looking at different things. People want to go out, because… at times, not often, because it's always difficult when you don't have your own transportation. But yes! The idea of visiting family or friends comes up. Or, or going to a place for fun. Just to do it.]*

Though Juan is undocumented, his feelings and experiences of moving in the city are similar to that of documented immigrants and citizens. The question then becomes: why do Juan, Rita, Lorena and Felix seem to have higher motility than Maria? Like Maria, Juan has spent about 15 years in the US, whereas Rita migrated from El Salvador only three years prior. Unlike Maria, both Rita and Juan seem comfortable moving in the city, as well as appropriating their access to its myriad spaces, institutions, and infrastructures. Part of the answer seems to be getting around for enjoyment and travel and part of it seems to be trips made around the city through necessity (*e.g.,* Ureta 2008). Though Juan loves going around the city to do things he enjoys, he has moved to different residences in some neighborhoods of Boston and surrounding cities multiple times to save money on rent, to help friends with bills, to have better access to public transit (especially for work), or to move to quieter neighborhoods. From the interviews I conducted, this seemed like a common theme: if one moved (internally migrated) around the region, state, or country, whether out of want or necessity, they often felt less trepidation during encounters with others, using public transport, making use of public spaces to relax, or participating in more political capacities such as demonstrations or rallies.

To return to the conceptualization of motility as formed from access, appropriation, skills, and socio-cultural contexts, the increased mobility and feelings of inclusion seem to be affected through the participants' familiarity with socio-cultural contexts of their environments. It does not seem much of a leap to attribute this ease to moving around in it, becoming familiar with context, learning skills (how to use the subway or inter-city rail), while increasing the recognition and desire for the appropriation of mobilities. That is, the participants' actual movements affected through onward migration (as well as travel) often increased their motility and therefore decreased feelings of exclusion while increasing those of inclusion.

This observation is upheld even in contrast to Juan's observations about where he could travel in a post 9/11 context. Discussing these, he said, "*Where I can go. If I can't go by road, I can't go. I can only go to places where I can go. I can't take a plane. So, outside the country is like going to another city. I only go places on the highway. So, it's a form—it's difficult. Because you want to go…*" Juan represented himself to me as a fairly secure (significantly through his knowledge about the interrelation between US immigration law and travel), happy, and well-travelled man who feels free to move around the city and yet knows that there are certain limits or thresholds based in law, policies, and social norms. Not simply a story of a 'man free to move', his story is similar to Rita's in that she moved from California, feels 'at home' in the city, and is optimistic about the future. This is not to say that gender doesn't matter, but that it is more complicated than reporting that women have 'constrained' mobilities while men have less restrained mobilities. Both Rita and Juan's experiences contrast sharply to the way Maria's imagined and material mobilities in the city that reflect upon traumas she has experienced in the past, especially through the experiences of migration.

Conclusions

This paper utilized conceptualization of migrants' motility to consider how socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion relates to mobility *beyond* the issues of access to transportation. It finds that there is a complex dialectical relationship between the participants' experiences of onward migration and socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. Participants who were onward migrants often had an expanded range of activities relative to those who had migrated directly to East Boston, and these activities connected them with various parts and peoples of the neighborhoods of Boston and beyond. Conversely, those with lower motility expressed the ways in which their lower access, skills, and appropriation of mobility magnified the weight of social exclusion and isolation. Many of those in this latter group often had more direct stories of migration. Though some do not fit this pattern, participants who felt isolated generally had low motility. Thus, though people might enjoy similar access to the subway, for example, the ways in which mobility was appropriated was a strong indicator for how they felt like they were being excluded or included in the social fabric of the city. Further, Felix, Lorena, Juan, and Rita indicated that higher motility seemed to lessen further experiences of socio-spatial

exclusion while increasing feelings of belonging. That is, having a choice in how one was mobile seemed to be an avenue of inclusion. Mobility plays a role in socio-spatial exclusion, but this research suggests that it is also a way to build pathways to inclusion.

However, as Maria's case points out, it is important to recognize how these histories of onward migration can be embedded within other, often highly traumatic, migration experiences. This has far-reaching implications in that we must recognize how the experiences of migration have lasting impacts in destination communities. The too-often traumatic journeys of migrants effected by the migration regime in the US puts people in unnecessary danger, disproportionately exposes women to violence, and disrupts social ties with those left behind. These experiences can leave people feeling trapped, hopeless, and scared in the present. Maria's thoughts on her mobility also serve as a warning to not equate expansive stories of onward migration with higher motility.

Yet onward migration does seem to hold some opportunities that might increase migrants' experiences of socio-spatial inclusion. Thus higher motility that is often effected by onward migration suggests increased social inclusion. However, the factors that impact motility and therefore inclusion need to be better understood. Is motility increased through competencies required in moving around the city? Does the choice to appropriate mobilities often required by onward migration lead to increased skills, and knowledge that might lead to heightened social inclusion? Does social inclusion increase due to less apprehensive social imaginaries about unknown/unvisited spaces, or increased knowledge about relevant socio-cultural contexts? What role does motility and broader notions of migrants' socio-spatial material and imagined mobilities play in a person's local knowledges and practices?

Expanded motility, which is relationally constructed through both international and onward migration trajectories can indicate, create, and expand mobility rights "which pertain not only to the freedom of staying put or moving, but also to the assemblages facilitating the surveillance of travelers, as well as those who wish to not want to move, or those who are forced to be mobile" (Dean, 2016, 62; see also Sager 2006). Somewhat analogous to political rights, the potential for mobility withers from the disuse of material mobility (Sager 2006). Thus, increased inclusion may be effected through the expansion of horizons, skills, options, and choices regarding mobility as well as the experience of

travel, migration, and other forms of mobility. Though not always, onward migration often seems to increase motility while simultaneously lessening anxieties based around urban mobilities and increasing possibilities for experiences of socio-spatial inclusion.

Many people in his study had to "discard" unnecessary trips described by Sager to devote their resources to necessary trips—those like Maria who certainly felt as if they lived in a space of survival. Further, even though many of the interviewees had similar access to mobility infrastructure, their appropriation of these mobilities differed greatly. I have argued above that immigrants who have higher motility often built the *skills* of *appropriation* through onward migration. That is, by further migrating, immigrants may expand their 'mobility horizons' that can help them create not just spaces of survival but places of belonging. The knowledge gained through onward migration may be one way that migrants can increase their urban motility and lessen some aspects of social exclusion while increasing the avenues, opportunities, and frequency of their everyday mobilities in the city and thus their experiences of social inclusion. Alternatively, future research might consider how to discern and interpret how aspects of onward migration that increase motility and socio-spatial inclusion might be discussed and introduced in various community centers.

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Chapter 3: Moving encounters: Latinas/os about town in East Boston, MA[12]

> *Muchos americanos, no nos ven bien. Si, si uno encuentra uno americano… No—no les gustan verte acá. Se ha pasado no solo conmigo, he pasado con bastantes amigos […] Y se siente fuerte para nosotros. ¿Por qué? ¡Nosotras no le hacemos nada! Nosotros no nos metemos con ellos. No, no le decimos nada; no discutimos con ellos. Y aun así, nos ven mal.*
>
> *[(M)any Americans, don't see us in a good light. If somebody encounters an American… No—they don't like to see you here. It hasn't only happened with me, it's happened with quite a few of my friends […] And they feel strongly about us. Why? We haven't done anything to them! We don't say anything to them. We don't fight with them. We don't argue with them. And even so, they look at us poorly.]*[13]

In an interview with Prospero, a Salvadoran migrant in his early 20s living in East Boston, he described the emotional encounters he had in everyday spaces with people and indicated that they were crucial aspects in the formation of his material and imagined socio-spatial mobilities in the city. In a similar fashion, most of the other participants indicated a strong correlation and mutual influence between their emotions, their urban mobilities, and the moving encounters they had with others in the city. That is, the encounters they had while moving through the city were often highly evocative, and the participants' emotional understandings of these encounters would in turn influence how they felt they could or could not move in the city thereafter. Thus the decision to go to the grocery, walk in the neighborhood, go to the beach, venture on a cross-town trip, ride the subway, or drive a car were made through both remembering and/or imagining emotional encounters in the city.

East Boston's residents are largely foreign born, and it is home to nearly 20% of Boston's Latina/o residents according to the 2010 census. Immigrant residents of East

[12] A version of Chapter 3 has been accepted for publication in *Emotion, Space and Society*.
[13] Due to space limitations, original transcripts in Spanish have been omitted. Conversations in Spanish indicated by italics.

Boston come mostly from El Salvador and Colombia, but there are also many from Brazil, Mexico, and Italy. It is a neighborhood largely divided between underserved foreign born residents and their families and more affluent and largely non-Hispanic white communities located in Jeffries Point[14]. It is within this context that most participants interacted with a majority of their acquaintances and, in many respects, it is a comfortable part of the city with beautiful parks, a modicum of shopping and social services, and some entertainment venues. Travelling to other part of the city for work, relaxation, or to simply get to know the city, however, was often discussed through anxiety-inducing encounters with others. Yet many of the encounters discussed below occurred in East Boston itself.

In this research, the participants' emotions were often formed in relation to aspects of a 'migrant subjectivity' that often position them as an object of xenophobia, racism, or generally hostile anti-immigrant attitudes. These aspects of migrant experience have major effects upon the ways in which migrants can access and be mobile in the city. Accordingly, migrants' lives revolve in many ways around emotions that may not hold for others (Ho 2009; Svašek 2013). To better understand the interrelation of emotion, mobility, and social inclusion/exclusion I consider how migrants' emotional understandings of their mobilities are formed through encounters with others. Though work in geography has conceptualized different types and potentials of encounters, few have considered the ways that these encounters shape people's material and imagined mobilities. This study largely considers unintentional encounters that range from good–will to more antagonistic moments. As Swe notes, within 'the dialectical process between migration and integration, transformations of identity occur individually as well as collectively on a daily basis in migrants' encounters with their new social, cultural, and political contexts." (2013, 231). Herein, I use the term *moving encounter* to stress the entanglement of movement and emotionality in the encounters described by Latina/o[15]

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[14] http://nubeastboston.org/our-community

[15] The term Latino is a broad term that includes, in its widest usage, anyone from a Spanish-speaking or Lusophone country in the Caribbean, Central or South America. While I recognize that it is largely a construct used in the US, it is perhaps useful in that, though racialized in the US, it has no specific racial meaning. Further, since it indeed broad, I utilized it to consider how the research question touched upon men and women from various countries in 'Latin' America. While a problematic term because it erases difference, it is a salient political category in the US

migrants living in the East Boston, a majority Latina/o community that sits across Boston Inner Harbor from Boston proper.

To consider the above relationship, this paper utilizes concepts offered by Mikhail Bakhtin and Henri Lefebvre to unpack the dynamism of encounters between people. For Bakhtin, encounters are embodied sites of identity construction while at the same time emotional affairs in which a person's consciousness is formed through its interactions with other people's consciousnesses (1984, *xx*). For his part, Lefebvre cautioned that encounters never simply take place between two parties; they only make sense in reference to (an)other, a *third party* from which we derive meaning from society (Lefebvre 2002). This *third party* provides a crucial and infinitely complex reference point through which society and the self are constructed and interpreted (*ibid.*). Thus, the participants' mobility practices were predicated not only upon the encounters they had with others in the city but also how they interpreted these encounters to reflect larger values in society.

In the following, I first clarify how geographers and social scientists have mobilized 'the encounter'. I then clarify relationships between migration, mobility, and emotion. This is followed by a description of the intersections between the Bakhtin's *dialogical self* and Lefebvre's *third party* that demonstrates its relevance to the study at hand. Finally, I turn to the study and its participants to consider the ways emotion, urban mobilities, and encounters impacted the participants' feelings of belonging and experiences of social exclusion.

Geographies of encounter

Scholars have written much about the radical potential of the encounter, even while recognizing that these encounters may not always be 'collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable' (Bhabha 1994, 2). More recently, Gil Valentine (2008) critiques the 'naïve assumption' that celebrates moments of contact through profusions of goodwill; she asserts that contact often does not lead to mutual respect and it can further exacerbate prejudices and

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because laws and popular discourse often target 'Latino' and migrants often utilize and possibly adopt the term in political efforts at strategic essentialism, or the adoption of an identity to frame themselves in a way recognizable to power.

stereotyping (*e.g.,* Mielke 2008). However, encounters have also been recognized as critical opportunities for renegotiating prejudices and stereotypes. 'Micro-encounters', for example, are a part of daily civic life that can act as a foundation for mutual respect, cosmopolitanism, or 'a baseline democracy' (Laurier and Philo 2006; Amin 2006; Thrift 2005). Community-based encounters that proactively work to break down racism, privilege, discrimination, and stereotyping can also increase feelings of belonging and reduce social exclusion (Leitner 2012; see also Matesjkova and Leitner 2011).

However, while encounters enacted with a radical or purposeful goal may offer a heightened potential for forming anti-racist politics or challenging inequalities, 'ordinary' encounters are also formative and important moments of identity construction (Walton-Roberts and Pratt 2005; Cresswell 2006). Though 'ordinary' invokes both routinized life as well normative and juridical ordering through such legal institutions as citizenship, it also speaks to how these quotidian '[s]ocial norms and mores, interactions with other people, the demonstration of respect for difference, and a host of other social practices may make an immigrant (or any other individual, for that matter) feel more or less welcome and embraced by a community' (Staeheli *et al*. 2012).

While the participants in this study did not discuss encounters with 'Americans' or others in *intentional* settings (especially in those meant to reduce racism or lessen inter-ethnic tension), they did speak of moving encounters, both real and imagined, that occurred in the everyday spaces of the city: the subway, the bus, the street, parks, restaurants, in church, *etc*. These discussions highlight the ways encounters interrelate to the participants' urban mobilities, their emotional qualities, as well as the ways in which emotions transform and impact the participants' mobilities.

Moving and feeling: intersections for migrants

Despite considerable literature that considers Latina/o (and especially Chicana/o) perspectives in the US, the ways that migrants' everyday material and imagined urban mobilities influence experiences of exclusion or belonging have been largely overlooked (though see Conlon 2011; Hiemstra 2010; Wilson 2011).[16] These mobilities are important

[16] Of the research that exists, little elicits participation from Central and South Americans (though see Falconi and Mazzotti 2007).

because the speed at which people, objects, and ideas move, the number of journeys and routes they take, and the fixities which make them possible do much to create connections, liquidity, and speed in the world as well as 'disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility' (Sheller and Urry 2006, 210). A 'politics of mobility' might therefore unpack how social relations (themselves constitutive of and constituted through power) both produce and are produced through the practices and representations of mobilities (Cresswell 2010). This paper analyzes one way in which social relations are reproduced through the participants' emotions as they relate to being, striving, and/or failing to be (im)mobile in the world.

Emotions have been variously conceptualized as "inherent, pre-existing us and deeply biological; or sociocultural constructions, emanating from our being in the world, our relations with others and from language (Bennet 2004, 415; see also Lupton 1998). Echoes of these debates continue, and people have staked various claims about the primacy of identity and emotion or affect (Curti 2011; Thrift 2004; Pile 2010; Thien 2005). The latter perspectives that insist on the primacy of affect follow trends in broader geographical inquiry "in which detachment, objectivity and rationality have been valued, and implicitly masculinized, while engagement, subjectivity, passion and desire have been devalued, and frequently feminized" (Anderson and Smith 2001, 7). Yet emotions clearly impact how we interpret and interact with the world (Davidson and Milligan 2004) as well as larger structures, networks, landscapes, beliefs from the 'scale' of the human body to concerns of critical geopolitics (Conradson and McKay 2007; Pain 2009).

Some scholars highlight how emotions are socially constructed—they are a result of our personal and shared experiences, discourses, language, and shared meanings/values (Bennet 2004; Bondi 2005; Lupton 1998). In this regard, the self is 'neither regarded as a closed container of passions nor as an entity that simply reacts to forces from outside, but rather as a mobile, multiple, relational being-in-the-world' (Svašek 2012, 3). Thus, like mobilities, emotions are relational processes: they are connective tissue that both describe and create relations between place and the self, bridging aspects of physical and mental being. There is precendent for the connections between emotions and mobility as well, as demonstrated through the analysis of the *joy* of biking (McIlvenny 2015), the creative capacities of *fear* in parkour (urban free-

walking) (Saville 2008), or the deep emotional investment and *love* for automobility. Rachel Pain's seminal work on fear considers a 'social geography of women's fear' that describes how urban space is understood and formed through various spatializations of women's fear (Pain 1997; see also Mehta 1999). Elsewhere the increasing mobility that attends 'development' has been linked to heightened feelings of anxiety (Lindquist 2009), while multiple mobilities that occur through migration have been linked to detrimental attitudes and practices regarding health and wellness (Warfa *et al*. 2006). Stuesse and Coleman describe the fears migrants have in relation to automobility, where driving becomes an activity that carries with it high potential for deportation and thus fear and anxiety (Stuesse and Coleman 2014). In short, the relationship between mobilities and emotions shape our understandings of who we are, how we fit into the world, as well as our practices within it (Davidson and Milligan 2004; Conradson and McKay 2007).

While it is important not to cast migrants as a 'special' kind of mobile person, there are migration-specific issues that affect migrants in different and unequal ways (Svašek 2013). Migrants' mobilities are often harshly surveilled and restricted (and thus formed) through fear of being deported, arrested, or encountering racism/xenophobia. Still, the emotional dynamics of migration extend well-beyond fear. They include, for example, the emotional aspects implicit in and through the maintenance of transnational family structures (Skrbiš 2008; Yeoh *et al*. 2005), the changing nature of care in transnational emotional connections through 'circuits of affection' (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997, 550; also McKay 2007), transcultural influences upon emotions through the actions of travel and migration (Frohlick 2007), or the emotional impacts of border crossing through reconfigurations of gender dynamics (Espin 1997). Migrants' everyday mobilities in particular are coupled with highly emotional understandings of how one can move, where, for what purposes, and how one might transform existing social forms such as family, friendship, *etc*. (Conradson and Latham 2005; Dwyer 2000; Yeoh et al. 2005; Voiculescu 2014). As Andrew Gorman-Murray has described,

> emotions, desires and intimate attachments play a critical—but under-recognised—role in migration processes [which connote the] complexity of contemporary migration, relocation adjustments, decisionmaking, and the way

> mobility interweaves with identity, community, homemaking and belonging in shaping everyday lives, experiences and senses of self. 2009, 455

To work towards an analysis of this complexity, this paper works to better understand the unfolding and refolding of emotion, everyday space, and migrant experiences of mobilities in the destination community of East Boston.

Despite considering the ways that mobilities impact and are formed through material and social relationships, few authors of the 'mobilities turn' have analyzed the ways 'embodied and emotional mobilities shape migrant lives and identifications' (Christou 2011, 249). To do this work I conducted interviews with the participants to analyze how immigrants' represent their mobilities in and beyond East Boston as a 'spatial reconfiguration of an embodied self' (Ahmed 1999, 342). I am especially concerned here with how they view emotions in relation to their mobilities and how participants feel and act upon such spatial configurations (*e.g.,* Evans 2012; Nash 1998; Pain 2010; Schapendonk and Steel 2014).

To do so, I analyze the co-construction of migrant mobilities and emotions through the participants' encounters with others. In this sense, they indicate 'a movement of closeness' between the native born and foreign born (Fortier 2007, 108). However, respondents often spoke to emotions that referenced not only the two parties of the encounter, but broader structures, forces, or society. Lefebvre called this excess the *third party*, and for Lefebvre they were an intrinsic aspect of Bakhtin's *dialogical encounters*.

Dialogical encounters and the *third party*

Mikhail Bakhtin wrote of the dialogical self that 'no one person's voice is ever even his or her *own*; no one existence is ever clearly bounded. Instead, each voice is always permeated with the voices of others' (Frank 2005, 968 emphasis original) or, somewhat differently, "[s]elves and relationships are constructed in the interactions of the self and other" (Baxter 2004, 3). Bakhtin therefore walks the boundary between the evaporation of the subject and a conceptualization of the self as closed and fixed, both of which tend to lose focus on the interrelated complexity of people's social lives that are, for Bakhtin, effected through dialogue with others.

Lefebvre stresses that these dialogues never consist of only the 'two' who encounter each other; dialogical encounters always involve a third, an other who is

always present. This third party can be an imagined figure, either known or fictitious,[17] that conveys values, moral orders, norms, etc. Lefebvre's concept therefore expands upon Bakhtin's in that Lefebvre's considers a broader expanse of 'voices'. For Bakhtin, "social life was an open dialogue characterized by multivocality and the indeterminacy inherent when those multiple voices interpenetrate" (Baxter 2004, 2). For Lefebvre, there seems to be a nesting of 'voices' in terms of norms, expectations, rejections, and interpretations of a multivocal society within those dialogues that are, for Bakhtin, already constituted multiply and relationally through the voices of others.

For Lefebvre, the *third party* is simultaneously an important reference point from which an individual positions their identity or their understanding of their 'self' (Lefebvre 2002). It is crucial to notions of the self because it serves to 'rid ourselves of an uneasiness, *i.e.*, of hidden or recognized intentions, challenges and suspicions' (Lefebvre 2002, 150). Participants described this uneasiness through their stories of migration, of not speaking a local language, being unsure of the expectations and norms of an 'other' society, and moving encounters within the city. Further, the function of *ridding* oneself of uneasiness is an important one here. Participants often encountered illogical, incomprehensible, upsetting, and oftentimes racist attitudes *in dialogue with others*, but instead of accepting these perceived views of the *third party*, participants often rejected them as a way to rid themselves of uneasiness, suspicion, and malicious representations of their selves through others. They understood themselves as being, for example, misunderstood, virtuous, virile, or imprisoned through accepting or rejecting their interpretations of broader society, morals, values, and popular opinion. While these understandings were formed through encounters they described, they were also formed during the dialogue of the interview *itself* wherein they might accept, reject, or challenge the seeming authority of the *third party*.

[17] Some names of this third party include being, totality, mind, God, the Devil, society, moral dimension, and values. While this might make the term seem nebulous, Lefebvre insists that "[a]ll of these are correct: there can be no dialogue without a third party, there can be no relation between the two without the other" (Lefebvre 1991, 151).

This encounter between the *dialogical self* and the *third party* therefore considers how the 'self' is both precondition and result of dialogue[18] and, further, how the self is created through the interpretation and positionality to *perceived* cultural values, morals, attitudes, and understandings of the *third party*. The latter consideration is important in that it recognizes how emotions often result from not only the immediate encounter but how they incorporate the *third party*. Therefore, an anxiety producing encounter with a stranger may therefore be attributed to the other party or how, for example, the other party may represent morals in society as a representative of some 'other' (third) party. These aspects of the *third party* are therefore incorporated (either by admittance or rejection) into the self and the everyday lives of those engaged in dialogue (Hermans 2008, 187). Through dialogue with me or others on the street, participants in this study often reference a *third party* as a pathway to understanding themselves as ethical, intelligent, moral, or loving selves. It is then in moments of incomprehension, of difference of opinion, or of incongruity where we shape our understandings of the world and *self* through dialogue which, for Lefebvre, always indicates (and requires) more than two.

Methodology

This article draws on twelve months of qualitative research during 2012 and 2013 conducted in East Boston. During this time, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 27 Latina/o immigrants living in East Boston, 11 photo-elicitation interviews, and casual conversations with more than 50 locals which including both immigrants and non-immigrants. I also collected data during participant observation at local festivals, protests, church masses, parades, and other events. The interviews were conducted in both Spanish and English without the aid of an interpreter, and the translations are my own[19]. I had close contact with about six people (Maria and Felix from Colombia and Sonia, Prospero,

[18] These two 'subjects' in Bakhtin's formulation communicate through *utterances* in both form (words, body language, *etc*.) and content (*e.g.,* emotions, opinions).

[19] To preserve space, interviews here are presented in English only. For original transcripts, please consult (Snider 2016) were both original transcripts and translations appear side by side. Due to an embargo, this text will not be available until 2017.

Flor, and Pedro from El Salvador) with whom I would meet for dinners, conversations in parks, or to go on varied excursions in the city.

East Boston is one of the more diverse Latin American communities in the city in terms of country of origin; residents come from El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Columbia, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Guatemala (Lima *et al.* 2009). Between 1990 and 2000, the number of Latina/os living in East Boston (*Figure 1*) tripled, superseding Italian-Americans as the largest group in the neighborhood. The period between 2000 and 2010 saw this trend continue with the number of Latina/os over 18 years of age almost doubling in the neighborhood. Currently, Salvadorans make up the largest proportion of immigrants though Colombians are at near parity. Though not a representative sample, the number of immigrants that responded for this research bears out these general indicators.

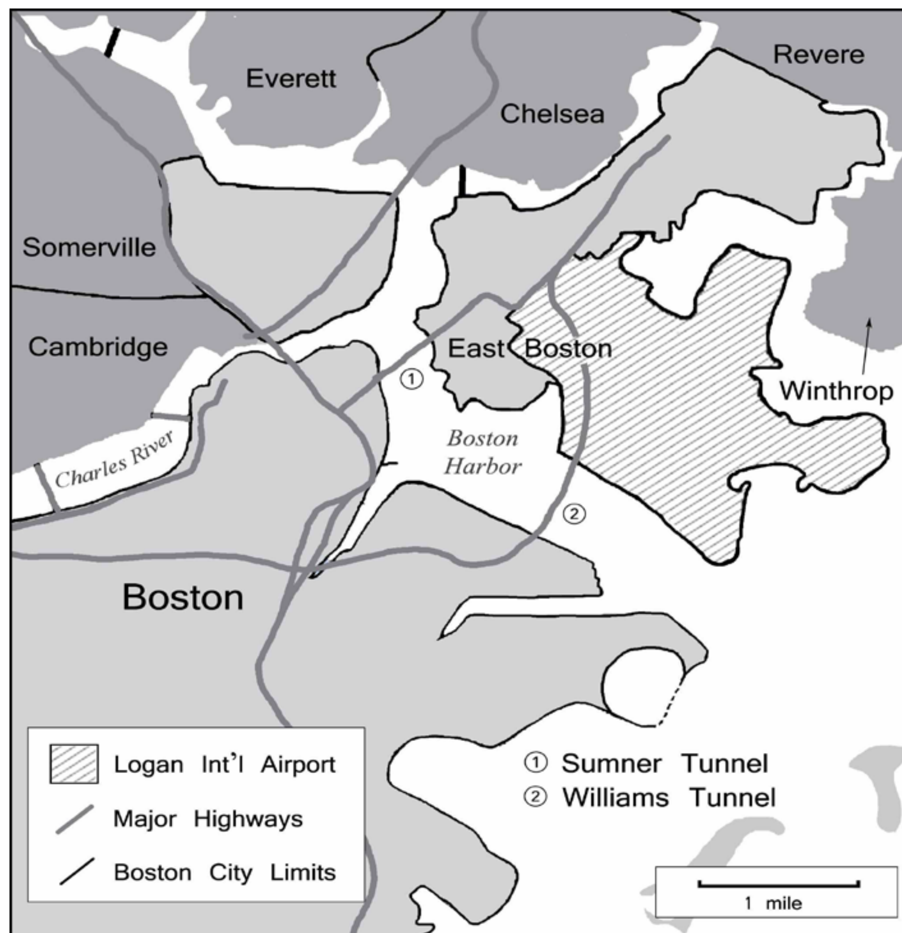

Figure 1: East Boston in context. Map by author.

I coded the interviews by identifying general patterns, considering and distilling relationships between those patterns, and (re)categorizing groups of these interviews (Watson and Till 2009), and common themes became apparent. The rest of this paper is devoted to the analysis of the interrelation of the themes of encounter, surveillance, racism, walking, public transport, and translocal imaginaries (*e.g*., Conradson and McKay 2007).

Public transport and the dialogical moving encounter

The nexus between transportation and immigrant experiences of inclusion and exclusion has been discussed elsewhere (*e.g*., Priya and Uteng 2009; Uteng 2009), and most of the interviewees here note the major role that transport played in their experiences in the US. They elaborated upon these themes by noting how both real and imagined encounters with others would alter their transportation habits. These alterations and descriptions of these journeys were related through their emotional impacts. Public transport on buses, the metro, and taxis is necessary for many in the city. In Boston, these networks are quite extensive and, for the most part, convenient. Even so, many of the research participants expressed trepidation about it.

Prospero, a young Salvadoran man with Temporary Protected Status[20] [TPS] describes going around the city in the epigraph of this paper. As indicated by his thoughts, the journey on public transport for Prospero is fraught with the possibility of encountering an American who dislikes him for little reason except his appearance. Prospero's mention of violence or physical abuse in the epigraph is related to the choice not to interact or speak (not saying anything to or fighting/arguing with) with those he encounters, and he sees this silence as ineffectual in establishing mutual understanding. This perspective is echoed by Alfredo, a Colombian migrant in his late early 50s:

Es bien difícil porque siempre las otras personas si son de acá, siempre, o ven que si uno es hispano, pues… siempre los miran muy diferente. Entonces siempre,

[20] Temporary Protected Status is a status that many Salvadorans have claimed due to the Salvadoran Civil War (1979-1992) as well two destructive earthquakes in 2001. It allows work and residence, but is considered to be a highly volatile status due to the fact that it must be renewed (and associated fees paid) when it expires. Further, there is always the looming possibility that TPS will not be renewed at a future date.

los encuentra a veces son, no son muy gustosos[...] Uno le gustaría estar con sus hispanos, porque siempre uno se puede tratar mucho mejor[...] Siempre los americanos no quieren a un hispano porque, dicen cree bien a quitar los trabajos o cosas que dicen ellos. Entonces, siempre hay conflictos, y muchos veces cuando hay un grupo americanos y latinos, siempre los americanos de protestan enojados por verlos, y los latinos también estamos enojados. Y no hay amabilidad[…] Uno se mira siempre indiferente, entonces, es bien difícil[…]No es fácil, no, viajarte, en un transporte público.

[It's very difficult because there are always persons that are from here, always, or see that you are Hispanic, well… they always look at us very differently. So, we always encounter at times people that are not very friendly[…] You would like to be with Hispanics, because you will always be treated better[…] Americans always dislike Hispanics because, they say they think we take away jobs or other things. So, there are always conflicts, and many times when there are groups of Americans and Latinos, the Americans always are angry at our presence, and therefore the Latinos get angry! And there's no friendship[…] You always try to look indifferent, so it's very difficult. It's not easy to travel by public transport.]

As Alfredo's comments suggest, these highly limited encounters with Americans occur through the racializing gaze of public transit riders who, from Alfredo's and other participants' perspectives, view Latinas/os as trespassers and therefore without claim to simply 'be' in the space. Though there is not room here, it is important to consider how an 'unmarked' American is indicated through, for example, whiteness, being an Anglophone, or male. In interviews we rarely discussed how participants saw 'Americans', but it seemed to include a range of people because of the great diversity of people in and around East Boston and thus in public transportation. Regardless, Prospero's understanding of public space and himself are both transformed through these encounters. It is thus likely in contrast to a wide range of 'Americans' that Prospero is positioning Latina/o users of public transport as perceptive, actively avoiding confrontation, and discouraged by their past experiences.

For the most part, work on encounters have not considered how encounters have broad and far reaching effects on participants' everyday lives. They are either formative of a baseline democracy or fail/succeed in their conscious efforts to break down prejudice. In this sense, the encounters described above bear much in common with Leitner's (2012) formulation of the encounter. Her analysis leaves some room for contestation because it focuses on clear instances of racism, fear, exclusion, or stereotyping. Some of the broader implications and instances of the multiple codings of everyday encounters are left largely unconsidered. Resistance in Prospero and Alfredo's narratives then is at least partly the communication of their recognition that the morals and codes they encounter in the subway are suspect even while not easily countered.

Their fears were echoed by Flor, an immigrant from San Miguel, El Salvador who spoke to the dimensions of exclusion in public transportation through emotional encounters. Flor was in her late 30s, also had TPS, and was employed locally in East Boston. As we drove in her pickup truck heading north from East Boston, she talked about why she liked going to Saugus instead of Boston to do her shopping and eat out. 'You don't have to see no one in Saugus; [there's] so many Latinos going to shop. There you can find everything […] I can also take my truck, so I can get big things, but I also don't have to put up with no one. I hate riding the subway, it's full of mean people who look at you like [squints eyes], "What're you doin' here!?"' As evidenced from our conversation, Flor imagines the subway to be a space where she is scrutinized and has no privacy, where people can see her and judge her right to be there.

In the above, it is clear that emotional encounters affect how participants do or do not utilize public transportation: Alfredo tried hard to look indifferent; Prospero worked to limit his interactions with others in the train, and Flor bought a truck so that she would be able to avoid public transit entirely in order to avoid 'non-Latina/o' places, thus avoiding many of the encounters which made her feel watched and uncomfortable. As a result of moving encounters, these participants radically transformed where they went, how, and with whom, demonstrating the inseparable intertwining of their emotional understandings of their life-worlds with their urban mobilities, and the ways in which they envisioned larger society, or the *third party.*

Though Flor was able to avoid public transportation, it is often indispensable to immigrants because it is a cheaper and safer alternative to car ownership, especially for those living near the urban center where the prices for keeping a car are much higher than other locations. Additionally, unauthorized immigrants in Massachusetts do not have access to drivers' licenses and therefore are risking encounters with law enforcement when and if they do drive. Still, many interviewees drove out of necessity (or knew friends or relatives who did)—jobs were often only available at places the public transit system did not go.

Speaking to public transportation, the *third party* for the participants was often—either as a presence/absence or as material/imagined—that which asserted these individuals did not belong. However, public transport was also recognized as a way they could affect inclusion—learning the subway system was often represented as of paramount importance to enjoying life while making it easier to live and find work. Signaling broader concerns than those of transport, the dialogical encounters represented here in moments of automobility and public transport are powerful moments of self-definition as well as highly emotional affairs.

Quotidian mobilities and the polymorphous *third party*

The examples above indicate how encounters with strangers can change the way one moves in the city. Yet while the possibilities of encounters with strangers can be anxiety inducing, encounters with *acquaintances* are also intimidating and attitude altering. Speaking to this concern, Prospero said:

> *[S]i ahorita venera una persona por allí, que conocen por me, y me ve practicando [inglés] contigo...* [If right now someone came up here, that knew me, and saw me practicing {English} with you...] *Every person in El Salvador is going to know that tomorrow. And they're gonna say, "Oh, I heard you were talking with an American person yesterday." Y no te gusta ese. ¡Porque se meten en tu vida!* [And I don't like that. Because they're messing with your life!]

Even though he desires to foster relationships with Americans (as stated above), he does not want to be seen talking to them because of repercussions in both East Boston as well as back home in El Salvador. The *third party* here is a transnational social

network of his family, friends, and others communicating information about his day-to-day life.

Prospero utilized his socio-spatial mobility as a way of evading encounters with those who would surveil him. Since he did not want personal information shared, he chooses to avoid encounters with others, denying the *third party* a site of surveillance. His mobilities are formed in part through evasion and concealment that situate him at a distance from purveyors that uphold 'societal' norms, values, and beliefs that he seems to reject and which are maintained in part through surveillance.

Having an almost opposite approach, Mariella made a joke that confronted this type of gaze as we were leaving *Parque Azul* (Piers Park). She was talking on her phone while (unknown to me) we were being approached by an acquaintance of hers. As she spotted her friend, she put her arm in mine and made a show of saying hello to a friend passing by. The friend looked confused at her being with a strange (both in the sense of being unknown, but also perhaps by being a [very?] fair-skinned and blue-eyed) man. I realized my role in the joke fairly soon, and we both laughed as we walked down the pathway. After we had passed her acquaintance she said, 'Everyone is gonna be so confused when they hear I was in the park with you!' While her acquaintance was in fact 'surveilling' her (as would be demonstrated later as she encountered gossip about our time in the park), she was choosing the way in which she was visible. By acknowledging the surveillance of her visibility/mobility she also returned the gaze, making a spectacle of her surveillance of the *third party*.

This 'soft surveillance' practiced through gossip in the community has been described elsewhere as a 'myopticon' wherein individuals are subject to a dispersed hierarchy of limited surveillance (Turgo 2013; Hannah 1997). Here, it can be seen to make up a direct and intimate part of Lefebvre's notion of the *third party*. But while the third party implies 'moral dimension[s]' or 'values', the concept of the myopticon indicates a sometimes unknown, many times imagined, and multivocal third party. Further, myopticons rely 'more on uncertainty than on accurate knowing or disciplining its subjects' (Whyte 2011 in Turgo 2013, 374). Participants often discussed this kind of surveillance in frustration and anger. Nevertheless, as the case of Mariella shows, one can have different views of this kind of surveillance. Further, while surveillance is often

returned by the surveilled in this model, the option of evasion effected through mobility is also possible.

The partial gaze of the third party creates the possibility for evasion and autonomy—making oneself invisible through strategic mobilities. At other times one cannot make oneself invisible or avoid scrutiny evoking feelings of exclusion or imprisonment. For example, Maria, a woman in her late 40s who had migrated from Colombia, related stories about multiple encounters with others that led her to feel socially excluded and emotionally isolated. In a broader conversation about her fear and familiarity with multiple types of spaces, Maria spoke about having '*miedo de todos lados* [fear on all sides],' and when I asked her for an example, she related a story of her visiting an English-speaking church. She had gone to because her son had encouraged her to attend so she could learn English:

> *Cuando era el momento que dan la paz, nadie le dio la paz*[21] *a nosotros[…] Y la persona que estaba recibiendo dinero, no pasó por nosotros. Entonces, no te puedes mover a todo lado. Vives en un país libre, encarcelado[…] Y no importa si no tienen documentos, no eres libre en todas formas, por como naciste. No eres libre. Entonces tenemos que ir a la iglesia donde están…los hispanos. También, no podemos entrar un lugar donde hay solo personas americanas[…] Si vamos a un lugar público, [uno se] busca muy lugar más retirado. Entonces, estamos en la libertad, pero vivimos en la prisión. [todo lo anterior es a través de las lágrimas].*
>
> *[When the moment came to give the sign of peace, no one gave the sign of peace to us[…] And the person that was taking up money, he didn't pass the basket to us! So, you can't go everywhere. You live in a free country, imprisoned[…] And it doesn't matter if you don't have documents, you aren't free in every way, because of the way you were born. You aren't free. So we have to go to a church where there are…Hispanics. We also can't go to a place where there are only*

[21] To give the sign of peace in Catholic mass usually is done by shaking hands while saying "Peace be with you" or a variant.

Americans[…] If we go to a public place, we look for a place away from others. So, we are in liberty, but we live in a prison. [All of the above is through tears].*]*

In the above, Maria describes being excluded not only from spaces of worship but also from spaces dominated by Americans. Socio-spatial exclusion was effected through her immobility in the church, or rather the ways in which parishioners *moved around her*, separating her and her son from the community ironically through the sign of peace. Thus, in a very direct way, the micro-mobilities occurring in the church between people and through objects are transmitting the values of society—the third party—to Maria. Further, through her concurrent discussion of legal status, she connects her immobilized body to feelings of being imprisoned within the space of the nation-state. In contrast to studies that position the church as an organization that helps meet the "basic needs of undocumented migrants" or as a place where one might bolster social contacts (Sigona 2012, 60), Maria's 'carceral imaginary' (Fludernik 2005) implicates church parishioners in her feelings of forced immobility and socio-spatial exclusion.

Interestingly, these feelings are not only a result of how parishioners treat her Maria and her son, by but the movements of symbolically important objects such as the collection basket. Maria demonstrates the transmission of values and norms through her, the parishioners', and symbolic objects' mobilities, as well as how these values intersect with the boundary-making practices of citizenship through everyday practice (see also Staeheli *et al*. 2012). The articulation of this relationship leaves her visibly shaken and on the verge of tears. As a result of these encounters, Maria no longer visits English-speaking churches and avoids places she sees as American such as downtown Boston. In the encounters described above, it is evident that the participants felt strong, attitude- and behavior-altering moments of self-definition and understanding. Yet these emotional encounters do not simply change relationships between people but also how both parties utilize and move around urban space.

The breadth and inclusiveness of the *third party* helps to consider the emotional impacts of everyday encounters with many different people in urban space. Of particular importance for migrants are those people who represent powerful institutions such as the church or the state. For migrants, police power is of particular importance because they represent the possibility of deportation, exacerbated by the expansion of federal

immigration authority to local police. Yet conversations with participants indicate a much more nuanced view of police.

The *third party*/the state

Though the above analyses link the third party to individuals, social networks, and institutions such as the church, the third party takes on special importance when the moving encounter is shaped through a representative of the state.[22] For immigrants, the police are those representatives that are likely encountered on a daily basis, even though these are often indirect encounters in spaces such as the metro, public parks, or on the street.

The police were a major everyday presence in East Boston—East Boston had its own headquarters and they were highly visible in the community. For example, at least one SUV (if not multiple cars/officers on bicycles) was always parked inside Bremen St. Park at a choke point for foot traffic exiting the metro into East Boston. Not only was the officer present, their lights (*always* headlights but often the spotlight as well) illuminated the crowds, and the police kept an attentive eye towards those leaving and entering the neighborhood.

Though this highly visible presence which made exiting the subway seem like a prison transfer, I was initially surprised that most participants indicated a generally positive view of the police. Many immediately mentioned the police's role in the decline of gang violence involving the *MS-13* [23] in the neighborhood. Yet, when some participants spoke at length about the police, direct encounters seemed to leave them frustrated and exasperated.

Participants described intimate encounters with law enforcement that evoked strong emotional responses due to perceived distrust and enmity on the part of police officers. Prospero said that just before his interview the police kicked him off a public bench while he was eating a sandwich. He did not know why he was forced off but knew

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[22] For an extended discussion on the interaction between police and migrant communities in the US, see Menjívar and Bejarano 2004.

[23] MS-13 refers to a transnational majority-Salvadoran gang, *Mara Salvatrucha*, that was prevalent in the area. The international gang is especially prevalent in Los Angeles where it is said to have originated. Police were seen as instrumental in dismantling gang activity in the East Boston area but some gang activity is still present or has spread to nearby cities.

for certain that police in East Boston ‘did not like that Hispanic people were here.[…] You can see it on their faces.[…] For example, the police that I saw now were like this’ [crosses arms, squints eyes].

Pedro, a Salvadoran migrant with immigration authorization, explained that his encounters with and perceptions of police attitudes towards immigrants in the community establish relationships of exclusion which are both based upon and formative of his daily mobilities. He related that once, after calling the police after being assaulted at a bar, the police arrived and said, "“Go home or I can arrest you.” And I say “Why are you gonna arrest me if I’m telling you I’ve got this problem?” And I feel like, no shit. Like, I’m supposed to call you to help […] and you’re telling me to go to hell or go to sleep!" Pedro spoke of three particular officers in the community who “are very racist… to gay people. And they say—they dislike you just because you’re being gay, maybe. And that’s why I don’t—if I see something, somebody is beating somebody up there, I would be afraid to call the police…” Yet his understanding of the police is complex and doesn’t belie their complexity as both agents of the state and as individuals. For example, soon after his above comments, he told me of an old friend who “was a sheriff or something like that, and we had this great communication one day because I told him about this policeman (discussed above). That people that are supposed to be protecting me are against me, you know?” Pedro’s words suggest that he sees police as individuals, though as individuals with considerable authority and power over his life through the power to intervene or ignore his concerns and safety.

In each of the above stories both Prospero and Pedro indicate an inability to understand or recognize the grievances that certain police have with them. They therefore see themselves as being justified in their anger towards the officers. Their incomprehension of the officer’s position resulted in understanding themselves as justifiably in a space, as rightly mobile in the city, as humans with certain rights to simply be without being exposed to racism or even unprovoked scrutiny. Prospero knows that he should be able to enjoy a park bench without being harassed, and Pedro knows that he should be able to rely on the police to aid him when he feels threatened.

These moving encounters that result in emotions such as incredulity therefore served as dialogical moments through which the participants comprehend themselves as

legitimate actors regardless of citizenship, status, or ‘race’; it is not they but the *third party* encountered through the police whose values are represented as being misinformed, confusing, racist, xenophobic, misleading, and/or incorrect. Thus how participants were mobile in the city and the emotional encounters they had with officers were also formative of their identities as subjects with certain rights to not only public space and mobility through it but to fair and equal treatment within it as well.

Though important, the way that participants spoke about their interactions with the state were not limited to the police. Maria was very vocal about this subject and referred to multiple sites of state power in a conversation about access to schools, hospitals, automobility, and access to other opportunities for her son. She said, ‘We are separated. We have a space where we can’t be, even being in our own neighborhood.’ The lack of access creates a mobility regime where some mobilities are more possible than others, where feelings associated with encounters inform the limits of possible mobility, where being immobilized, constrained, separated, and excluded decreases participants’ mobilities through emotional logics. For some, these feelings of being immobile mean that they cannot belong even locally—beyond being mobile it comes down to ‘being’ itself; if one cannot move freely one feels as if one does not exist. The feeling of being segregated, of being alone, of being in a community that is divided—especially by race and legal status—and of being in a community that is multiply excluded has substantial impacts upon participants’ mobilities. Yet, outwardly, these borders do not exist; they exist within the intangible social relations participants experience, pointing to the importance of emotions and feelings for how we experience and create our own life-worlds. These feelings, for many participants, seem to place them in somewhere that they cannot leave but do not belong, an emotionally volatile mental space on the margins of America.

Conclusions

The ‘encounter’ has been variously theorized by many geographers and social theorists. Some point to moments of radical potential through moments of encounters while others note that they might reinforce stereotypes and prejudice. However, most scholars seem to want to pick an extreme as to the value of the encounter: either it has radical potential to help people recognize and perhaps question received wisdom or it

does not. Favoring the radical potential of encounters, Staeheli *et al*. (2012) note that we can create or plan for encounters; we might do well to envision encounters with an anti-racist message or intention.

While acknowledging this potential, most encounters occur without planning for them. Whether they are radical or not does not take away from their significance to migrants and their emotional understandings of the city. To consider *how* they are understood, I have analyzed moments of encounter between migrants and others in the city and how they relate to migrants' socio-spatial material and imagined mobilities. These encounters were found to impact how one imagines their future travel, where one goes in the city, and with what level of comfort. The migrant participants in this research point to much more complex considerations about the power of the encounter that exceed those of planned, radical, or generally benevolent encounters. Interviews discerned how previous encounters impact future travel, as well as how these encounters informed self-understandings of the participants, elucidated in this paper through Bakhtin's notions of the dialogical self in concert with Lefebvre's *third party*. These encounters extend well-beyond anything that might be conceived of as intentional, and demonstrate the need for sustained inquiry into how urban encounters shape migrants and others urban socio-spatial mobilities. This analysis contributes to geographic research on the emotional logics of urban mobilities, Latina/o immigrant experiences in Boston, how mobilities involve a shuttling between space and Ahmed's notion of an embodied self (1999), and how migrants regard and act upon these understandings.

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Chapter 4: Latina/o migrant perspectives on peripheries and gray spaces: disrupting metonymies of subalternity in the global North

Provincializing subaltern urbanism

Sheppard *et. al* call for a 'provincialization' of urban studies which might contest 'mainstream global urbanism' through upholding multiple, new, and otherwise marginalized 'loci of enunciation' (2013, 895). With echoes from Dipesh Chakrabarty's call to 'provincialize Europe', one example of upholding these marginalized loci of enunciation is evinced by Ananya Roy's engagements with 'subaltern urbanism'—a broad set of practical and intellectual engagements which ostensibly represent and analyze some of the world's most marginalized peoples and spaces (2011). In her critique of subaltern urbanism, she finds that research and popular media—even while working against apocalyptic narratives of the slum (*e.g.*, Davis 2003)—often reinforce a problematic metonymy between megacities of the global South and subalternity. For example, they often equate subaltern spaces, such as the slums of megacities in the global South, with subaltern subjectivities. Roy works to disrupt this metonymy through a critical analysis of subalternity through four categories—gray spaces, peripheries, urban informality, and zones of exception. She asserts that by utilizing these categories, scholars might more readily break from essentializing the relationship between megacities in the global South (subaltern spaces) and subalternity more generally (subaltern subjectivities).

This article utilizes literature and perspectives from the mobilities turn (*e.g.,* Sheller and Urry 2006; Cresswell 2006) to effect a similar goal of disrupting the theorization of subalternity. It contributes to Roy's categories of *gray spaces* and *peripheries* by demonstrating how a mobilities perspective can unsettle the implicit sedentariness of subaltern studies. Working to uphold potentially overlooked 'loci of enunciation', this article is based upon interviews with Latina/o migrants living in East Boston to better understand both the successes and failures as they attempt to live their lives during a time of significant anti-immigrant sentiment and political mobilization in the US. To better position the study, I first consider the complexity of theorizing the subaltern. I then follow this with more detailed discussion of how scholars have worked to de-essentialize subaltern urbanism. I then discuss how a mobilities framework can

further these efforts. I then briefly describe the research site and methods, which is followed by empirical discussions of how a mobilities framework might be used to further destabilize the metonymy between subaltern spaces and subaltern places.

Subalternity

Subalternity is a complex, multivocal, and often contradictory collection of ideas about postcolonial subjectivities and relationships. Most theorists and research cite Antonio Gramsci's use of the term while he wrote imprisoned in fascist Italy. Gramsci famously used the term subalternity as a code for the proletariat so he could write more freely about socialism (Louai 2012). Ranajit Guha expanded the term's meaning beyond the proletariat, adapting the term for use in a postcolonial context in India to include those who lacked politico-economic representation and who have the "general attribute of subordination […] whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way" (1995, 135). For Gayatri Spivak however, subalternity is much more problematic and complex. Utilizing both Foucault and Derrida, she considers aspects of power and representation in the reproduction of subalternity. Importantly, she analyzes how subalternity is wielded by academics and researchers in ways which often reinforce the subordination they intend to dismantle or, at the very least, represent.

Building on Spivak's considerations of subalternity, Roy positions subalternity principally as a discursive effect in that "the subaltern marks the limits of archival and ethnographic recognition" (2011, 231). Subalternity is therefore produced in the interstitial silences of colonial archives at the same time that it is negated through the elitism of history (Guha and Spivak 1988). Here, subalternity is differently theorized as formed and recognized through the effects of power and questions of representation. Thus, absence and erasure in the archive is both a powerful negation of a subjectivity as well as a moment in the creation of subalternity.

In more material terms, Spivak sees subalternity as a condition wherein people do not have access to any form of social welfare (Spivak 2011). As such, Spivak wished to distinguish subalternity from "unorganized labor, women as such, the proletarian, the colonized, the object of ethnography, political refugees, et cetera" (*ibid.* 189). Here, Spivak sharply defines subalternity as a very specific type of subjectivity which lacks all access to socio-economic mobility that might lead out of absolute poverty and

subordination characterized by political invisibility (*cf*. Fraser 1990). It also points to a different consideration of how subalternity comes to be. For Spivak, we might consider both material aspects of subalternity as well as how they are reproduced through of power and representation.

As a result, we are able to see subalternity as a subjectivity (re)produced through processes and social relations with multiple others including the state. It may indicate a person's inability to affect socioeconomic mobility, their inability to access social welfare through the state, or their absence in the archive or ethnographic record. These definitional engagements with subalternity have important implications for attempts to disentangle the metonymy of subaltern subjectivities from particular spaces such as the slums of megacities in the global South. For example, while awarded some constitutional protections in the US, those who are deemed 'unauthorized immigrants' have no sanctioned voice or representation in local government, are absent in many records that allocate taxes to communities, are terrorized daily by the fear of being deported, are the target of anti-immigrant attitudes and sentiments, and often have little to no recourse to social welfare discounting a few constitutional protections. Thus, there are many ways in which the Latina/o migrant participants in this study, especially undocumented migrants, might be considered subaltern.

However, the ways in which migration and subalternity interface is a contentious issue. As a likely result, researchers rarely grapple with the reproduction of subalternity in the global North. The contention lies partly around efforts to establish the limits of subalternity. For example, Spivak has argued that as a person moves "toward" the heart of empire, the "West", or "global cities" they are no longer subaltern (Spivak 2012). For example, migrants that Spivak conceptualizes as simply economic migrants—especially those that arrive in the US after 1965—are excluded from being subaltern in her view (*ibid.* 186). This might appear to be an overstatement, but she states this quite clearly: "Please remember, I am not speaking of refugees and exiles, or of the underclass, but rather of relatively well-placed economic migrants after 1965, the new immigrants who became model minorities" (Spivak 2012).Ostensibly, in Spivak's view, immigrants to the global North are positioning themselves to take advantage of an economy which functions through value extraction in the global South at the same time that they leave

behind a number of postcolonial problems thus pinning their hopes to "justice under capitalism" (Spivak 1995, 112). Therefore, for Spivak, even though they might experience difficult situations in their destination, these migrants are likely not subaltern because they likely have recourse to a modicum of the resources supplied by the welfare state. However, she also asserts that so-called undocumented immigrants—what she calls the 'new subaltern'—are indeed subaltern because they have no access to the structures of citizenship or the structures of the state. Therefore, though keen to recognize that not every migrant is subaltern, Spivak recognizes how being undocumented in the increasingly fortified and exclusionary global North does indeed (re)produce the conditions of subalternity. In the next section, I describe a debate between Schindler and Roy which describes how an inductive analysis might be better suited to analyzing subalternity in the global North while working to undermine the metonymy that essentializes the relationship between subaltern subjectivities and slums of the global South.

Subaltern urbanism: from spatial metonymy to urban mobility

Through "accounts of the slum as a terrain of habitation, livelihood, and politics" (Roy 2011, 224), subaltern urbanism often pits itself against dystopian visions of slums, a recent example being the film Slumdog Millionaire. However, subaltern urbanism often creates a sort of 'poverty pornography', wherein "subaltern urbanism tends to remain bound to the study of spaces of poverty, of essential forms of popular agency, of the habitus of the dispossessed, of the entrepreneurialism of self-organizing economies" (Roy 2011, 221). It is this connection that between certain types of subaltern space and subaltern subjectivity that Roy seeks to disrupt through the introduction of four (admittedly borrowed) analytic concepts: peripheries, urban informality, zones of exception, and gray spaces. Yet, through her definition of subalternity based in large part on Spivak's definitions, Roy's deductive analysis also reinforces a broader metonymy between subaltern urbanism and the global South. A deductive analysis that may indeed 'locate' subalternity in the global South creates two related problems. First, it likely exoticizes:

> places and peoples in the global South, while routinizing subalternity in the global North. Rather than contributing to a recuperation of agency, subaltern urbanism

could become a stigma from which megacities and their inhabitants in the global South cannot escape, while it could be misconstrued as "run-of-the-mill" urban poverty in the global North. Schindler 2014, 794

Schindler does not seek simply to "point to" subaltern urbanism in the global North but to disrupt the metonymy of the term with slums in the global South. This potentially raises awareness of its existence in the global North while also building solidarities across global North/South divides between subordinated groups. Further, it addresses the Othering that likely transpires by locating subalternity uniquely and inescapably in the global South.

Schindler acknowledges that Roy wants to destabilize the relationship between subaltern spaces and subaltern subjectivities, but critiques the way she reasserts an essentialized relationship between subalternity and the global South. As discussed elsewhere, this assumed or suggested "closeness" of the global North and 'global cities' to global capital may be misleading (Roy 2010; Sullivan 2013), yet Roy and others imply that subalternity is locatable in certain spaces--notably the global South or former colonized spaces. Schindler characterizes Roy's deductive logic as such: Slums are a type of subaltern space that exist in megacities in the global South, thus subaltern spaces exist in megacities (Schindler 2014). Instead, says Schindler, an inductive analysis would start by asking where subaltern space could be rather than limiting it to certain preconceived spaces/relationships which one then either confirms subalternity or not.

Schindler identifies three potential advantages of an inductive methodology in studies of subaltern urbanism which work to extend and sharpen Roy's efforts to break the spatial essentialism of subaltern urbanism. Firstly, it allows researcher to engage with spaces that are not recognizably or typically subaltern. This also allows for the existence of, in Schindler's words, *partially subaltern spaces*. If a space can be partially subaltern, this opens up room for the mobility of subaltern subjectivities and spaces—a transformative, mobile, fluid, or relational subalternity. Though not cited directly, this resonates with Florencia Mallon's conceptualization of the subaltern in that "most subalterns are both dominated and dominating subjects, depending on the circumstances or location in which we encounter them." (Mallon 1994, 1511). Finally, though neither

inherently good nor bad, analyses of subaltern spaces can change the relationship of research participants to subaltern spaces and relationships of domination.

Writing against a deductive methodology, Schindler's analysis shares much with Robinson's advocacy for an ontology of "ordinary cities" (2006) which suggests the radical potential of comparisons between supposedly highly dissimilar places. Robinson (2016) analyzes how categorizations of cities through modernist and developmentalist epistemologies creates hierarchies with 'global cities' at the top, along with cities in the 'first world', 'Western', or those in the global North. She uses the concept of 'ordinary cities' to advocate for studying a broader range of urban spaces while rejecting the universality of experience (Robinson 2016). Though Schindler and Robinson's analysis is considerably different, they both question existing analytical categories to advocate against scholars "partition[ing] the world into separate spheres according to their own particular areas of expertise" (Dick and Rimmer 1998, 2319-20 in Robinson 2006, 62). In this way, Schindler and Robinson do not ascribe essential differences between for example, the global North and South while working towards a more complex but ultimately more helpful analysis of urban spaces and the complexity of lived experience.

This complexity has been acknowledged elsewhere in writings that are generally grouped under 'postcolonial' studies. For example, categorical, binary, sedentarist, capital-centric, and state-centric ontologies have been critiqued both implicitly and explicitly elsewhere by such authors as Frantz Fanon, Paul Gilroy, and Gloria Anzaldúa. In these works, mobility and migration are associated with subalternity and resistance rather than as a process which often aligns migrants with capitalism or other hegemonic relationships/ideologies. Yet in Spivak's quote above regarding economic migrants (and who is ever and *only* an economic migrant?), migration towards the global North suggests an ideological alignment with extractive, predatory, and exploitative relations with the global South. This has the problematic result of possibly ignoring or even denying the ways in which migration might bring about the condition of subalternity. Again reiterating the relational understanding of subalternity and its connection to migration, Maycock asserts that migrants may therefore be "hegemonic at home and subaltern abroad" (2015).

Beyond the significant socio-spatial material and imagined mobilities involved in the act of international migration, other more quotidian, numerous, and banal mobilities are also curiously absent in Roy's categories of analysis. This is a significant absence in that Cresswell has noted that "[a] central theme of the emerging nomadic metaphysics is the equation that links mobility to forms of subaltern power" (Cresswell 2006, 46). For example, in a recent analysis of the production of subalternity through the regulation of motorcycle taxis in Guangzhou, Qian notes that taxi drivers "understand the outlawing of motorcycle mobility as the urban elite's endeavor to impose hegemonic spatiality upon urban spaces by excluding marginal groups" (2016, 44). This imposition is expressed in many different forms, as physical mobility is related to social mobility, each of which have emotional dimensions (Cresswell 2010).

Further connecting socio-spatial mobilities of migrant communities to issues of subalternity in an analysis of "Caribbean" dollar cabs[24] in Brooklyn, Best (2016) highlights how the migration of Caribbean-style cabs to New York boroughs from the global South beginning in the mid-1960s and intensifying under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), drastically shaped the mobility of working-class black people who found themselves to be abandoned by capital in inner-city ghettos (McKittrick 2006, 58). This observation lays bare the problematic categorization of postcolonial spaces "within" the global South by demonstrating how postcolonial practices are exported, survive, and are adapted in the global North. It also demonstrates how critically analyzing and critiquing the supposed binary between the global North and South might lead to better understandings of the mutual imbrication of postcolonial experiences, so-called "global" circuits of capital, and subaltern urbanism.

The analysis at hand considers how the mobilities of Latina/o migrants' are created, inhabited, and practiced in East Boston. It finds that mobilities figure centrally in participants' subordination, marginalization, and exclusion. It also finds a dialectic relationship between their and other objects' mobilities and the reproduction of subaltern spaces. For example, the first section analyzes how the mobilities of petroleum commodities work to create peripheral zones, and therefore subaltern spaces. The

[24] Dollar cabs generally work outside of formal systems of licensure and are used in large part by Caribbean migrants in New York.

following two sections analyze the mobilities of participants' to reconsider the category of 'gray spaces' utilized by Roy. These analyses question how we might recast the metonymy of subaltern urbanism and certain types of postcolonial spaces so that they do not further reproduce subaltern spaces and subjectivities in the global North without question. This work therefore uses a mobilities framework to push Roy's concepts of gray spaces and peripheries beyond their sedentarist logics to consider how mobility might change or recast the use and configuration of subaltern urbanism.

The Neighborhood of East Boston and its residents

East Boston, a neighborhood of Boston, MA abuts Logan International Airport and is comprised of Eagle Hill, Orient Heights, and Jeffries Point (see Figure 1). The neighborhood is well-connected to the city by subway and bus services, and there are two auto tunnels—Sumner and Williams—that connect East Boston to downtown. Though there is a walkable bridge to Chelsea, there is no pedestrian pathway or bridge to Boston proper. East Boston is a mostly residential area though it has remnants of industrial activity along the bay, light industry on the north side, and is the site of the Logan International Airport.

The location of the airport and other factors have generated the growth of fuel storage in the area, which is discussed in the first empirical portion of this paper by Maria. Sunoco Logistics is located within East Boston and consists of about 20 large fuel storage tanks, while Irving Oil Terminals, Commonwealth Fuel Corporation, and Global Petroleum located in Revere and Chelsea increase the total of fuel storage tanks in the area to around 85.

While there are numerous small business and a centrally located supermarket, most houses and rental apartments are located within a very short walking distance of a small neighborhood *bodega* (grocer). The neighborhood is therefore reasonably self-sufficient regarding the items necessary to daily life.

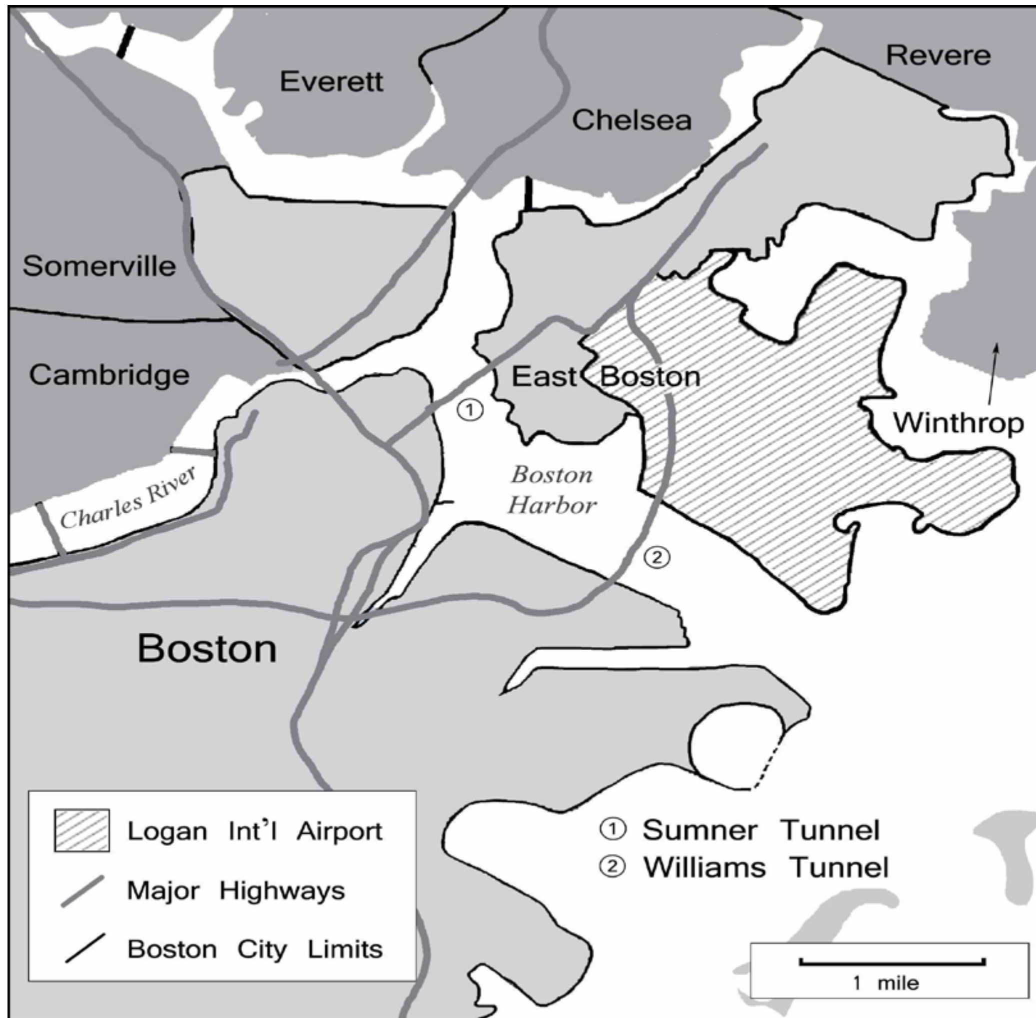

Figure 1: East Boston in context. Map by author.

East Boston is a majority Latina/o neighborhood of Boston, MA. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of Latina/os living in East Boston (Table 1) tripled, superseding Italian-Americans as the largest group in the neighborhood. Unlike most other Latin American neighborhoods in Boston that are home to large numbers of Puerto Rican residents, East Boston is one of the more diverse Latin American communities in Boston; most Spanish-speaking immigrants in East Boston are from El Salvador, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Guatemala (Lima *et al*., 2009). Estimates of the number of unauthorized immigrants are only available at the state level, and in 2010 it was estimated to be around 160,000[25] (Passel *et al.* 2011).

[25] The number of unauthorized immigrants in a given area is notoriously hard to estimate.

The two largest numbers of migrant residents hail from El Salvador and Colombia which suggest quite dissimilar backgrounds. For example, Colombians have double the rate of naturalization (around 50%) of Salvadorans. Though Colombians may have fled violence as well, many Salvadorans arrived in the US during the 1980s and 1990s as a result of civil war and had access to Temporary Protected Status (TPS) which, for a limited time, guarantees right to residence and ability to apply for work authorization.

Research methods

The research draws on twelve months of qualitative research during 2012 and 2013 conducted in East Boston. During this time, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 27 Latina/o immigrants living in East Boston, 11 photo-elicitation interviews, and casual conversations with more than 50 locals which including both immigrants and non-immigrants. I also collected data during participant observation at local festivals, protests, church masses, parades, and other events. The interviews were conducted in both Spanish and English without the aid of an interpreter, and the translations are my own[26]. I had close contact with about six people (Maria and Felix from Colombia and Sonia, Prospero, Flor, and Pedro from El Salvador) with whom I would meet for dinners, conversations in parks, or to go on varied excursions in the city.

I transcribed all interviews and performed axial coding on the transcripts. Axial coding, or the qualitative categorization and interpretation of materials (Cope 2010; Crabtree and Miller 1999), was chosen because it aids in the identification of general patterns, the consideration and distillation of relationships between patterns, and resorting/categorization of different patterns in between research participants' observations (Watson and Till 2009). In the research at hand, initial patterns were broad and included constraints on mobility, the body, public transportation, family, leisure, racism, work, the law, encounters, walking, automobiles, and enjoyment. The following considers some aspects of bodily mobilities as well as the mobilities of certain objects to consider the production and practices of subaltern urbanisms in East Boston.

[26] To preserve space, interviews here are presented in English only.

The periphery and peripatetic petroleum

Peripheries do not simply exist on the edge of urban space (Simone 2010 in Roy 2011), nor do they implicitly suggest an "outside" or an "edge" to cities that may denote a transition to a rural area or urban space that is supposedly marginal to capital or urban space. In Simone and Roy's use, it is a multivalent concept that helps to consider how the so-called excluded exert agency while it also "troubles, disrupts, and expands the realm of subaltern urbanism" (Roy 2011, 232). It does so by breaking with "ontological and topological understandings of subalternity" (*ibid*. 231). For example, it is applied to address the "urban orientalism" of studies such as Mike Davis's Planet of Slums. Davis's work reinforces binaries that smooth over and erase the multiple connections and dependencies between formal and informal (peripheral) urban space while also discursively producing slums which are to be ostensibly cleared, renovated, and/or destroyed (Angotti 2006, Roy 2011, Varsanyi 2000). By focusing on peripheries, Roy challenges the representations of peripheries as disconnected or displaced spaces, yet avoids discussing how existing (dis)connections and flows between peripheral and other spaces work to reproduce their subalternity.

The notion of being peripheral emerged during conversations I had with some of the participants if not directly, then as a description of being marginalized or of being in a place that was often ignored both socially and politically—especially by those in Boston proper. For example, those who I met outside the neighborhood during the interview and since indicated that they had never visited East Boston nor did they plan too; it seemed to be 'off the map' of their urban imaginaries. It was almost the converse with those who lived in East Boston when they visited the downtown area. Speaking to these feelings while travelling to the downtown area, Maria said that:

> *No puedas mover como quieres. No puedas porque... Tu vas downtown? Toda la gente es tan elegante. Y tu pasas a nada, tu eres como una cucaracha[…] Porque? Porque van tan elegantes... No ir downtown más—oh, yo abro la puerta para las personas. Oh! They said, "Thank you, thank you." Y yo voy por atrás, para ver si abren la puerta para mí y… [risas], no abren la puerta para mí. Y que pasa al mundo?*

You can't move however you want to. You can't because… Do you go downtown? Everybody is so elegant. And you're like nothing, you're like a cockroach. Why? Because they are so elegant… They pass by… I don't go downtown anymore. Oh, I open the door for people—Oh! They say, "Thank you, thank you." And I'm behind them, to see if they open the door for me and [laughs], they don't open the door for me. And what's happened to the world?

The ways in which the periphery is formed then is not a bounded locational space; social relations beyond the periphery impact the social space of the periphery. Thus, those who are perceived to belong to peripheral spaces are still treated as such while not in the periphery itself, while those from 'outside' the periphery rarely travel or even think about conditions within it. Thus wanderings both influence and curtail people's peripatetic mobilities between the two for enjoyment, interest, or for curiosity. Yet the periphery and the socio-spatial mobilities of its sometimes subaltern subjects seemed to be created from the ways in which petroleum commodities travelled through, remained in, and were transformed in peripheral space.

During our second meeting in a photo interview at the local library, Maria showed me a picture of the sidewalk in front of her apartment building. She discussed how she feared walking around the area because of the frightening dogs that lined her street, barking at her from behind wobbly chain-link fences. She often changed her route to avoid the dogs, walking in large part through the expansive parking lot of Suffolk Downs. This separated her from other pedestrians which made her feel vulnerable, yet it also put her in closer proximity to the petroleum storage tanks of Irving Oil Co. on the northern border of East Boston. Regarding these tanks visible in the horizon of her photograph she said:

Esos son como los, tanques, y no sé qué tienen allí, no si que es… gas… I don't know. Es todo enfrente de los buildings… Si hay una explosión o algo, esto va a ser una locura. Toda la gente va a morir. Incluso si no explotan, es probable que hay fuga de químicos que pueden causar enfermedades.

These are like tanks, and I don't know what they have there, not if it's... gas.... I don't know. It's all in front of the buildings... If there is an explosion or something, it's going to be a disaster. All of the people will die[...] Even if they don't explode, they probably will leak chemicals that can cause disease.

Similar to Maria, a group entering into Suffolk Downs for *FestiLatino* on July 21st to mark Colombia's Independence Day (7/20) commented on the tanks as we waited in line. Of the four people discussing the tanks, no one was certain about their contents, but jokes were made that suggested they believed an explosion was a likely event.

In addition to the constant worry imposed by the tanks, Maria's thoughts on health and disease point toward the possibilities of a slower catastrophe. The mobilities of the ethanol, gasoline, and jet fuel moving in and out of ships, the storage of petrochemicals in East Boston, and their routes through Eastie create their own set of concerns that weave through every part of her and her neighbors' lives. Sheller and Urry recognized this in relation to the sociotechnical systems of automobilities and their relation to the flows of all types of petroleum commodities, stating that (auto)mobilities are "interconnected with other mobile systems that organise flows of information, population, petroleum oil, risks and disasters, images and dreams" (2006, 209). Thus, these mobilities touch upon multiple aspects of private, personal, imagined, and material life. For example, Maria noted that her daily walk up and down the street is tinged ominously by the possibility of either a quick or chronic disaster—physiological or environmental—represented and affected by the stout white storage containers.

Yet a focus on how these peripheries are produced through subaltern urbanisms cannot but note their *proximity* rather than an imagined, discursive, and/or ultimately misleading indication of "distance" to the global circuits of capital. These urbanisms are created by the increased mobility, concentration, and literal combustion of capital that in part marginalizes practices and life-worlds within these peripheries. There remain many on the ground located next to the toxic substances used to fuel the air travel industry.

Possibly the most striking example of this collapse of distance between "periphery" and "global circuits of capital" that is often implied through deductive studies such as Roy's might be illustrated by the jets arriving and departing from Logan Airport (*Figure 1*). In 2013, The Department of Public Health released, after 14 years, a

highly anticipated report that details the links between the airport and "increases in chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases in nearby residents and increased rates of asthma in children" (Lynds 2014, np.). Others raise concerns about higher rates of lung cancer and multiple sclerosis due to Massport's "leniency for decades regarding residents" (Lynds 2010). These pollutants will clearly have impacts upon the lives of East Boston residents, upon their bodily mobilities, and upon their lifespan. Speaking to more quotidian concerns, the airport and traffic have other impacts upon the participants' mobilities, as they create spaces which are understood and performed as peripheral in relation to the rest of Boston. One way this occurs is through political engagement which will often further marginalize those most vulnerable to the impacts of industrial waste.

Though some in the area communities including East Boston are aware of the potential hazardous conditions surrounding petrochemical transport and storage in the area and have been successful at denying access to a proposed ethanol train (Lynds 2012, 2013), many immigrants are likely excluded from these conversations. Though migrants in the US have been integral contributors to social movements that focus on political participation[27] (Portes *et al.* 2007) and there are dynamic changes in transnational political spaces that suggest participation at many different "scales" and spaces of society (Smith 2007), there are still substantial barriers to immigrant political participation.[28] These barriers include language, legal status, economic resources, education, and time constraints, all of which are exacerbated by precarious and exploitative labor conditions. These barriers pose serious threats to democratic politics due to the exclusion of many living in the area while their voices are not recognized as citizens (Varsanyi 2006). This example then demonstrates that 'nearness' to global circuits of capital in the form of parcel and passenger air travel tells us nothing about the peripheral and gray spaces created in tangential spaces.

Residents are literally passed over minute-by-minute by what amounts to more than 30 million passengers and more than 500 million pounds of air cargo annually (Massport 2015). Yet whether these migrants benefit from, are "beguiled" by, or actively

[27] Such participation includes actions like the 'Day Without an Immigrant' mobilization or the 'No Papers No Fear Ride for Justice' group which organized the Undocubus project, sending 'undocumented' delegates to the Democratic National Convention in 2012.
[28] For a more in-depth discussion of immigrants and social movements, see Alba and Nee 1997.

and intentionally reproduce inequalities (and capitalism) more so than those in the "global South" is questionable. Indeed, migration and the ability of migrants to find work may indicate that capitalism is 'functioning', but whether or not migrants identify with capitalism as ideology, practice, or outcome is clearly uncertain. The mobility of things such as hazardous materials may create peripheral spaces which in turn are vacated by those who have the socio-economic means to do so. If migrants are those that fill this "residential vacuum", the possibility of creating a disenfranchised community in a peripheral space is very real. In the process, they may become unable to leave the neighborhood or affect change via traditional political conduits. In other words, the creation of peripheries is intimately connected to that of gray spaces. However, these are created through the mobility of certain types of capital that also suggest a very close spatial proximity to global and local circuits of capital.

Voyagers of gray spaces: unauthorized affects in East Boston

Gray spaces are found most often where the "residents of contemporary cities [are] confined to inferior citizenship status… [and] are regarded as unrecognized, illegal, temporary or severely marginalized residents in the urban regions in which they live and work" (Yiftachel 2015, 730). These "assemblages of bodies, groups, developments and transactions… are thus positioned between the "lightness" of full membership, recognition, permissibility and safety, and the "darkness" of exclusion, denial, demolition, eviction or death" (Yiftachel 2015, 731). In the following, I first outline how East Boston might be considered a gray space due to citizenship and immigrant policing practices that target migrants. Finally, I discuss how these spaces might impact the bodily affects of the study participants' bodily mobilities as well as other *inautorizados* living in East Boston.

There is a considerable unauthorized population in East Boston, and these have been targeted in both raids based on the Secure Communities database as well as raids targeting the violent international street gang, MS-13, where, most recently, 56 individuals were arrested in Greater Boston in January of 2016 (Valencia and Sachetti 2016; MyFoxBoston.com 2012). Many of those targeted by Secure Communities are not criminals, and deported because of their legal status. Yet for most in the neighborhood, life goes on under the considerable scrutiny of the police. For example, the main two

metro stations have 24/7 police presence, and though they seldom intervene in interrupting the flows subway riders entering and leaving the neighborhood, they are a powerful reminder of surveillance and suspicion. While some interviewees did express concern about run-ins with police officers, many others did not bring up the issue of police. Still others expressed admiration and respect for them in their roles against gangs in the area. The relationship migrants had with police was complex and multifaceted. Yet, the police were a reminder to many participants that they inhabited a "gray space" wherein they could not work or reside legally in the US. Yet surveillance and scrutiny was not limited to the police, but extended to other community members as Marcos demonstrates from his observations about living a life *inautorizado*.

Turning to a photo showing a scene of people gathered on a median, Marcos remarked that he took it because he wanted to describe what he saw as a difference between how "undocumented" people look in a photograph and those who were legal migrants. I asked him how their ways of being in the street were different. He replied:

> *La manera de que le anda aquí, caminando—yo reconozco. Yo puedo—no será cien por ciento, pero yo por lo menos sí. Quien es quien, porque ya cuando uno anda en un nivel legal, ya uno anda por, como un nivel en otras cosas. El otro parece, como está allí, de repente de cansando en su día de trabajo, lo que sea pero… pero hay manera de cansar[…] No sé porque. Yo conozco, yo… puedo decir, por ejemplo, mira esa persona se nota que no tiene papeles, o ese persona se nota que sí, tiene papeles.*
>
> *The manner in which they walk here, their gait—I recognize it. I can—it won't be a hundred percent, but I can for the most part. Who is who, because when someone walks at a legal level, they walk for, like at that level in other ways. The other thing seems, how it is here, suddenly tired from his day of work, or whatever but… but there is a way being weary[…] I don't know why. I know, I can say for example, look at this person and note that he doesn't have papers, or this person and note that yes, they have papers.*

The certainty with which Marcos said he could spot unauthorized immigrants is striking. His observations sit in stark contrast to possibilities of "passing" for a

documented immigrant wherein by "not drawing attention and concealing any signs of being undocumented – not doing or saying anything except what is expected and normal – it is possible to pass for a person with a right to place" (Sigvardsdotter 2013, 532). Here, Marcos' observation suggests that appearing "unauthorized" is not simply the result of how people look—likely understood through skin color, the state of repair and type of clothes they wear, or other visual/symbolic material—but is also a function of *affect.* Thus, the bodily affect of 'being' *inautorizado* might point to demanding physical labor, the mental trauma of living *inautorizado*, the attempts to remain unnoticed, and multiple other factors. Juan, also an undocumented immigrant, echoed these sentiments when he said the following: "So, you always walk carefully, right? And you always have this caution, so things [fights and unwanted encounters] don't happen."

Part of what makes Marcos' declaration so haunting is the certainty with which he assumes an ability to spot a person with unauthorized status. It speaks to the clarity of vision that is presupposed in racializing and racist profiling enabled by multiple laws and policies and manifest through police practices such as Secure Communities, 287(g) often (but not exclusively) enforced by Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

However, Juan's comments point out that unauthorized immigrant*s* are coerced into living a life that often imposes (through labor requirements, housing conditions, racist attitudes and actions, access to food, *etc*.) a radically different way of *moving*. We may therefore miss something important to simply throw out the affective aspects of living *inautorizado* as racist or wrong-headed. This is because affect is "a form of embodied cognition or thinking, a processual engagement with the world that is "often indirect and non-reflective, but [that constitutes] thinking all the same" (Thrift 2004, p.60 in Conradson and McKay 2007, 170). Thus, in addition to considering "the potential variation in local interpretations of affective states" (*ibid.* 170), it is also important to recognize how local affective states are produced through a range of intersecting fields—local interpretations of emotion, geo-politics, and local mobility regimes. Though the micro-mobilities of the body are important, connections in research are most readily made to living bodies. Complicating a sharp demarcation between the living and the dead, Maria discusses how the *afterlife* of her body impacts her life in the present while

suggesting that she is subaltern to an extreme degree due to her inability to control her bodily mobility in the present or *post mortem*.

Crossing the river: the after-life and migrant mobilities

Writing at the confluence of human mobility and movement, Maruška Svašek appeals to academics to consider how migration studies might (re)produce the figure of the immigrant as other, as exotic, as a special case (2013). Yet, migrants and migration do raise significant practical and theoretical considerations. Migration laws, the boundary-making practices of citizenship, attitudes toward immigrants in the host country, and many other factors create different possibilities for migrants and citizens. Some of these possibilities were outlined above and, much like race, subaltern mobilities are socially constructed. They also point to changing relationships with our own bodily mobilities, the mobilities of ideas (such as postcolonial theory), or the mobilities of objects. In this last section, I discuss a few bodily mobilities related by the migrant participants in this study as they are related to transport. It closes with a discussion about the post-mortem concerns Maria had with her own body.

There were many distressing stories expressed by the study participants as well as many uplifting ones. Some pointed to the mundanity of their everyday mobilities such as Juan who said that when going to work, "*the bus I took left me in a place. From there I had to walk—many times more than an hour. Because there's not another way, a lot of the time workers don't use the train*." Other participants described the comfortable, accessible, and even sociable aspects of transportation where they even got to know people. Interestingly, these observations were not easily separable by legal status, but getting around is especially difficult for those who are undocumented who often must accept work in out-of-the-way spaces far from the pathways of public transit. Further, using a combination of a bicycle and the metro was often impossible as well as bikes were prohibited on the metro hub of the Green Line and allowed only at non-peak (read: rush hour) hours on the other lines.

Some participants pointed to bizarre aspects of migrant mobility and daily life in the global North. Mariella, for example, was a grandmother from Colombia who was able to secure her residence permit in the US to take care of her unauthorized daughter's authorized son. Without fear of deportation, she was, unlike her daughter, able to take the

boy to the doctor, to other appointments, or other places the mother felt uncomfortable going. Pedro talked about his fears to get a restraining order against his former partner who, though at the time was in jail, was sending him threatening messages in the mail.

Yet fear was not as immobilizing (especially for the undocumented) as I would have thought. For example, Felix and his wife with their newborn son felt little doubt that they would avoid detection by the police even though they were unauthorized and both had to drive to work which increased their chances of being apprehended through a routine traffic stop. Their child was a Colombian citizen due to Colombia's *jus sanguinis* policy, but family detention in the US is a disturbing prospect if they were apprehended. Yet deportation was not the only way that the US's strict immigration regime affected participants' movements across borders.

During our last meeting together[29], Maria discussed post-mortem concerns about her body expressed through immigration, citizenship, and border-crossing, highlighting once again the ways in which nationhood is projected onto the body of the native/migrant and especially women. She was exasperated about her inability to return home to her brother's funeral. She related that he had recently been murdered during work in Colombia, and her mother had asked her if she could come home for his funeral. She said that, although she had realized that she was unable to return to Colombia at other times during her life—a niece's wedding for example—it was at this moment where she revealed she was dumbfounded by her inability to travel home for her brother's death. Though she had a son in America who was in high school and an American partner, she could not risk a trip home as it would likely mean that she would never be allowed re-entry into the US.

If this was the end of the story, it would be another heartbreaking repetition of a family separated not only by thousands of miles but impassable restrictions and regulations that thwart the movement of people across national borders. It would be another story of a woman in her early twenties migrating to find work to support her family, facing great adversity, and raising a wonderful kid while being afraid to attend

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[29] I did not record the meeting as they had turned more conversational; I felt the presence of the recorder would violate what seemed to be a growing friendship and make it appear as if I had only instrumental concerns, which was not the case.

PTA meetings at her school because others view her with suspicion and malice. It would reflect some of the fears of Sonia who was afraid to leave her American husband for seven years because she did not know what protections she had or how the courts would treat her. It would recall some of the anxieties of Juan who faced mistreatment and difficulties at work because he was made readily exploitable by his immigration status and afforded ostensibly worthless protection under labor laws that would sacrifice his anonymity as an unauthorized migrant. Maria's story, however, goes farther, and compels us to consider the after-life of her body.

Maria said that "a few days after her brother's funeral, her mom [called her again and] asked if *she* [Maria] died, if her body would come back to Colombia…" She paused, her eyes grew distant. As patrons ordered their coffee behind her, a few tears fell. "No," she replied as her focus became distant and detached. After a moment, she regained focus and we began to talk about what *would* happen if she died in the US. Would she be able to repatriate her body? Would her partner have some control over what happened to her mortal remains if their relationship was not officially recognized? Even if her body *were* able to be claimed by her partner, it's doubtful that they would have the money to repatriate her remains. The worst scenario it seemed was to be buried in a mass grave by the state—a pauper's burial. Yet this also signaled to Maria that she would likely *never* return home *in life*. The finality of the realization drove home the reality that she may never again be with her family, see people in the neighborhood that she grew up in, or visit her old haunts.

Maria's words point to the personal importance of bodily mobilities even after death. The melancholic realization strongly impacted the present; if unable to repatriate her remains, what hope is there to return while living? What would it mean for her to never see her family again? To not comfort her mother at her brother's funeral? This reality for Maria (and for many other unauthorized migrants) suggests that some aspects of subalternity are likely exaggerated by migration. Perhaps subalternity is heightened in part due to the growing fortification of the global North; here subalternity is dependent upon her erasure and paradoxical inclusion in the 'archive' of undocumented migration and studies such as the one at hand that expand ethnographic inclusion.

Who the hell wants to protect subalternity? Towards a conclusion

This paper utilized a mobilities framework to consider the reproduction of subaltern spaces and subaltern subjects through interviews with Latina/o migrants living in East Boston. It contributes an inductive analysis to the study of subaltern urbanism which extends Ananya Roy's concepts of gray spaces and peripheries past their sedentarist logics while extending Schindler's consideration of subalternity to migrant communities in the global North. To return to brief discussions of how mobility factors into the production of subalternity in the global North, it is helpful touch upon how Maria's mobilities both affected and impacted the production of the 'periphery' as a space of subalternity.

In many ways, Maria is being forced to stay in the US. Yet her mobility within the US is further arrested and regulated of her living both within subaltern space and often *as* a subaltern by virtue of her citizenship status, her inability to move as she might in a context with lessened or absent prejudice towards migrants, or her scarce access to the welfare state (even though she has some constitutional protections as a result of simply being in the US). Additionally, in many ways she does not hope for 'justice under capitalism'. She has no obvious aspirations for work or her social life improving dramatically. In many ways she has been further exploited especially through marginal employment by *injustice under capitalism* that is concurrent with her migration to the global North. Although I'm not sure if I would have considered her 'subaltern' in her home country of Colombia, it is clear that she does not directly reap the benefits of her move to the US. Yet, importantly, she does see these benefits as accruing to her son and thus remains in the US despite her subalternity, exclusion, and inability to increase *her* upward socioeconomic mobility. Thus, for Maria, unauthorized migration performs a double-movement that multiply negates her socioeconomic status while perhaps increasing the chances for her son to have a better socioeconomic position than herself. This translates to multiple different types of immobilities and exclusions in her life here.

Interviews with Marcos and Juan suggest that the gray spaces described by Yiftachel as places where people "are confined to inferior citizenship status" includes the ways in which this status changes the affect of those moving within and through these spaces. The surveillance of unauthorized migrants' affect does not stop with the police or

simply include the surveillance of the state: members of these communities also think that they are able to tell who is undocumented, and report that "you always walk carefully" while unauthorized. Yet Juan works outside the 'peripheral' or 'gray spaces' of East Boston and his affect is likely reproduced throughout his working day. Thus gray spaces are, at least in some part, social relations that can extend to other spaces, thus blurring the boundaries between 'gray' spaces and otherwise.

Another clear example of this extension of 'gray spaces' past a metonymy with certain 'types' of fixed space is that which results from such laws as SB 1070.[30] For example, if the observer is a representative of state, such as the police, the object of that gaze is an often racially profiled Other. Besides violating a host of constitutional protections for migrants, it also has the effect of dismantling rights for citizens (which includes naturalized migrants) as well. The extension of 'gray spaces' is thus performed through the socio-spatial mobilities of 'unauthorized' migrants as they move, shape, and are shaped by a number of overlapping and relational spaces. Yet Marcos is not saying exactly what critics of SB1070 have claimed regarding racial profiling. He is not advocating for a recognition of some people's so-called ability to spot unauthorized migrants from their affective mobilities. Rather, he is pointing to the observation that living a life *inautorizado* likely has harmful and cascading effects on people's everyday mobilities that are often expressed through bodily affect. Thus, "gray spaces" might be thought to congeal around the limits of citizenship to change the ways that migrants are mobile in the city.

As alluded to above, the intersection of subalternity with citizenship forestalls not only bodily mobilities and transforms affect during life but also interacts with postmortem aspects of subaltern urbanism. Thus, as she projects into their future, Maria's death weighs heavily on her in the present, impacting what she thought may be possible, probable, or unlikely regarding not only her body's after-life but her immediate and potential life.

Though perhaps interesting, what is the broader purpose of including these voices in the archive/ethnography, of upholding the representation of the so-called subaltern?

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[30] SB 1070 is the 'papers please' law that allows local law enforcement to check the migration status of 'suspect' individuals. It has been heavily criticized for blatant and overt racial profiling.

What does the addition of these voices do to dismantle subaltern urbanism, much less subalternity subjectivities and subaltern spaces? To return again to Spivak, we might find a partial answer in her question: "Who the hell wants to[…] protect subalternity?" (de Kock 1992, 46). In her view, a critical scholar's work is not to museumize the subaltern, to preserve their words for posterity, it is to work against subalternity possibly by "bringing it into speech" (*ibid.*). Taking inspiration from these words, this article works against essentializing and normative perspectives of subalternity by pointing to its existence in the global North—a place that some argue it cannot be. As such, this research seeks to break down the boundaries of comparative urbanism by once again pointing to the fictions of the global North and South as somehow "nearer" or "farther" from the logics of global capital. Conversely, this dispels with the often implied assertion that subalternity is present in certain 'types' of places which are often marked by imaginations of abject poverty, an extremely diminished presence of the state, and (post)colonial relations that work to disenfranchise those with little to no socioeconomic mobility.

In this way, subalternity is utilized here as a way to instrumentalize the researcher "in order to go into learning from below; how in fact to think about a polity willing social justice" (Spivak 2014, 10). Thus, it is also an attempt to bring in aspects of life that consider other ways in which subalternity is relationally constructed and experienced through peoples' and objects' actual mobilities as they traverse and inhabit both peripheries and gray spaces in the global North. In this way, I instrumentalized my research to consider not only how subaltern spaces and subjectivities were formed, but worked towards a better understanding as to how these are mobile processes. Thus, this research points to how space is moved through, utilized, accessed, and denied to the participants of this study that make them aware of, consider, and possibly resist, the reproduction of subaltern spaces and places.

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Chapter Five: Summary and final thoughts

A broad overview

In this dissertation I have analyzed the ways in which Latina/o immigrants living in East Boston expressed their socio-spatial, material and imagined mobilities in relation to their feelings of belonging and experiences of socio-spatial exclusion/inclusion. Thus, it has sought to elevate Latina/o migrant perspectives on issues that extended well beyond issues of transportation or commuting to consider broader aspects of their material and imagined mobilities—such as a walk to get groceries or imagining a journey to an unfamiliar part of town--and how these interfaced with belonging and inclusion/exclusion. Some interviewees responded with enthusiasm to the idea that 'mobility matters', and were eager to tell stories about their migration to the US. This initial interest was often helpful in that some participants heard 'mobility' and immediately began to tell their stories of the journey of international migration. Though I was interested in their more immediate mobilities 'here', I tried to channel this enthusiasm for how 'mobility matters' to their everyday life in East Boston. For example, Maria, the first interviewee, initially discussed migration, but with a little encouragement easily turned to topics such as attending church, avoiding walking down certain streets or areas, going to the grocery, or sending her son to schools outside of East Boston to receive what she saw as better educational opportunities.

The research participants' perspectives illustrated dynamic experiences of socio-spatial exclusion and exclusion with multiple effects and points of influence. For example, Rita talked about how feeling excluded due to her status as an unauthorized immigrant led her to reflect inwardly and, with her faith, be thankful for her abilities to have a job, ride a bike, and be relatively free to do what she pleased. Prospero discussed how he felt surveilled and policed by the Salvadoran community and transnational social networks he belonged to, thus making meetings such as ours somewhat difficult to manage. Further, he felt that this surveillance led him to limit the visibility of his social networks with Bostonians he saw as American. Said differently, he drastically altered where he went and with whom in Boston so that he avoided the mandatory inclusion that transnational social networks demanded of him. Feeling that his life 'in the public eye'

was being gossiped and talked about back in El Salvador and among family and friends here, he evaded the 'soft surveillance' of some of his community members.

Sometimes exclusion meant that participants, such as Pedro, felt like they could not rely on social services or public resources such as the police due to previous experiences. Thus, it might be said to be an imagined exclusion that is the result of material exclusion in the past. Exclusion was also effected by infrastructure such as bus stops and subways, the ability to make 'unnecessary trips', customs around eating food, ordering food in English to not reveal oneself as a migrant, or the presence of certain types of business and their clientele that, from Maria's perspective, made certain 'no go' spaces in the neighborhood. Participants elucidated the connection between mobility and socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion through discussions about their own *motilities*, or capacities to be mobile, the ways in which they imagined encounters might transpire, actual encounters they had, as well as how the interactions of bodies, objects, and ideas created subaltern spaces and mobilities. These often negatively impacted their health, could feed into the reproduction of an 'unauthorized affect', and transformed the ways that migrants thought about both the afterlife of their bodies as well as 'here and now'.

Chapter summary

This dissertation contributed to analyses of Latina/o migrants' experiences in the US in the mobilities literature, conceptualizations of onward migration, considerations of emotions and encounters migrants have with other city-dwellers, and debates with subaltern urbanism. It extended considerations of migrant mobilities beyond transportation, and described the dialectical relationship of motility to socio-spatial exclusion/inclusion. Further, it contributed to the inclusion of migrants' perspectives on how emotional encounters in the city impacted their daily lives as well as how they travelled or thought about travelling in the city. It also considered how these encounters fed back into participants' self-understandings of both the encounter and broader structures. Finally, it contributed an inductive analysis of subaltern urbanism in the global North to extend and refine Ananya Roy's concepts of peripheries and gray spaces through a mobilities framework. This latter work also forwards the consideration of subalternity in the global North rather than assign it to certain types of places, thus potentially being unaware or even denying the ways in which subalternity is reproduced

even in highly unequal cities in the global North. Below, I give a brief outline of each chapter to better summarize the contributions of this dissertation.

In chapter 3 I discussed the ways in which participants discussed how their experiences of onward migration and internal migration (or lack thereof) related to their motility. That is, it analyzed the ways in which moving to Boston from another city (or more) in the US seemed to often positively impact the participants' mobilities and increase feelings of belonging. I argue that onward migration had these effects through increasing the participants' *motility*, or capacities for being mobile. Motility itself is composed of access, skills, and appropriation necessary to mobility, and this chapter's main focus is the apparent rise in migrants' abilities to appropriate mobility in greater capacities due to the impacts of onward migration. Their 'mobility horizons' are broadened, they seem to gain knowledge and access regarding how mobility may be appropriated, and they expand their avenues for belonging. Migrants like Alfredo who lived for longer periods of time in Boston seemed to have less motility than those, like Rita and Maria who had moved from the west coast through one or more cities, or Rosario who had moved through North Carolina and Florida. Yet the dialectical relationship between motility and onward migration is not always beneficial. For example, Maria had traumatic experiences during both her international and internal moments of migration.

Chapter 4 discussed emotional aspects of participants' mobilities as the encountered others while being mobile in the city. Interviewees rarely emphasized the material dimensions of 'being mobile' (walking, riding a bike, or driving), yet often spoke of the emotional qualities of encounters with people and places while being 'on the move'. Participants discussed how these *moving* encounters impacted the material dimensions of their mobilities such as where they went, when, and with whom. For example, Prospero's discussion about community surveillance (mentioned directly above) impacted where he went and with whom because he wanted his mobilities to be private rather than of public interest. Participants also spoke of evocative encounters with Americans while literally on the move—in subways and on buses especially. Here, the cramped spaces of public transport led to feelings of exclusion due to Americans negative attitudes (and sometimes physical aggression/violence) towards migrants. Participants,

such as Sofia, discussed feeling terrified of places that someone from the US would likely consider benign.

Finally, chapter 4 considers a range of interconnected aspects of the production of subaltern space through concepts utilized by Ananya Roy. It analyzes the production of subaltern spaces and subjectivities in the global North through the mobilities of objects and participants. It firstly deals with how petroleum commodities in the region produce subaltern space through the negative impacts on health that it connotes. Though these spaces are indeed 'close to capitalism', this proximity does not mean that these spaces are somehow benefitting from it unquestionably. In fact, the proximity to capital cannot be taken as an indicator of benefit, harm, or subalternity--perhaps only domination. This contradicts some theories of subalternity that undertheorize the role and complexity of space.

The final two substantive sections of chapter 4 consider the production of subaltern space through the bodily mobilities of the participants. In the first section, it analyzes Marcos' comments on bodily mobility and perceived legal status. His comments on the gait of supposed unauthorized immigrants proffered that bodily affect is one way in which subaltern spaces and subjectivities are reproduced. Further, it speaks to the pervasiveness of discourses about immigrant 'illegality' and visibility. That is, Marcos—himself an unauthorized immigrant—claims a reliable ability to spot 'illegals' by the way their bodies move. This points to the importance of analyzing not only how these discourses spread, for example, through legislation such as SB1070 the 'papers please' law; research must address the effects of living 'no autorizado' in multiple moments of life—affect, psychology, etc. while avoiding the pitfalls of (re)producing stereotypes, assumptions, and discourses around 'unauthorized' migrants. This might help push forward Adey's discussion of relational mobility—the idea that certain people's mobilities can work to "entrench… the spatial imprisonment of other groups" (2010, 92). The relational mechanisms through which unauthorized immigrants' affect is shaped has been largely ignored. The final section considers a conversation I had with Maria about what would happen to her after she died. She did not know whether she would ever return to Colombia, even after life. This realization had momentous weight in that it further constrained her mobility and belonging in the present, and was a way exclusion was

effected through the after-life of the body. It also demonstrates that subalternity for migrants is complicated by these rules and regulations, indicating the need to consider the mutual production of subaltern space and subjectivities in the global North.

Final thoughts

As Elliot and Urry contend, the ways in which mobilities are controlled, shaped, and compelled has meant that mobility is “a major factor in stratifying people in late-modernity” (2010, 8-9). This research demonstrates the utility for analyzing different mobilities than simply those of transportation. Imagined and material, socio-spatial mobilities are wide ranging but interwoven aspects of daily life. Mobility itself is produced in tandem with our identities; who we are is dialectically reproduced with where and how we go to places. Where we go also relates to how we think of ourselves. This dialectical relationship therefore closely mirrors the intersectional relationship between other aspects of identity such as race, class, ability, gender, sex, *etc*. Perhaps along with race, class, gender, and other markers of identity, we need to think of how people’s mobility matters to identity.

Mobility also shapes the ways in which we connect to place (Tuan 1979; Harvey 1989; Massey 1991). More akin to Massey in this regard, this research finds that (im)mobility anchors our identities to places as much as it impedes the roots that were theorized to be pulled up by Tuan and Harvey. It therefore considers what Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013) describe as ‘mobile forms of belonging’. In their article, they questioned *how mobility (and the potential for mobility) created and reinforced certain forms of belonging* rather than focus on how things, people, and relationships *were transforming or moving*. In a similar vein, Ureta notes how “central problems associated with a precarious integration into society are reflected in the way people move through the city and the meaning that they attach to these movements” (2008, 286).

The perspective here is similar in that it lends an often overlooked analytical framework for considering *how* immigrant perspectives on belonging were formed in tandem with participants’ mobilities. Herein, the participants’ mobilities were discussed in relation to transnational imaginaries; as formative of neighborhood/local interactions; as a way to avoid surveillance; as a space-time of anxiety-producing interactions; as a method or tool by which migrants were excluded from belonging; a manner by which

certain places, situations, and people were avoided; a way to spend leisure time (or a way to get to spaces of leisure); ways in which participants increased skills, knowledge, and access; and as highly emotional affairs whose effects were far-reaching and directly impacted the participants' future mobilities. Though some of these considerations are perhaps farther afield than others, a mobilities perspective helps draw them together. In this way, it offered a thread of continuity between multiple aspects of the participants' lives. A focus on people's socio-spatial, material and imagined mobilities therefore can help researchers shuttle between seemingly disparate data, social phenomena, as well as objects and ideas. Perhaps this should be expected—in our increasingly mobile lives, perhaps a mobilities perspective is needed to better grapple with social phenomena, such as immigration, that are clearly wrapped up in the politics of mobilities.

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Appendix 1: Research Methods

This study fills a gap in knowledge concerning the experiences of East Boston's present-day immigrants by considering how these groups attempt to navigate the challenges of daily life in a turbulent period in the wake of an economic crisis, relatively high unemployment, and restrictive immigration legislation and practices. Studies over the last decade have analyzed topics ranging from the process of migration to the immigrant experience in the US including, for example, studies on anti-immigrant/anti-Latina/o attitudes and policies (Chavez 2008; Coleman 2012; Harrison and Lloyd 2011) or the increased precarity and carceralization especially of unauthorized immigrants (Arbona *et al*. 2010; Coutin 2010; Varsanyi 2008; Winders 2007). Since these studies seldom engage with migrants' perspectives, this research adds to these conversations by contributing to an analysis of socio-spatial exclusion and belonging of Latina/os living in East Boston through discussions around their everyday urban mobilities.

Due to the number of participants, there are limitations on the representativeness and generalizability of this study, but it contributes important Latina/o perspectives to migration research in the US which has focused largely (and not without justification [de Genova 2002]) on the experience of Mexican migrants (*e.g.*, Abrego 2006; Alcalde 2011; Arreola 2012; Cohen and Chavez 2013; Massey *et al*. 2002; Mirande *et al*. 2011; Napolitano Quayson 2005; Nelson and Hiemstra 2008; Skop 2006; Smith and Winders 2008; Suárez-Orozco 2008; however see, for example, Falconi and Mazzotti 2007; Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral 2000; Mahler 1995; Menjívar 2000; Torres 2006 for studies of Latina/o migrants more broadly). I conducted this research with the goal of presenting a fine-grained analysis of 'other' Latina/o [31] voices and their experiences in Boston. Conversely, I did not perform the research to generate data that would somehow be generalizable to other Latina/o groups in the US.

Research Site Description

The traditional immigrant gateway city of Boston has a complex, dynamic, and storied history of immigration. East Boston itself once was the site of an immigration

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[31] The language 'other' here is borrowed from Falconi and Mazzotti (2007) who use it to describe the important presence of Latinas/os from areas other than Mexico in the US.

station similar to, but smaller than Ellis Island. Along with substantial immigration to the area came substantial investments in transportation infrastructure, making the city a very different context various other ‘new destinations’ that immigrants have begun moving to at greater rates than ever before. Further, since Boston is a traditional immigrant gateway, there are substantial social supports for immigrant communities—East Boston is home to multiple state and private agencies which seem largely successful in providing immigrants’ language instruction, healthcare, legal services, *etc*. Yet many non-migrant residents that both I and my respondents encountered often had critical or antagonistic attitudes towards Boston’s migrant residents. Many in the area often blamed immigrants for various problems within the neighborhood, city, and in the US in general.

The neighborhood of East Boston is comprised of smaller neighborhoods such as Eagle Hill, Orient Heights, and Jeffries point, and also encompasses Logan International Airport (see *Figure 1*, below). The neighborhood is well connected to the city by subway and bus services. There is a highway that parallels the metro rail, and there are also two tunnels that connect East Boston to the larger business district downtown. One is committed to the subway, while the other, Sumner Tunnel, is restricted to autos. Small cars and trucks are charged $3.50 per trip into Boston proper. Residents of ‘Eastie’ (as the neighborhood is often called by locals) can defray costs by obtaining a resident sticker, but this can prove difficult for unauthorized immigrants who often lack the necessary documentation. There is a curious lack of a bridge to downtown Boston and thus no way for a person to pass on foot from East Boston to downtown. It is a mostly residential area, and has modest concentrations of small businesses. While there is a larger grocery here, most houses and rental apartments are located within a very short walking distance of a small neighborhood *bodega*/grocer. The neighborhood is therefore reasonably self-sufficient regarding the items necessary to daily life.

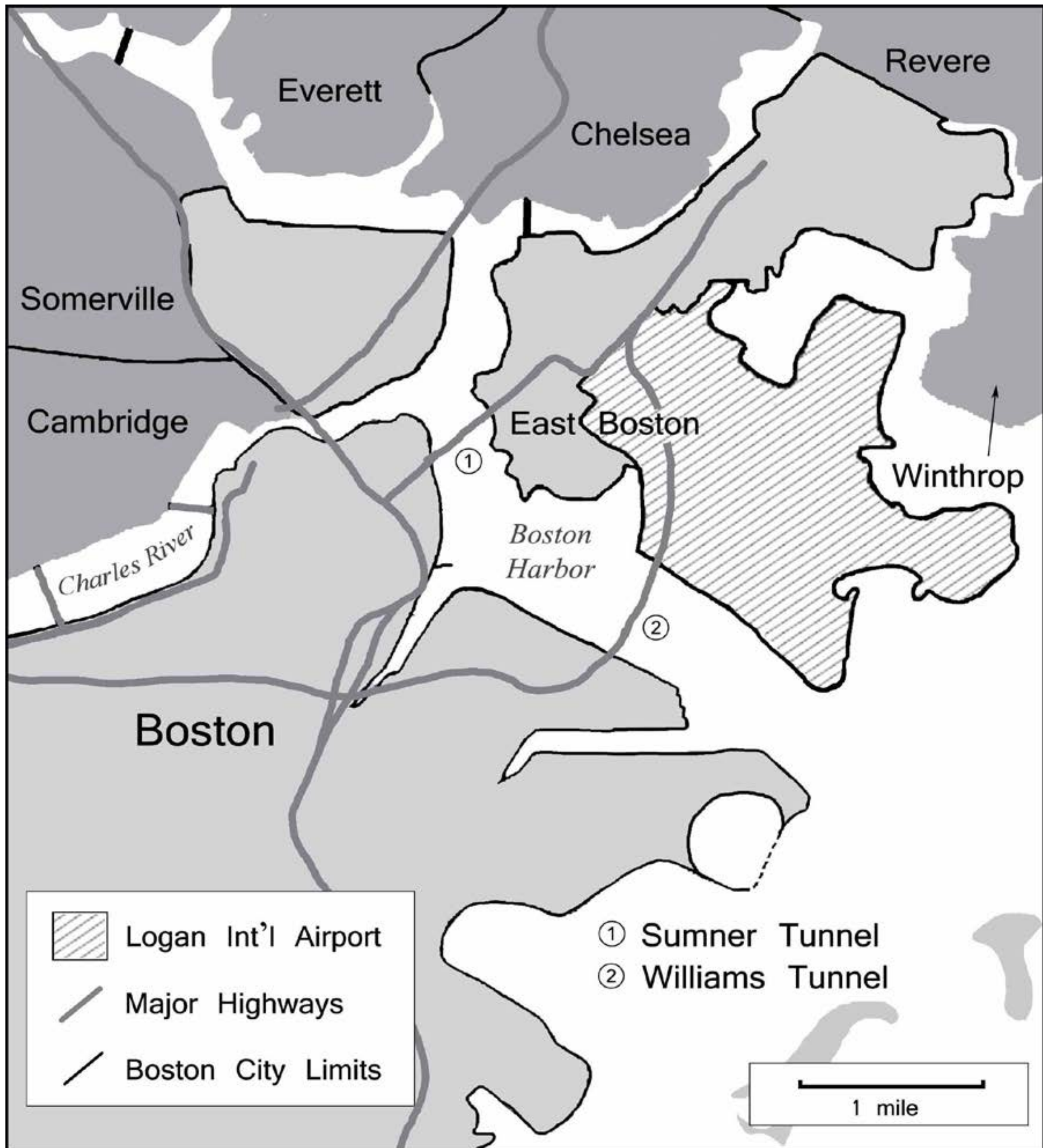

Figure 1: East Boston in context

East Boston is a majority Latina/o neighborhood of Boston, Massachusetts that has proportionately high numbers of immigrant residents respective to other neighborhoods due in part to high rates of immigration to East Boston experienced in the past 20 years. For example, between 1990 and 2000, the number of Latinas/os living in East Boston tripled, superseding Italian-Americans as the largest group in the neighborhood. In 1990, around 5,000 Latinas/os lived in East Boston, while in 2000 this number increased to over 15,000—the largest number of Latinas/os in any Boston's

neighborhoods. East Boston is currently about 50% Latina/o, but unlike most other Latin American immigrant neighborhoods in Boston that often have large numbers of Puerto Rican residents, East Boston is one of the more diverse Latin American communities in Boston. Spanish-speaking immigrants in East Boston hail from El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Guatemala (Lima *et al*. 2009). Though the rate of immigration is still positive, it has recently (and sharply) declined during the 'Great Recession'.

Salvadorans (30%) make up the largest proportion of foreign-born residents, followed by Colombians (18%), Brazilians (9%), Italians (6%), and Vietnamese (5%) (*ibid*). The two largest groups of immigrants in the neighborhood—Salvadorans and Colombians—have quite different backgrounds. For instance, Colombians have twice the rate of naturalization (around 50%) of Salvadorans. Salvadorans on the other hand often arrived in the US during the 1980s and 1990s as a result of civil war and obtained Temporary Protected Status (TPS)[32]. Salvadorans who arrived later were also sometimes granted this status due to two catastrophic earthquakes in El Salvador in 2001. *Table 1* (below) displays participants' migratory status and selected other data.

[32] Temporary Protected Status is a status that many Salvadorans have attained in past 20 years, and as such, it is an important factor when considering immigrant belonging. This is due partly to the fact that immigrants cannot apply for permanent residency while under the TPS (Bailey *et al*. 2002). Although the US has withheld the status from Colombians, Salvadorans have historically been eligible on two occasions. The first was due to civil war in El Salvador when Salvadorans were granted status from 1990 to 1992, and the second was due to two earthquakes of 2001. However, for Salvadorans, TPS is set to expire on September 9, 2015. Though this signals an end for the 'permanent temporariness' (*ibid*.) endured by Salvadorans, it may give way to more permanent exclusions and marginalized socioeconomic positions.

			Legal Status				
Country of Origin	*Total*	*Female/ Male*	*authorized*	*Unauth-orized*[33]	*TPS holders*	*n/a*	*Photo Inter-views*
El Salvador	10	5/5	2	2	3	3	5
Colombia	11	6/5	5	5	n/a	2	4
Mexico	2	1/1	2	0	n/a	0	0
Dominican Republic	2	1/1	2	0	n/a	0	0
Honduras	1	1/0	0	1	0	0	1
Venezuela	1	0/1	0	1	n/a	0	1

Table 1: Participant Overview

In Boston, Latinas/os are employed disproportionately in hotel, catering, other food services, and construction. Yet they are underrepresented in professional services, finance, real estate, and public administration—though there is parity in the care and social assistance industry and near parity in many other industries (*ibid*.). For Salvadorans, employment opportunities likely congeal around the edges of the 'formal economy' in the service economy and on day-to-day bases for manual labor; women likely hold positions in child care, cooking, housekeeping, or the informal service economy (*ibid*.). In addition to higher levels of educational attainment, Colombians have slightly higher incomes, rates of homeownership and health insurance, along with generally lower rates of poverty (Motel and Patten 2012a/b). More general trends of these two immigrant groups in the US show that while two-thirds of Colombians are foreign-born in the US (48% of which are US citizens), three-fifths of Salvadorans are foreign-born but only about one in four of these have obtained US citizenship (*ibid*.). Salvadorans

[33] Though the interviews did not inquire about immigration status, many people offered up the information when it came up in conversation; about a third of the interviewees disclosed that they were unauthorized. Most interviewees made it clear that immigration status played a large role their everyday material and imaginary mobilities. In the unauthorized column, if there is a '0', it means that there were zero people who reported being unauthorized, not that everyone was authorized.

thus have a naturalization rate of about 25% while for Colombians it approaches 50%. While these numbers likely demonstrate that Salvadorans have a more difficult time securing US citizenship, the future of Salvadorans in the US is also uncertain. Barring another extension, TPS for Salvadorans with expire in 2015 and all those with TPS will be required to return to El Salvador. However, with the continuing violence in San Salvador, their increasingly extended residencies in the US, employment, and friends and social networks established here, many residents may choose to remain even though demoted to an unauthorized status.

Phases of Research

This research consists of two distinct phases. Phase 1 lasted from August 2012-November 2012. Phase 2 lasted from March 2013-December 2013. Since the research took place in two phases, all formal interviews occurred in Phase 2. Phase 1 was therefore used to become familiar with the neighborhood, find employment and volunteer possibilities in the area, and establish contacts at events, in organizations, and through acquaintances. Combined, I completed a total of 12-months of participant observation at local festivals, protests, church masses, parades, and other events in both Phases 1 and 2; I also conducted 27 semi-structured interviews with 27 Latina/o immigrants living in East Boston and 11 photo-elicitation interviews during Phase 2. Additionally, during both phases I casually talked with more than 50 locals including both immigrants and non-immigrants. I had close contact with about four people (a man and woman from Colombia and a man and a woman from El Salvador) with whom I would meet for meals, conversations in parks, or to go on varied excursions in the city.

Recruitment

During the research, a number of significant events occurred in the neighborhood and Boston. For example, Salvadoran immigrants needed to renew their Temporary Protected Status by Sept. 9, 2013 at the Consulate in East Boston. I had met José Edgardo Alemán Molina, the consul general of El Salvador for New England, and vice consul Ena Úrsula Peña at a fund-raising party for delegates being sent by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) which I had joined in part to recruit participants for this study. The consul general kindly invited me to the Salvadoran Consulate in East Boston to recruit participants, and I went three times to present my

research to those waiting to renew their TPS after Consul Molina graciously introduced me and appealed to those waiting in line to participate in my study. I spoke to many residents about the study at an open-mic evening at the consulate in which those in attendance shared food, music, and conversation.

Though kind and seemingly receptive, I do not believe that many people became interested in the study through the consulate. Somewhat similarly, I had also met a local Colombian-born politician through a Colombian student I taught in my evening ESL course. We met up at two festivals (Colombian Independence Day celebrated on July 20th at Suffolk Downs and the Festival Salvadoreño East Boston in early August), where he introduced me to various acquaintances. Yet, these introductions did not lead to further contact. This is not to say that they were not sincere in their expression of interest in person, only that other tactics proved more useful in recruiting participants. Further, I likely would have had more success if I had secured their contact info instead of just giving them mine.

I successfully recruited at least three participants from flyers at the East Boston Neighborhood Health Center and WIC office and four students from night classes in English I taught at East Boston Harborside Community Center. I also had quite good luck through a contact I had made at Madonna Queen of the Universe Shrine. After a mass, I was approached by a woman who welcomed me to the church and we conversed about my work. She invited me to her ESL class to talk about my research interests. From her class, four additional participants completed interviews.

Surprisingly to me, most participants contacted me through flyers (Appendix 1) I handed out at the subway exits (both Maverick Square—the first stop coming from Boston proper and Airport—the second stop) and that I posted around town at the East Boston Ecumenical Council, the East Boston Public Library, bodegas, around the streets, and on electronic message boards. Potential participants contacted me via phone or email; I answered questions they may have had about the research, and then, if they showed interest, we would schedule an interview. I also had some luck meeting people at such events as the Immigrants' Rights March which took place in downtown Boston, film screenings, a concert in Piers Park (*Parque Azul*), an East Boston neighborhood festival,

and volunteering with the Bicyclists' Union at the East Boston farmers' market. I also recruited a number of participants through referrals from previous participants.

I often conducted preliminary meetings in the East Boston branch of the public library. However, after Felix, an immigrant from Colombia that often appears in the following chapters, suggested it was too formal and intimidating, I became more open to parks, coffee shops, restaurants, or occasionally at my house or theirs (more likely in the second interview after a rapport had been established). At the beginning of the interview I would explain the project in more detail and then give them a $20 voucher for Shaw's, a local supermarket, in exchange for their time. I generally wrapped up the interview after an hour of conversation and asked them if they would like to participate in a follow-up photo-elicitation interview (discussed in more detail below).

Methods

This research employed participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and photo-elicitation interviews. Below, I explain how I utilized these methods, why I chose them, and to what effect.

During an initial semi-structured interview (Appendix 2), I asked the participants about their daily life and moving around in the city—where they would go (both within and outside the neighborhood) and why, if they avoided or favored certain spaces, what kinds of leisure activities they enjoyed, what services they felt like they had access to or were excluded from, about trips they made to and from work or around Boston (or outside) for other purposes, and how they thought about mobility in general—was it even important? What did they think of when I asked them about *their* mobility? These questions sometimes led to questions *they* had regarding the interview and about terms I used or questions I asked.

I transcribed all interviews and interpreted them through axial coding—the qualitative categorization and interpretation of materials (Cope 2010; Crabtree and Miller 1999). Coding interviews helps the researcher in identifying general patterns, considering and distilling relationships between patterns, and re-sorting/categorizing different patters (Watson and Till 2009). Initial codes were broad and included constraints, the body, public transportation, family, leisure, racism, work, the law, encounters, walking, automobiles, and enjoyment. As time went on, certain codes became more prevalent

(encounters, leisure, isolation, surveillance, police, racism, language barriers, friends walking, public transport, translocal imaginaries) while others were deemphasized (most often from a lack of repetition across multiple interviews).

The study employed semi-structured interviews because, in line with the goals for this research, they are ideal for understanding feelings and action within "specific settings, to examine human relationships and discover as much as possible about why people feel or act in the ways they do" (McDowell 2010, 158). They also can better conceptualize the interviewee as "experts" from whom the researcher can "learn how certain practices, experiences, knowledges, or institutions work—or at least, *how your participants talk about* these things working." (Secor 2010: 199). The goal of interviews is usually not to generalize "but instead to answer questions about the ways in which certain events, practices, or knowledges are constructed and enacted within particular contexts" (*ibid.* 199). Thus, these accounts and stories help to reveal the empirical disjunctures between migrants' expectations and experiences (Lawson 2000). Though the results of the interviews are not meant to be taken as generalizable, they can help interpret the effects of gender, class, length of residence, and other social relations on individual experience (Lawson 2000). For this study, interviews lend insight into the participants' experiences while being mobile in the city, while encountering others or institutions (such as the police or health care providers), as well as the effects of immigration policies and practices (such as the unavailability of drivers' licenses for unauthorized migrants).

At the end of the first interview I proposed participation in a second interview which would be based on photo-elicitation for which they would receive a supermarket card for the same value as the first interview. If they agreed, I lent them my camera, described how to operate it, and we scheduled a time for the next interview. I asked that they be prepared to discuss about eight photographs. I asked for eight photos because I felt that we could probably only discuss five photos in detail in the time I had allotted for the interview; the additional three photos could be used if there were lags in the conversation. The low number would also prevent them from having to explain a larger number of photos in a short amount of time. I also explained that by participating they

gave me permission to reprint the photos. I cycled through the images on my computer and gave them a CD of the files if they wanted it[34].

Although many studies analyze professional photos or those taken by researchers themselves (Giritli-Nygren and Schmauch 2012), participant-generated images have a long history in geography and other disciplines (Dodman 2003; Crang 2003; Kolb 2008; Young and Barrett 2001). Rather than presume or propose universality, working with images can involve “elaborate specificity and difference and the loving care people might take to learn how to see faithfully from another’s point of view” (Haraway 1988, 583). In this way, photo-elicitation interviews can help to create possibilities for participants to “represent themselves according to their own priorities, to become producers of their own images rather than objects of others” (Crang 2010, 213; see also Kolb 2008). Further, asking participants literally to frame their responses to the research questions can help encourage different perspectives on socio-spatial material and imagined mobilities than those encouraged by traditional interviewing (Massey and Sanchez 2010). Acting independently of the researcher, participants also have extra time to consider the research, think about the first interview, and reflect (either alone or with others) about the possible meanings, interpretations, and outcomes of the research (Kolb 2008).

Participant observation

In addition to interviews, I conducted 12 months of participant observation. Participant observation consisted of living in the neighborhood, attending festivals and rallies, talking with locals, and teaching classes at an adult education center. Participant observation was vital for this research for three main reasons. First, it allowed me to “better understand the lived, sensed, experienced, and emotional worlds” of the research participants (Watson and Till 2009, 129). Second, it aids in question formulation and helps one to understand the meaning of data while reducing the reactivity of the study participants (Bernard 2000). Third, participant observation has been noted for its applicability in research that focuses on how the setting of a place is implicated in the behaviors, attitudes and beliefs of the groups of interest (Bogdewic 1999). Participant observation helps refine understandings of experiences and concepts introduced in the

[34] All respondents indicated that they had a computer and that digital files would be fine, though only two people wanted their photos at the end of the interview.

focus groups (discussed below) by incorporating individual experiences, actions and beliefs that are expressed in interactions with the participants within the local context. Fourth, participant observation aided in the collection of data and information that might be difficult to access by easing the discomfort of the participants and establishing communication between the participants and the researcher. Because the study included immigrants who are socio-economically vulnerable and possibly distrustful of authority figures, participant observation was vital in establishing relationships with the participants. For example, teaching and being invited to another ESL class helped me recruit a number of participants.

Some notes on translation and speaking a second language

To increase the presence of 'other Latina/o' voices I include substantial portions of multiple interviews. For interviews conducted in Spanish, I include both the original Spanish (in italics) followed by an English translation. I did not use translators for this research, but I did have native speakers check my translations. This led to some obvious difficulties, some shortcomings that are likely not as overt, as well as multiple benefits. Firstly, there arose problems of communication, especially over the phone during first contact with a potential participant. I quickly became aware of the apprehension I felt speaking a second language over the phone which sometimes continued into the interview. I speak Spanish at a moderate level, and simple tasks such as setting up interview times or locations were quite taxing. However, during face-to-face interviews, the 'language barrier' did not seem to cause much (though it did cause some) confusion. Further, it seemed to make the participants feel a bit more relaxed as I sometimes fumbled my way through more complex or abstract ideas—I definitely did not seem like an 'expert' who had the potential to disturb their lives in a negative way. Yet, many did recognize the potential power of research—most participants seemed eager to contribute to a project which was concerned with their life. They seemed to see the interview as an outlet for discussing problems they had in the neighborhood and sometimes as a platform from which to amplify their concerns.

Still, my level of fluency obviously led to shortcomings of the research. Though I asked all the questions I brought, sometimes I did not completely understand an answer to a question; going back through and listening over and over to interviews allowed me to

wrestle with difficult points or parts of conversation that went too quickly. An interpreter would have allowed for this more instantaneous comprehension. Yet adding another member to these meetings may have also sacrificed the intimacy of the interviews. For example, the interviews contained a lot of material that I'm not sure would have been forthcoming with a translator. Further, the tensions between and inside especially the Salvadoran and Colombian communities (which were not *highly* visible in the community, but apparent in some interviews) would have played into the politics of these interviews. Thus, I would have only felt comfortable having an interviewee from a 'neutral' country as a translator as a Salvadoran might feel uncomfortable with a Colombian interpreter or vice versa. Further, as noted by Prospero in chapter 3, interpreters coming from the East Boston community would likely cause much to be withheld—no one likes their neighbor knowing details about their lives. In this regard, my positionality was helpful because participants most often seemed to view me as a non-threat—a stranger from outside the community who did not know anyone they knew. Due to this and likely other factors, interviewees seemed to confide in me at levels that were often surprising.

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Appendix 2: Interview Scripts

Semi-structured interview I

What kinds of places do you go on a weekly or daily basis?

Where in the city do you feel comfortable going?

Are there places where you feel uncomfortable going?

How have these feelings changed in the last four or five years?

Do you travel far away from home? How do you get to these destinations?

Do you often travel with others or alone? When would you travel alone? With others?

(If they are employed) Can you describe the journey to and from work?

How does your mobility in the city affect your ability to find employment?

To take care of those who depend upon you?

To stay healthy?

Are there services in the city that you do not feel comfortable going to or utilizing?

Does legislation like secure communities or 287g affect your mobility in the city?

Do they affect where you can go, or how you get there?

Does immigration enforcement from the police affect your everyday mobilities in any way?

Semi-structured interview script II (photo interview)

Can you describe how you think this picture is important to your daily life?

How is your mobility important to the meaning of this picture?

Can you please draw a map of your neighborhood?

Can you please explain the map that you drew?

Are there specific spots on this map you especially enjoy? Why?

Are spaces on it which you feel uncomfortable? Why?

Do you ever take different routes to avoid situations?

Are there trips or routes that you especially like?

Are there places that you have difficulty getting to?

Appendix 3: Recruitment Flyer Text

La pertenencia, la movilidad, y usted

Se buscan mujeres y hombres hispanohablantes y que tengan más de 18 años para participar en un estudio de investigación. Usted será entrevistado durante una hora acerca de las experiencias y sentimientos de pertenencia relacionados con sus movilidades cotidianas en la ciudad. Estas movilidades pueden incluir los trayectos en la ciudad para visitar a la familia y amigos, ir a ciertos lugares en el tiempo libre y también las maneras en que usted puede sentirse incapaz o desanimado a moverse por la ciudad. El propósito del estudio es entender cómo la movilidad de las personas está ligada a sus experiencias y sentimientos de pertenencia.

Para obtener más información, póngase en contacto con Mitchell.Snider@uky.edu o por teléfono al (859) 457-0332. Él es el investigador principal y es un estudiante doctorado en la Universidad de Kentucky.

Usted recibirá una tarjeta de $20 para un supermercado por participar en la entrevista. Si a usted le gustaría participar en una segunda entrevista, recibirá otra tarjeta de $20. El estudio no preguntará sobre el estatus migratorio, y los resultados del estudio se mantendrán anónimos para proteger su identidad.

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CV: Mitchell Beam Snider

Primary Areas of Interest

Human geography, urban studies, migration, Latina/o studies, the mobilities turn, emotion and belonging, subaltern and postcolonial studies, economic geographies of development, socio-spatial exclusion/inclusion, intersectionality and identity politics, citizenship, regularization processes, and qualitative methodologies

Education

Master of Arts in Geography, University of Kentucky, 2006-2008
Thesis title: *Being a man in Kentucky: Perspectives of rural migrant workers*
Advisor: Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp, Department of Geography

Graduate Certificate in Social Theory, University of Kentucky. 2006-2008

Bachelor of Arts in Geography, University of Kentucky. 1998-2002
Advisor: Susan Roberts, Department of Geography

TEFL Certificate, Caledonian Language School. August 2005

Academic Positions

Primary instructor positions*: Full responsibility for course content, instruction and evaluation of undergraduate students*

Fall 2016	GEN 100: Issues in Agriculture, Food, & Environment. University of Kentucky Department of Agriculture (2 sections)
Fall 2015/ Spring 2014	GEO 172: Introduction to Human Geography. University of Kentucky Department of Geography
Spring 2010/ Fall 2009	GEO 130: Earth's Physical Environment, University of Kentucky Department of Geography

Teaching assistant positions*: Teaching recitation/lab sections and assisting in preparation of materials, grading, exam design, and exam design*

Spring 2016	GEO 261 Global Dynamics Of Health & Disease. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Gary Shannon
Spring 2015	GEO 109: Digital Mapping. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Matthew Wilson

Fall 2014 GEO 221: Immigrant America. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp

Fall 2011 GEO 255: Geography of the Global Economy. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Michael Samers

Spring 2011 GEO 160: Lands and Peoples of the non-Western World. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Sandra Zupan

Fall 2010 GEO 160: Lands and Peoples of the non-Western World. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Lynn Philips

Spring 2008 GEO 130: Earth's Physical Environment. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Alice Turkington

Fall 2007 GEO 130: Earth's Physical Environment. University of Kentucky Department of Geography. Primary instructor: Dr. Alice Turkington

Other teaching experience

Spring 2013 Primary instructor, Computer Systems Institute, Charleston, MA. Full responsibility for adult ESOL instruction

Fall 2013 Primary instructor, East Boston Harborside Community School, Boston, MA. Full responsibility for an Adult Basic Education [GED] course

Fall 2005 Primary instructor, English Non-Stop, Prague, CZ. Instruction and evaluation of professional, business, and traditional students in the English language

Fall 2005 Primary instructor, Ulrich Language Studio, Prague, CZ. Instruction and evaluation of professional, business, and traditional students in the English language

Research assistantships

Fall 2013 Research assistant to Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp. Research, compilation, and summary of academic publishing regarding citizenship; transcription of interviews.

Nonacademic Positions

Fall 2016 Manager of International Agreements for the University of Kentucky

International Center. Responsibility for communication, establishment, and maintenance of international agreements.

Publications

Articles

[accepted 9/29/2016] 'Moving Encounters: Latinas/os about town in East Boston, MA' in *Emotion, Space and Society*

[accepted pending revisions] 'Being a man in the horse capital: Mexican farmworkers' masculinities in Kentucky'. Submitted to *Gender, Place and Culture*

Book Chapter

Samers, M. and Snider, M. 2015. 'Why does the work of immigrants differ so little between countries?' In Bauder, H. and Shields, J. eds. *Immigration, Integration, and the Settlement Experience in North America*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Book Reviews

Snider, M. 2014. Review of 'New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape.' Foner, N. Rath, J., Duyvendak, J.W., van Reekum, R. eds. 2015. *International Migration Review*, 49(4).

Snider, M 2013. Review of 'Mobilities: new perspectives on transport and society.' Grieco, M. and Urry, J. eds. 2011. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 7.

Other Publications

Linz J., Mott, C., Smith, A., and Snider, M. 2015. Mural debate on campus part of national discussion [Letter to the editor]. The Kentucky Kernel. Online publication 12/15.

Professional Affiliations

Association of American Geographers
Gamma Theta Upsilon, National Geography Honorary Society
Phi Beta Kappa

Conference Presentations

Spring 2016 *Landscape, mobility, and exclusion/inclusion: Latino migrant perspectives in East Boston, MA*. Session—Emerging themes in Landscape-mobilities. AAG. San Francisco, CA.

Spring 2015 *Moving encounters: Latino perspectives on belonging in East Boston*. Session—Mapping and Knowing the City: Emotional Cartographies. Tuan's Next

Generation: modern scholarship influenced by the iconic geographer AAG. Chicago, IL.

Spring 2014 *Motility, belonging, and exclusion: Latino perspectives in East Boston*. AAG. Tampa, FL.

Spring 2011 *Neoliberalization in Ecuador: space and security in Quito*. Latin American Graduate Student Symposium. February 2011. University of Kentucky.

Spring 2010 *Mercantilización technonatural and state solutions: water and crisis in the Spanish context.* AAG. Washington, D.C.

Spring 2010 *Hydropolitics in Spain: from authoritarian control to current local opposition*. Graduate Student Interdisciplinary Conference. April 2010. University of Kentucky

Fall 2009 *Masculinities in Kentucky: perspectives of rural migrant farm workers.* 16th Annual Conference on Critical Geography. October 2009. University of Georgia.

Fall 2007 *Lexington's 'critical mass' movement and the contentious politics of grassroots organizing*. 14th Annual Conference on Critical Geography. October 2007. University of Kentucky.

Invited Lectures

Spring 2016 *Encounters in East Boston: Latino/a migrants' perspectives in a time of anti-immigrant sentiment.* Colloquium presented at the University of Kentucky

Fall 2008 *Being a man in Kentucky: perspectives of rural migrant farmworkers.* Colloquium presented at the University of Kentucky.

Grants and Fellowships

Grants

2012 Barnhart-Withington Dissertation Enhancement Award. Department of Geography, University of Kentucky ($2,500)

2012 Dissertation Enhancement Award. University of Kentucky Graduate School ($3,000)

2010 Latin American Studies Travel Grant. Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Kentucky ($800)

Fellowships

2006-2007	Graduate School Fellowship. University of Kentucky Graduate School

Service

Fall 2014	Graduate student representative to Colloquium Committee, University of Kentucky Department of Geography
Fall 2014	Graduate student representative to Library Acquisition Committee, University of Kentucky Department of Geography
Spring 2014	Judge for 30th Annual Kentucky American Water–Fayette County Public School District Science Fair regional science fair competition
Fall 2010	Department Representative to Graduate Student Congress, University of Kentucky
Fall 2009	Author, graduate student contribution to University of Kentucky Geography Department Self-Study (with Dr. Patrick Bigger)
Spring/Fall 2008	(dis)Closure Editorial Collective, University of Kentucky, Fund-Raising and promotions director, submissions review, advisory committee
2007-2008	Graduate student representative on Graduate Committee on Prospective Students, University of Kentucky Department of Geography
2002	Undergraduate Member, University of Kentucky Department of Geography Undergraduate Committee

Editorial Experience

2007-2008	Editorial Collective Member and reviewer for (*dis)Closure: a Journal of Social Theory*

Awards and Honors

2012	Invited Researcher at the *Departamento de Geografía, Universitat de València*, *España* through Dr. Luis Romero-Renau [declined]
2002	Magna Cum Laude
2001	Charles Wethington Cultural Geography Award

Conference Attendance

2016 Annual AAG Conference San Francisco, CA
2015 22nd Annual Conference on Critical Geography, University of Kentucky
2015 Annual AAG Conference Chicago, IL
2014 Annual AAG Conference Tampa, FL
2012 Annual AAG Conference New York, NY
2010 Annual AAG Conference Washington, D.C.
2009 16th Annual Conference on Critical geography, University of Georgia
2007 14th Annual Conference on Critical Geography, University of Kentucky
2006 13th Annual Conference on Critical Geography, Ohio State University
2002 South Eastern Division of the Association of American Geographers

Additional Certifications

Art of Teaching certificate. Awarded October 2013 awarded by SABES, MA