TABLE of contents

Editor's Welcome

Martha Radice

Dalhousie University, radice@undergraduateethnography.org

Great changes have been afoot this past year at The Journal for Undergraduate Ethnography. The last number of volume 7 was our first issue published in a gorgeous new style template, designed by Inlet Communications of Nova Scotia, Canada, and inspired by the best of the student designers' work over previous issues. The new template not only makes the text look great, it also offers lots of options for illustrating the articles, ensuring that The JUE is as intellectually and visually engaging as ever!

This issue, volume 8 number 1, is the first to be published on our new website, which uses Open Journal Systems, open source software developed by the Public Knowledge Project to make open access publishing more viable, and is hosted and supported by Dalhousie University Libraries. Thanks to librarians Jennifer Lambert for set-up and Geoff Brown for ongoing assistance. The transition would not have been possible without the technical wizardry of Liz Michels, a recent graduate of Dalhousie's Honours program in Social Anthropology, who worked for the JUE as an editorial assistant thanks to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences undergraduate research assistantship program. I'd also like to thank founding editor Jason Patch (Roger Williams University) and the team at Common Media for giving us such a good model to work with at the original website.

The move to OJS means that every article we have ever published now has a Digital Object Identifier (DOI), a persistent label that helps locate and identify articles over time. The *JUE* also now has an ISSN (2369-8721) and has been registered in the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), a list of high-quality peer-reviewed open-access scholarly and scientific journals. One of our next tasks is to upload article metadata into DOAJ to increase *JUE's* discoverability.

This issue of the *JUE* opens with three articles focusing on migration and identity. Sarah England (Dalhousie University) conducted an innovative research project with young women immigrants in Halifax, Nova Scotia, whom she invited to take photos of and talk about places in the city that were meaningful to them. Alannah Berson (University of British Columbia) studied the dynamics of interactions in a "neighbourhood house" in Vancouver, where gentrification is rapidly changing social relations in the neighbourhoods in which these innovative community centres are located. Sarah Han (Wheaton College) explored how Baloch women living in the United Arab Emirates negotiate their cultural and multicultural identities through the ways they navigate opportunities in education, marriage, and citizenship.

The next two articles shift to the realm of health and illness. Esra Arslanboga, a medical student at Durham University, interviewed the health care assistants working in palliative care in a children's hospice to find out why they might, or might not, pursue career pathways toward nursing. Kate Pashby (American University) explored how students with chronic pain conceive of their pain, and what frameworks they use to communicate it. The

Volume 8 Issue 1

ISSN 2369-8721
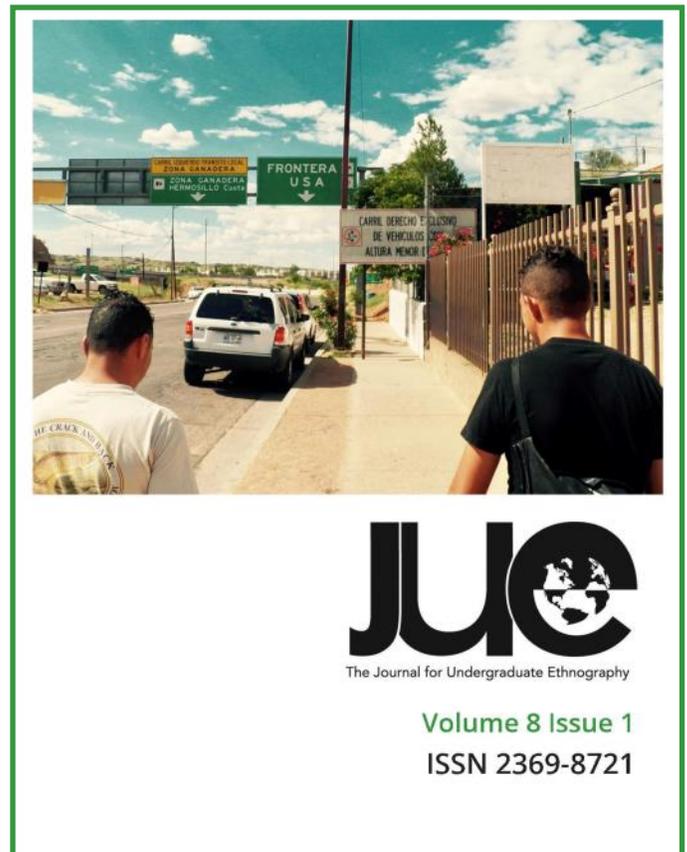
Cover photography this issue is by Bill De La Rosa.

last article takes us back to migration: Bill De La Rosa (Bowdoin College) investigates how clandestine migrants survive the structural violence and harsh environment of the Sonoran Desert on their journeys across the US-Mexico border.

I think you'll agree that this issue of the *JUE* makes great reading and shows the wide range of social milieus and theoretical questions that undergraduates can use ethnographic methods to explore. I'd like to thank editorial assistant Alastair Parsons, a recent graduate of Dalhousie's Honours program in Social Anthropology, for his meticulous and invaluable work on this issue. Last but not least, I deeply appreciate the energy that the members of our Senior Editorial Board devote to their thoughtful, thorough and encouraging reviews of the articles. Thank you all!

Happy reading!

Picturing Halifax: Young Immigrant Women and the Social Construction of Urban Space

Sarah England

Dalhousie University, sarahfengland@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study explores the social construction of space in the lives of young immigrant women. Drawing upon data from photo-elicitation interviews, I analyze how young women who recently immigrated to Canada interpret and transform the meanings of spaces in their everyday lives. Using the social construction of space as a conceptual framework, I demonstrate how the social positions of young immigrant women are reflected in and negotiated through their use of urban space. While participants share perceptions of risk and experiences of gendered safety issues, all negotiate these issues by gaining spatial knowledge through exploration. They all also experience Otherness in various spaces. However, they construct belonging by developing diverse social networks, claiming space, and getting involved in the international community. It is evident that the city affects how, and *whether*, young immigrant women mobilize their identities as immigrants. New spaces bring new understandings of their identities as women, young people, and immigrants. This study illuminates how young immigrant women transform cities, and how, in turn, the city transforms them.

Keywords: immigrant women, urban space, gender, youth, photo-elicitation, participatory research

Introduction: Addressing the rise of diversity

The experience of the city is not entirely individualized. Gender, ethnicity, age, class, and cultural values are all elements that influence how one interprets and navigates urban space. However, people also exist as social agents who construct and shape their own unique meanings within those spaces (Low 1996b). Spaces are reconfigured, interpreted, and experienced differently according to people's social positions. The accelerated mobility brought by globalization has saturated urban space with diverse everyday encounters that transform both the city and the people living in it. Immigration and its by-product of 'urban multiculture' have been positioned as exterior forces imposing on the fabric of countries and the cities within them (Hall 2015, 854). However, immigration is not best understood as invasive reconfiguration (Hall 2015); rather, immigrants actively shape urban space while negotiating the difference that characterizes their everyday lives.

Globalization continues to bring an increase of urbanization and diversity to Canada, with 95 per cent of immigrants choosing to live in cities (Statistics Canada 2011) and immigration targets increasing to 320,000 newcomers settling in 2017 (Statistics Canada 2016). Young immigrant women settling in Canadian cities contend with the intersection of age, gender, and immigrant status as social positions that shape encounters with their urban environment. Facing numerous transitions, young immigrant women are required to 'grow up' and 'adapt' while establishing jobs, social networks, new understandings of gender,

mobility, identities, and new modes of being. Debates in feminist theory have highlighted the need to incorporate intersectionality into analysis, meaning it is vital to address the overlap of multiple social positions such as gender, race, age, and class (Maynard 1994, 2002). Although more and more studies within urban anthropology address intersections of youth, race, gender, and urban space, the integration of the immigrant experience with these social positions is underdeveloped. More generally, youth studies only weakly addresses intersectionality (Green and Singleton 2006). This study addresses the need to incorporate young immigrant women's voices, particularly those who have settled recently, into social research by examining the intersections of gender, age, and the immigrant experience within urban space. Young immigrant women's voices must be brought to the forefront of urban policy in order to work towards a city that accommodates *all* people. This leads to my research question: how do young immigrant women socially construct space in Halifax, Nova Scotia?

To address this question, I use photo-elicitation interviews to illuminate the experiences of eight young immigrant women who have immigrated to Canada in the last eight years. Through this participatory approach, I explore how young immigrant women construct 'belonging' in their new city, and how the experience of space in Halifax compares to the participants' country of origin. Situated in broader discussions in urban anthropology and geography, this study looks at how young immigrant women shape the urban landscape, and in turn, how the urban landscape shapes them. As defined by Low (1996a), the social construction of space is the "phenomenological and symbolic experience of space as mediated by social processes such as exchange, conflict, and control" (861). I use this key concept to gather insight into the way young immigrant women experience and transform space in Halifax, a coastal city in Nova Scotia, Canada that is relatively small yet is also the economic and cultural hub of the Atlantic region. According to the National Household Survey of 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013), Halifax has an immigrant population of 31,245, which is 8.1 per cent of the total population.

This article begins with an overview of the social construction of space as a conceptual framework and draws on studies that give insights into gender, age, the immigrant experience, and urban space. Second, it outlines the study's methodology. Third, it explores how perceptions of risk affect participants' experience of space, and how participants negotiate gendered safety issues by developing spatial knowledge. Fourth, I discuss how women navigate encounters with Otherness through sociability, renewing international networks, diversity, and claiming space. Lastly, I examine the ways in which young immigrant women access and mobilize new identities as immigrants, women, and young people through their use of space.

The Social Construction of Space: Gender, Age, and the Immigrant Experience

The notion that space is simply a passive, neutral setting in which things occur has been problematized in urban anthropology and geography. Places are not "inert containers", but rather "politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (Rodman 1992, 641). Rather than being viewed as a static backdrop to key events, place needs to be conceptualized. Addressing this need, the social construction of space is a way in which locality is accounted for and theorized. The social construction of space is a transformative process conducted through people's "social exchanges, memories, images, and daily use of the material setting" (Low 1996a, 862). Therefore, space has multiple meanings for different people. Employing the social construction of space as a conceptual framework can both "contextualize the forces" that construct it (Low 1996a, 862), and illuminate the experiences of social actors who construct their own meaningful realities. Thus, examining how young immigrant women socially construct space shapes new understandings of immigrant settlement and integration in Canada.

Gender and Urban Space

For Massey (1994), places themselves are not only gendered in the messages they transmit and relations they form, but they also "reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood" (179). As a result of the gendered public-domestic dichotomy, Massey (1994) outlines that women's *identities* are restricted as a consequence of their constrained spatial mobility. However, this spatial dichotomy is contested by the inadequacies between gender ideology and its ability to provide an accurate picture of women's realities (Brettell and Sargent 2013). In other words, although women are in principle limited by spatial gendered restraints, reality is more convoluted. In a participatory photo project in Sweden, migrant women took photos of inclusive spaces in their lives. Many photos were taken at school, with groups of culturally diverse female friends, leading researchers to infer that the notion of belonging in space for migrant women is highly gendered. They state, "when considering gender as one of a series of social identities, the gendered space that exists between sameness and otherness is one where gender might be used as a rallying point for the common interests of women" (610). This underscores the need to examine the role gender plays in the construction of belonging for newcomer women.

Youth and Urban Space

Although often seen as "passive recipients of social transformations" (Nayak 2003, 167), young people are powerful social agents producing their own spatial knowledge and identity. Aiming to address the lack of focus on young people in urban studies, Skelton (2013) demonstrates the importance of young people's mobility in identity formation through a case study of Auckland, New Zealand. She argues that for young people, whose lives are typically characterized by transitional periods, mobility between different spaces is integral to achieving independence, sustaining relationships, and 'growing up' (Skelton 2013). The strength of Skelton's (2013) argument stems from the 81 semi-structured interviews conducted with young urban dwellers, allowing them to describe their subjective experiences. Skelton shows how "the city is constituted at the street level through footsteps" (Skelton 2013, 468), a perspective I adopt in this study.

Immigrant Experience and Urban Space

Immigration brings diversity to the social exchanges of everyday life and functions as an integral part of urban transformation (Hall 2015). Hall (2015) argues that the key to understanding urbanization and migration lies in understanding these processes as "participatory rather than an invasive" (854) processes of change. Using the London as a case study, Hall (2015) discovers that constructing a sense of belonging is not a process of cultural acceptance, but rather an engaged negotiation of diversity within the framework of inequality. Hall (2015) emphasizes that examining the 'ordinary' and 'everyday' opens new understandings of immigration as "part of the lived processes of societal change" (855). Hall (2015) outlines that migrants practice "everyday resistance", transforming London streets into platforms of "shared discontent" (859) and learning multiple languages to allow for strategic economic networking. Framing her study through active migrant *participation*, as opposed to migration as a process simply "carried out by migrants and regulated by the states" (865) provides a key framework in looking at the immigrant urban space relationship.

This literature review gives rise to questions such as: In what spaces do young immigrant women feel they belong? What dimensions does being a young *immigrant* woman add to intersectional discussions of space? How does mobility affect young immigrant women? What is the link between identity, transition, and adapting to new spaces? These questions show the need to unpack how young immigrant women socially construct space in Halifax.

Methods: 'A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words'

This study employs photo-elicitation interviews to gather material through women's idiosyncratic visualizations. In photo-elicitation interviews, participants take photos that are used later as interview stimuli. As opposed to purely verbal interviews, interviews using photographs work to stimulate memories of participants in unique ways (Clark-Ibanez 2004), allowing participants to "reflect on related but indirect associations with the photographs themselves" (1513) and reveal meanings that would otherwise remained hidden. Photos

make visible the complexities of everyday life, existing as visual inventories of objects and intimacies, extension of the social, and "connect one's self to society, culture or history" (Clark-Ibanez 2004, 1511). Thus, this study used photos to anchor experiences and complexities in and of space.

I followed four phases in the photo interview process as structured by Kolb (2008). The *opening* phase included a brief meeting or email exchange with interested women in order to introduce myself and the photo prompts, discuss aims of the research, and go through the informed consent process. In the *active photo shooting* phase, participants took photos of their daily lives in urban space over the course of three days in Halifax. Participants also used old photos in order to incorporate spaces they were not able to visit during the period of data collection. In the *decoding* phase, participants met with me to discuss the meaning and experiences associated with their photos in a semi-structured interview. In the final stage, *analytical scientific interpretation*, I coded data according to my key concepts, such as belonging, mobility, identity, and safety, but also left categories for codifying the interviews to "emerge from the empirical data itself" (Kolb 2008).

I locate my study in Halifax, Nova Scotia as a microcosm of broader immigration trends to small cities in Canada. According to the National Household Survey (Statistics Canada 2013), 8,305 (or 29 per cent) of Halifax's total immigrant population of 31, 245 arrived between 2006 and 2011. This is an increase of more than 50 per cent on the number of newcomers who arrived between 2001 and 2005. Of the 8,305 immigrants arriving in Halifax between 2006 and 2011, 46 per cent are women, and 14.5 per cent of those women were aged between 15 and 24 at the time of immigration. Within this segment of the population, I recruited eight participants using snowball sampling, a recruitment strategy that builds trust between researcher and participant by "introduction through a trusted social network" (Woodley and Lockard 2016, 377). In order to vary the countries of origin amongst participants, I also distributed flyers, visited community and religious organizations, and created online postings.

All women included in my study are 18-25 years of age, have university degrees or are university students (although this was not a criteria of participation), are able to engage in conversational English, and have arrived in Canada in the past five years. Participants include two women from the Philippines, two from Kuwait, and one each from Mexico, Egypt, U.S.A, and China. All are from large urban centres. To ensure confidentiality, women either chose or were given a pseudonym. Any potential identifiers have been concealed, photos have been printed with permission of the photographer, and faces have been blurred.

Due to scope and feasibility, I only conducted interviews, and not observations. This, of course, means I only know what people say about space and not necessarily what people do in practice. Nonetheless, photo-elicitation interviews created a participatory process that generated rich data. Photo-elicitation methodologies can "disrupt some of the power dynamics involved with regular interviews" and "empower the interviewee" (Clark-Ibanez 2004, 1512-1513). Participants dictated the content discussed during the interview through their photos, enabling them to talk about what spaces *they* found important and valuable in their lives. Furthermore, the participatory nature of this method required frequent contact throughout data collection, allowing rapport to be built in a way that exceeds single semi-structured interviews. When a participant and I looked at the photos together, there was always a reason, story, or experience behind why she chose that photo. The photos chosen by women anchored experiences in a meaningful way and triggered memories that facilitated discussion. Using a method that allowed young immigrant women to lead the interviews through photos established a platform that highlights their voices and the particular stories they want to be heard.

Findings

Freedom, Risk, and Gender

All the women I spoke to interpret urban space to some degree through threatening experiences as well as through gendered risk perceptions. By risk perceptions, I mean the way in which women assess space as safe or not safe, and to what degree. Awareness, perception, and management of risk inform how we live our lives and make social relationships, and what spaces we occupy (Green and Singleton 2006). Through risk perception and assessment, processes made necessary by gender, spaces are often interpreted as threatening, and as a result, avoided. For the majority of participants, memories of gendered, threatening experiences instil spaces with fear and influence how they assess their safety in space. This exemplifies that risk assessment and perception are spatially located.

Participants in this study perceive themselves as vulnerable in certain spaces as a result of their gender. This is reflected by May, who moved from China 5 years ago, telling me a story about a man who verbally harassed her while she waited for her bus. May said that this man had been consistently verbally harassing young Asian women around Halifax, stating, "we don't know how to protect ourselves or how to defend [ourselves], so...that's the most scary part."

Having only been in Halifax for a year, May had never experienced this type of verbal harassment in China. This left her feeling *more* vulnerable to the situation. Unsure of how to report the situation, and unfamiliar with resources available to her, May responded to this experience by avoiding the space. Zoey, an Asian-American from The United States, had a similar experience of racialized verbal harassment in public space. As she told me, "Men only come up to me, I don't know to be like 'I like Asians!' or something you know, that kind of weird stuff. Which definitely makes me feel unsafe." Like May, Zoey has encountered racialized verbal harassment for the first time in Halifax. Feeling vulnerable and ill equipped as women in urban space was a consistent theme in all interviews. Mutya feels "cautious" and uneasy on public transport. Lily avoids certain spaces when it gets dark. Maria started putting her bag on her lap to block access to her body when she heard about a case of sexual harassment on Halifax busses, and Nina states, "if I were a man than I would probably feel more confident walking down the street 'cause I wouldn't feel threatened by anything." Risk

perception and feeling vulnerable in space goes beyond sensory interpretations, directly affecting women's feelings towards space, as well as how they move through it. For May and Zoey, and many of women I spoke to, how to assess risk and how to *respond* to these incidents (during the incident and after, such as finding out what resources are available for support and reporting the event) have become additional learned parts of their new urban lives.

Interestingly, there is a tension between gendered safety issues and the newfound spatial freedom some women have in Halifax. While some participants value having the freedom to occupy spaces they could not in their home country, often due to their gender, the majority of women also feel unsafe in the spaces where they feel free. Coming from Egypt, Lily feels she is gaining independence by walking outside by herself, stating, "In Egypt, there's no way a woman can walk [outside]. You get, you know, verbal kind of comments. You don't feel comfortable walking down the street. But here, it's something I value so much, the privilege of being able to walk from one place to another." Lily also values networking events for career development that she could not attend in Egypt. However, she also feels threatened walking alone on the streets after 9pm and cornered in the small spaces where networking events are often held. May expresses the importance of accessibility to public transport, because it allows her to get to the important social spaces in her life, yet, the bus stop is also where she experienced verbal, racial harassment. The nightclub where Zoey expresses herself through dance and "doesn't feel judged" is also where she feels unsafe and cornered by men asking what race she is. These tensions were prominent in majority of interviews when discussing photos of spaces women feel free and independent.

An additional tension is present between new freedoms of mobility and the spatial restrictions of mobility they face as women. All participants express that since immigrating to Canada they have gained independence through increased mobile freedom in comparison to their home country. This includes accessibility to public transport,

occupying public space, and the privilege of walking alone on the streets. However, they all also express the limitations of mobility they face as a result of their gender. Participants' mobility is restricted by what time of day it is, resulting in the avoidance of spaces at night; therefore, altering their everyday lives in space. Maria, who immigrated from the Philippines two years ago, told me she doesn't like going to certain places "especially at night," continuing with, "you know the feeling?" The majority of women I spoke to referenced this "*feeling*" as a result of being in space at night as a woman, as Lily explained to me:

> I don't think [men] are scared of darkness. I feel like women are much more scared of the concept of darkness. We just feel like people can take advantage of darkness. We feel like physically we're not fit to be stronger. So it would be the physical ability that gives you that vibe, what time of day it is gives you that vibe, and the space also where you are… So, if you're like, at a park or if you're at the club, gives you those kind of vibes as well. Who you're surrounded with, what kind of state of mind are people in.

Nina, who immigrated from Kuwait three years ago, is scared to take cabs back home or walk the streets alone at night. Rosa states, "these spaces at night, you have to be a bit more careful if you're a woman than if you're a man." Gendered risk perceptions thus influence these women's mobility and spatial realities, including who they share space with, how they feel in space, and what spaces they occupy.

Despite their risk perceptions, spatial avoidance, and threatening experiences, all participants said that overall, they feel safe in Halifax. Initially, I was surprised by this consensus, given the frightening situations endured by some. How do *all* of these women maintain a sense of safety in Halifax, despite risk perceptions, fear, or threatening experiences they have told me? The answer is that in order to settle in their new cities, immigrants must learn how to physically and socially navigate the new space in order to develop "the new social and spatial networks

that will allow them to feel connected, committed, and rooted in a new place" (Rahder and McLean 2013, 161).

For these newcomer women, this important spatial knowledge is developed *every day* as they frequently occupy new public spaces, try out new restaurants with friends, explore new areas of the city, take public transport, and wander alone in public parks (see Figures 1 and 2). Through regular occupation and participation in the urban landscape, they actively build new spatial knowledge, familiarity, confidence, and in turn, socially construct safe space. As Zoey told me:

> Normally I find [when I'm] outside walking by myself I don't feel unsafe in general. Mostly because I'm more at ease with nature [and] being by myself. I like having open public

spaces and being able to use them and wander around in them. [...] Even walking from my house to downtown. Just being able to do that. I don't feel unsafe so it makes it way more pleasant for me to live here.

May echoes this, stating, "I like Halifax. Besides, I think I'm more familiar here so I'm not worried about, like, safety issues." All the women I spoke to emphasized the importance of learning the city through exploration because it enables them to gain *familiarity* and *spatial knowledge*.

When asked what advice they would give to other young immigrant women, most participants told me that exploring the city, 'putting yourself out there', and experiencing *all* parts of Halifax were of utmost importance. This was illuminated by Lily's re-
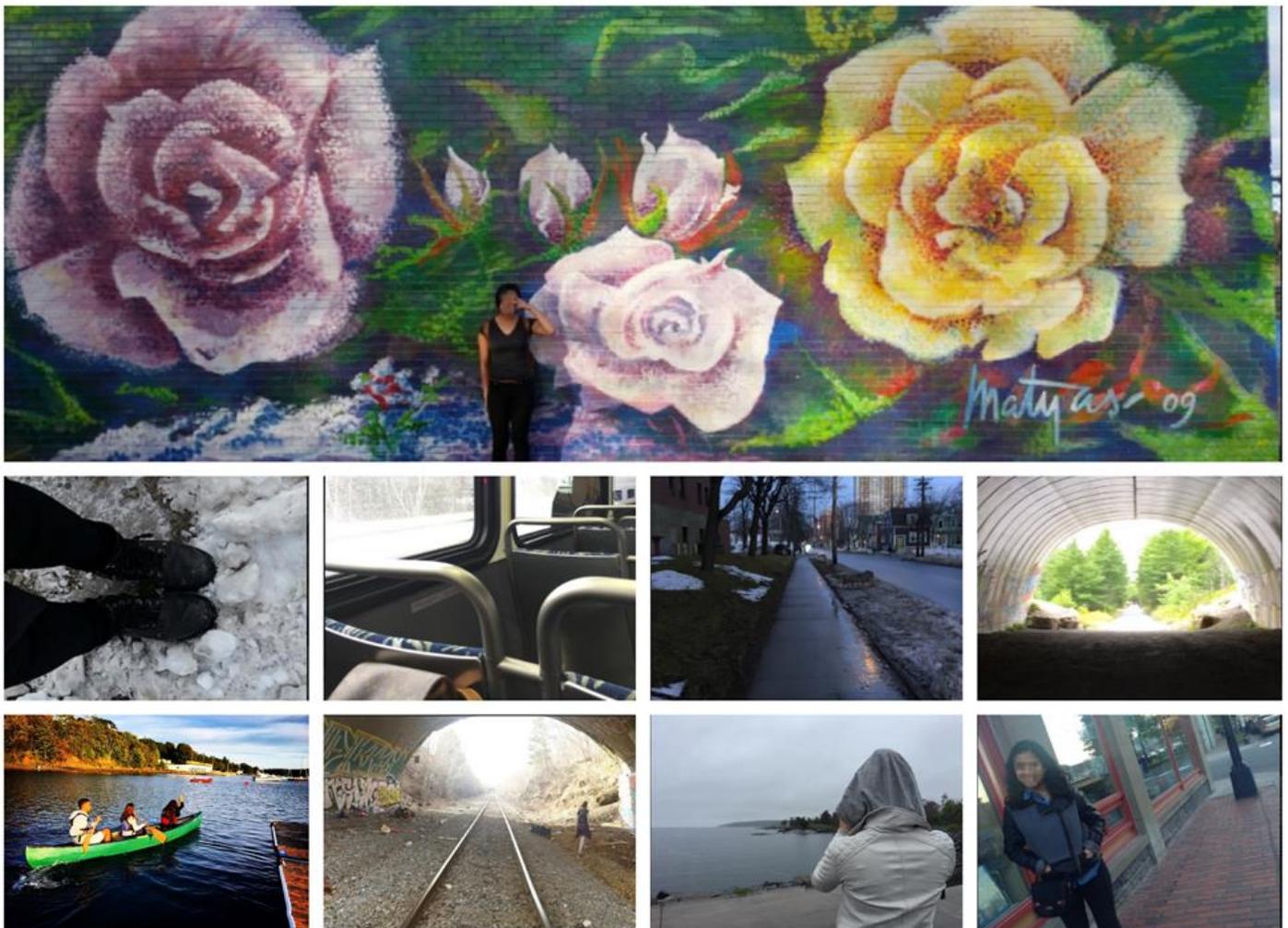

Figure 1. Photos of exploration. Source: Reproduced with permission from anonymous participants.

sponse when asked what her advice would be for other young immigrant women, stating, "Take every opportunity to walk and explore the city. There's no way you can explore it if you don't walk around spaces to feel comfortable and secure." Zoey expresses that spatial knowledge is important to feeling like she fits in, Maria develops spatial knowledge through public transport, and Lily explores different parts of Halifax through volunteering. Developing spatial knowledge through exploring the city and getting involved transforms spaces to be familiar and safe, as Nina highlights, "If you can go into that space and continue exploring, then you just get used to it and it becomes– it stops being new; it just becomes part of your life."

This emphasis on exploring is linked to the transitional life stages of immigration and age, as exemplified by Mutya from The Philippines, "There's so much to explore. When I got here everything is new. So I wanted to discover it. So that makes me go out more, right? When you're younger you want to go out and try a lot of things. Maybe it has something to do with growing up, too. So I feel like I should go out more. To grow." Mutya continues to state that her parents have "had their fair share of exploration and all that stuff. They're done." Furthermore, when asked why her and her brother experience the city differently to her parents, Nina responds, "because we're young, we're open to trying new things or adapting. But my mom says she's at a point in her life where she doesn't want to change, she wants stability." In line with Skelton's (2013) findings, mobility between spaces is integral for young people to develop independence, form new relationships, try new things, and 'grow up'. However, mobility for young *immigrant* women is of increased importance, as it allows them to explore new urban spaces and, in turn, gain the spatial knowledge needed to construct safe spaces.

Women negotiate gendered safety issues by constructing spatial confidence and knowledge through exploration and involvement in Halifax. Women are not kept safe by staying inside their homes; rather, spaces become safer through frequent occupation, or as some participants say, 'just getting out there'. These women are not victims of gendered safety issues, risk per-

ceptions, or urban fear, nor is Halifax defined by the restrictions these factors bring. Rather, Halifax is primarily a space of excitement, freedom, and exploration where new spaces bring new feelings, new social relationships, and new modes of being. Immigrant women's everyday use of space has the potential to create accessibility for *all* women, and as Koskela (1997) puts it, "women's spatial confidence can be interpreted as a manifestation of power" (316).

Figure 2. Photos of exploration. Source: Reproduced with permission from anonymous participants.

Feeling 'Out of Place'

As young immigrant women eat at new restaurants, walk around public spaces, try new activities, relax in nature, and attend university lectures, their everyday lives in urban space are packed with new social encounters and exchanges. All the women I spoke to have felt Othered in some way while interacting with the dominant, white Eurocentric culture in Halifax, meaning they feel treated or perceived as fundamentally *different*, or 'alien', against the dominant culture and race.

May and Lily explain that feeling like an Other is a result of cultural difference. For example, Lily expresses that her encounters with Canadians create Otherness through fear of judgement, stating, "Culturally, I feel there's a huge difference between Canadians and immigrants in general. I feel like we have that... fear of be-

ing judged." May, who works at a residence hall at her University, feels residents don't take her seriously because she is Chinese, stating, "If you explain [the code of conduct] to them, they don't care and they don't want to listen to you because oh, uh because uh, 'you're a Chinese person' and 'what do you know about Canada?' I think it happens to lots of immigrants." Feeling pressured to be similar to her coworkers due to the lack of diversity, Maria has felt like an Other in her workplace. When asked how being an immigrant relates to her workplace, Maria responded, "At first I felt it was a threat. I've never felt so bad about myself." She told me that she used to feel threatened when white, older people would come up to her to ask where she is from based on her appearance, but felt pressure to adapt Western customer service behaviours in the space. The experience of Otherness when being "called out" was also felt by Zoey, who feels reduced to race when people ask her unwarranted questions about what race she is, or where she is from. Zoey told me that these challenging moments of Otherness have resulted in negative memories attaching themselves to those spaces. Whether it's judgement from cultural difference or not being taken seriously at the workplace, being made to embody Otherness affects how the research participants feel in space. These examples show that encountering the non-immigrant Canadian majority population in public spaces can often mean being "called out" for visible difference.

Rosa and Mutya have both felt "outcast" in a university setting. Describing her first few weeks of university, Mutya states, "I noticed people didn't want to sit next to me. I don't know if it's because I'm not– I didn't want to assume, that's bad. You don't want to assume that people are being racist to you." Rosa sometimes feels intimidated attending her mostly "all-white gym," and experiences moments of isolation when she has to explain how to pronounce her name, stating, "It's a little-– maybe like outcasting? Obviously not on purpose, and nobody's trying to outcast me, but it feels weird to have to repeat your name or answer the question 'oh where are you from?'" Rosa also explained her challenges contending with discrimination in Halifax, stating:

I think we experience much more discrimination in a way because we're not Canadian, even though we might look the same, or like, the people that are Canadian don't all look 'Canadian'. But I think our culture is very different from here so how we experience things is very different from how people that are born here experience things, right? Plus, when in Mexico, for example, everyone was like me and everyone looked like me, so coming here it's also very... it's a different experience [compared to] someone that was born here.

In this way, Rosa highlights that both visible appearance and 'invisible' cultural differences define how she encounters power in space.

Nina has experienced various moments of Otherness as an immigrant, one of which occurred while walking around Halifax, where a man yelled at her to leave the country. Undoubtedly, this overt verbal discrimination made Nina feel like an Other. However, she also told me less explicit instances of encountering Otherness. Nina said she feels "out of place" being around people drinking, being in spaces in Kuwait where rich people go, visiting spaces in Jordan and Lebanon where "members of a certain sect frequent", and lastly, as she states, "sometimes when I don't see people who are similar to me I feel out of place. Like maybe I'm not supposed to be here, maybe this place is not for me." Nina also describes feeling like an Other due to her hijab, stating, "I do feel kind of uncomfortable. My hijab, for example. If I go to, let's say, a restaurant where there aren't people wearing hijab or where there are people drinking or something, then I would feel kind of restricted. Well, not really restricted, but, what's the word? Like, I would feel that I shouldn't be there." Whether marked by class difference in Kuwait, belonging to a different sect in Jordan, or being a visible minority in Halifax, feeling out of place is something she has experienced in every country she has lived. However, each moment of 'displacement' is constructed by different contexts and each affects the way in which Nina experiences space, what spaces she chooses to occupy, and whether she feels like

Figure 3. Participants and their social networks. Source: Reproduced with permission from anonymous participants.

she belongs. In general, although participants recounted only a few explicit experiences of discrimination, most articulated an awareness of their position as an Other in urban spaces, and therefore always *potentially* subject to discrimination and racism.

All young immigrant women I spoke to encounter Otherness as they experience new spaces. However, these women also actively negotiate these everyday encounters with Otherness. One way they do this is by finding unity in diversity, or being "together-in-difference" (Ang 2003), through building ethnically diverse social networks. Every woman I spoke to had a friend group composed of other immigrants or international students, or friends of similar cultural origins (Figure 3). Underlining these international bonds are perceptions of commonality based on shared experiences, understanding, and the absence of judgement. Lily told me she finds a common ground with inter-

national people because they share the same experiences, stating, "You would find at least common grounds as to feeling the same way. Feeling like you don't belong at first, you know, going through the same struggles of adapting. [...] Culturally, I feel like I might be judged rather than if I speak to someone, you know, who's been through the same thing." Lily describes this as "an unspoken understanding," a notion that encapsulates how majority of participants justified their international social networks. Participants found comfort and relief in building diverse social networks, as illuminated by Negsti from Kuwait, "I thought that if I didn't find people where I'm from, I'm not gonna fit in. But after a while I met people who were from other places. And, to be able to have conversations or to have things in common with people from different places was great." Furthermore, four participants told me they express themselves *through* their diverse social networks, no mat-

ter what spaces they occupy. This illustrates that the construction of belonging is mobile and has the ability to transform spaces to ones of belonging by moving from place to place.
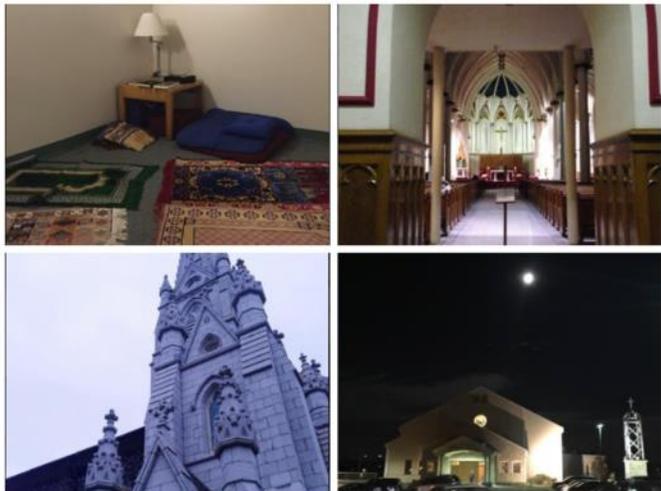

Figure 4. Religious spaces highlighted by participants. Source: Reproduced with permission from anonymous participants.

In addition to constructing belonging through their social networks, participants also actively find, claim and construct spaces that *belong to them*. They do this primarily through carving out religious space and giving back to the international community. Local churches serve as an avenue for Mutya and Maria to meet diverse groups of people and renew their international social networks (Figure 4). They actively claim this space through renewing their connection to the international community and practicing Filipino rituals. For Nina, the prayer room at her university is more than just a place to pray. Stating that it makes her feel safe because she is "acknowledged as a Muslim in society," and free from judgement, she links that space to a feeling of belonging. Before showing me a photo of the prayer room (Figure 4, top left), Nina states, "Immigrants may be intimidated by these places where they see a lot of um... native people going. Maybe they feel that these places are not for them." Standing in stark contrast to the spaces Nina interprets as "not for immigrants," the prayer room is a space that belongs to her. Massey argues that the "identity of a place is always being produced and reproduced through its processes" (Massey 1994, 171). In line with Massey's argument, these young immigrant women actively shape the identity of space to be spaces of belonging. In other words, by negotiating Otherness through socially constructing belonging in space, young immigrant women also create spaces that *belong to them*.

Giving back to the international community and forging international bonds are ways in which participants claim space for themselves and larger international communities. For example, three participants find value in helping other immigrants adapt to Canadian life. Working as a resident assistant at her university, May states that she expresses herself through her workplace because, "I always wanted to help international students adapt to Canadian culture and university life in Canada. So I feel like I want to do something for them." Lily, who took a photo of the farmers market for a place that is important to her (Figure 5), told me about her experience working with Syrian refugees to establish a sustainable food business, stating, "It's a space where I feel important because I feel like I have made something happen, I've helped even just for a slight bit." Moreover, Rosa volunteers for the international student society at her university, working to establish a voice for international students on campus. These women actively work to claim and make space for international communities. The spaces where they help international people are used as avenues to situate themselves within their wider community, renew larger international networks, and utilize their own experiences to help others.

Figure 5. Lily's photo of the farmers market for the prompt 'place that's important to you' Source: Reproduced with permission from an anonymous participant.

Lily, Negsti, and Maria negotiate Otherness by changing their understanding of what it means to be an immigrant in Halifax. These three participants construct everyday belonging

in space through discovering *value* in being an immigrant. Negsti sees her cultural background as an asset for getting a job as a translator to help refugee families, and Lily believes her immigrant identity brings a different perspective to her workplace, stating, "I feel like who I am is being rewarded all the time." Maria, who originally felt threatened by customers asking where she's from at her workplace, now sees it as an asset to develop her customer service skills. For these women, belonging is not *finding* spaces they 'fit in' or becoming more Canadian; rather, they negotiate Otherness by finding *value* in their identity as an immigrant.

When participants responded to the question of what an ideal space would be for young immigrant women, discussions did not include 'cohesion', 'assimilation' or 'fitting in'. Rather, the majority of participants stated that their ideal space would include "diversity;" "a space to talk to people from different cultures;" "common places for everyone;" "accepting of all people;" and "a collective space where everyone's allowed." When responding to this question, many women were aware of the idealism of their responses. However, their answers also shed light on a different understanding of belonging *in* and *to* space. As Mutya disclosed, "I have my Canadian; I have my Filipino, but I'm still me. I'm not completely adapting everything so I'm bringing my own to the table as well." For these women, belonging is not a process of cohesion or integration to Canadian culture; rather, belonging is constructed through everyday processes of *diversity* in space. In line with Hall's (2015) argument, for these women, belonging is an everyday, participatory process that is "renewed and remade rather than simply accommodated" (865). They are involved in "an active *making* of new urban spaces" (Hall 2015, 856) and therefore, urban transformation.

Mobilizing Identities: Spaces as Becoming

According to the literature on gender and space, women's identities are perceived as restricted due to the confined spatial mobility––especially confinement to domestic spaces–that contributes to their subordination (Massey 1994; Rosaldo 1974). However, all participants chose photos of their bedrooms, or homes, as places where they "express themselves," or "feel most themselves." As participants told me, this

transitionary period of their lives requires them to perform new understandings of gender, perform "maturity" at their jobs, speak English, and perform new cultural behaviours in order to "adapt". Some participants expressed that part of understanding space involves observing how people act within it, and adopting those new learned behaviours, such as how women dress, how young people socialize, or how people greet each other in the grocery store. Thus, spaces outside are characterized by constant performance. Home, however, is a refuge from this learned spatial performativity, both gender-based and cultural, that young immigrant women feel they must take on. Home is where Mutya dances, Rosa learns about herself, Maria learns new recipes, Nina can take off her hijab, Zoey can finally think clearly, and Lily can speak Arabic with her mother. Home is where identity is both formed and rooted. For these women, home is not where gender roles are located or performed, nor are their identities restricted due to expected domesticity. Home is where performativity is interrupted and identity is explored and refreshed.
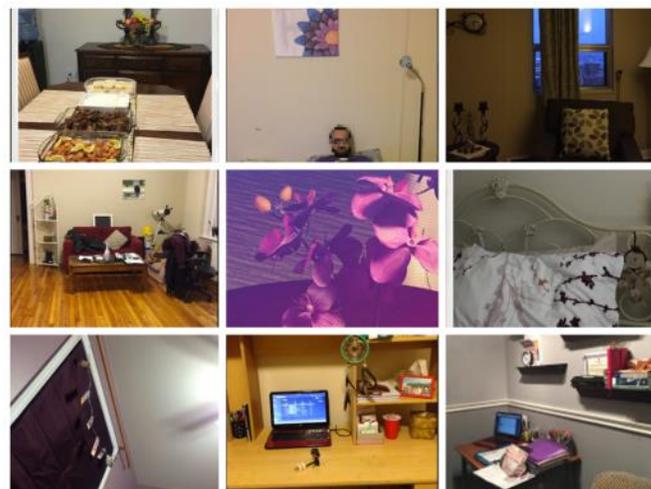
Figure 6. Photos participants chose of their homes and bedrooms. Source: Reproduced with permission from anonymous participants.

Not only are these women new immigrants, but they are also transitioning into adulthood, adapting different ideas of womanhood, trying to find temporary work, places to live, and deciding a career path. Whether it was fear of having to move back to the country they came from, or nervousness about getting a job in Canada as an immigrant, all participants expressed ambivalence or uncertainty in some

Figure 7. Photo of the church Negsti goes to be alone. Source: Reproduced with permission from an anonymous participant.

way. In response to this uncertainty, an evident theme throughout the interviews was seeking spaces of stillness and control. Participants view these still, quiet spaces as *separate* from the outside world. Often labelled by participants as "my space," these are spaces that are predictable, in stark contrast to the unpredictable outside world laden with movement and change, as Negsti said about her church: "Outside there's a lot of movement. [Here], you feel like the place is pausing for a moment." In these spaces, they are able to slow time, be in control of their environment, and address the anxieties of adjusting to new environments, negotiating Otherness, and developing new social and gender identities. These are spaces where they can exert some level of control, standing in opposition to the ambivalence that characterizes their lives.

When describing why these spaces are important to them, women told me the following: "It's where I can stay for a while then go back to normal life" (May), "I feel like my room is like my mind. I can think there" (Negsti), "It's where I have that alone time" (Lily), "I pray there, which is a personal expressions of myself" (Maria), "you make it your own place, rather than places outside" (Rosa), "you forget you're in Halifax when you're there, you forget about the world for an hour" (Nina), "I have complete control over it. It's a place you can feel grounded" (Zoey). While these spaces are viewed as quiet and still, even sacred, as May told me about her piano room (Figure 8, top left), they are still *moving*. These still, quiet spaces are where the processes of identity formation are

at work. Participants disclosed that these spaces are where they learn about themselves and find, as many state, "time for myself," "freedom," and "space to think." When photos of these spaces were discussed, conversations revolved around how they are spaces *for themselves*. These spaces are where participants express themselves, pray, study, paint, try new things, and speak to friends from their home country. While these women may experience their secluded spaces as immobile and unchanging, they still embody movement through the processes of identity formation. In line with Massey's argument, even if space is perceived as still, place is not being-– it is always *becoming*.

Figure 8. Spaces of seclusion and stillness. Source: Reproduced with permission from anonymous participants.

Participants expressed the need to connect to their cultural identity upon immigrating to Canada. This need to access and mobilize their new identities as immigrants is facilitated by certain spaces. Mobilizing different dimensions of their "old selves" and maintaining a connec-

tion to their cultural heritage through space is important for all participants. This is exemplified by Maria, who accesses her cultural identity through attending Church with other Filipinos, stating, "When I'm there I just feel like I'm myself again, like a part of myself is actually still alive even if I don't feel it. [...] Sometimes the world is just running right... it's going and you tend to forget some things that are of value to you." These women use different spaces to act on different dimensions of their identities, with some spaces highlighting the formation of their new identities as immigrants. Four participants connect to their cultural identities at home, where they can speak their language, cook food from their home countries, and connect with their families. May accesses this part of her identity through helping other international students adapt to Canadian life at work, or as she states, "I found myself." Furthermore, as Mutya states:

> The only time I feel I'm an immigrant is when I have to get in touch with my Filipino roots. But I don't see it as a negative thing because I'm gonna stay here and eventually I want to be a Canadian. But at the same time, I'm taking both of my identities with me. It's like a mixture of both. I miss my home and everything, and a lot of things that I do is – it still has to do with my being Filipino. But I don't see it as a negative thing. It makes me different, but it's not something bad. The word immigrant is kind of getting to me I guess, because this is my home now. I'm gonna live here. I'm not planning on going back.

Mutya also highlights that eating at Filipino restaurants, or attending events where Filipinos gather, are a way for her to act on her cultural identity, and therefore her identity as an immigrant. Accessing and forming an immigrant identity is important in their integration to Canadian cities. Furthermore, Rosa and Negsti both desire more spaces where they can express their cultural identity through sharing culture, traditions, spices, clothes, and customs. It is important to note that the context of being in Canada shapes how immigrants express identi-

ties or address their heritage because the policy of multiculturalism officially validates it. This is exemplified by Lily's belief that being an immigrant in Canada is an asset in her career development compared to other countries. Thus, the need to share one's culture may play out differently in a country where there isn't an explicit recognition of multiculturalism.

The women I spoke to form new definitions of gender identities and what they view to be adult and 'Canadian' identities. An important component to accessing and mobilizing new understandings of themselves is their life stage, where new identities must be formed in order to 'grow up' and 'adapt'. All aged between 18-25, many of the participants work to carve out parts of themselves that exist separately from their parents. Many believe that moving to Canada has allowed them to 'grow up' in different ways than they would in their home country, as May states:

> I think the main thing I learned in Canada is that I know more about myself because in China you're always a child. You're a child, all the time! Even though people thirty or forty or so, they're still a child to their parents, their grandparents, their families. So you never get a chance to really... be yourself. Or be an adult. An independent adult. Back in China I'm always the "good girl," but that's not what I want to be forever. Every time I go back [to China] they say 'oh you're more mature now; you're an adult! You're not a girl anymore!' and I feel proud of myself because they treat me differently so they don't treat me as a little girl, they treat me as a young adult with my own thoughts.

This quote reflects the thoughts and feelings of all participants, who expressed that they are more outgoing, confident, and independent as a result of the new spaces they are able to occupy and activities they do in them. They are now able to live alone, get part time jobs, hang out in public spaces, establish new social identities, and have freedom from parents who previously dictated what spaces they occupied. Observing Western women in urban space has al-
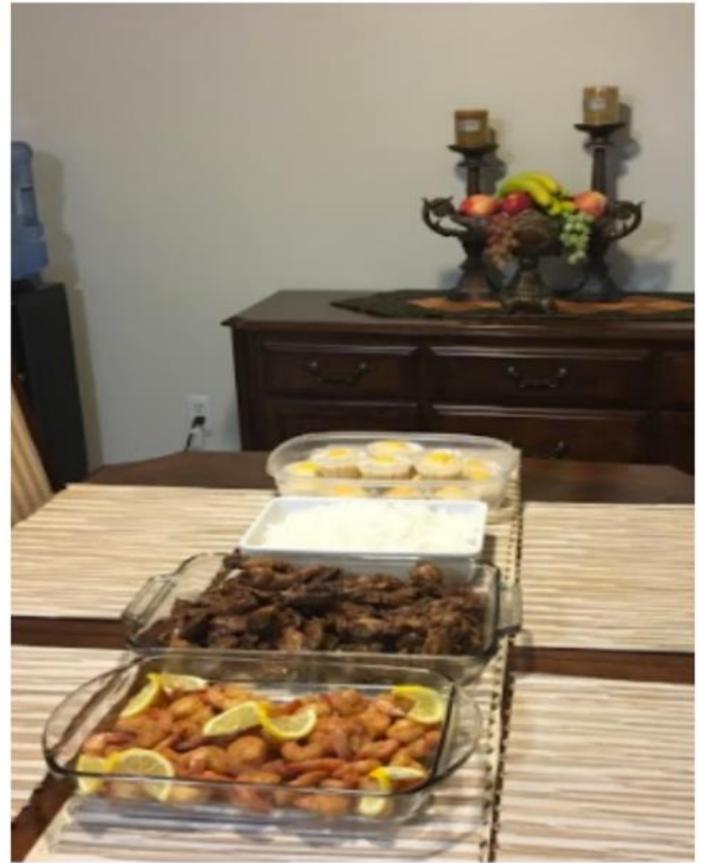
Figure 9. Photos where participants express cultural identity. Source: Reproduced with permission from anonymous participants.

so brought new understandings of gender identity and performance, with many participants stating they have become "less conservative" than they were in their home countries. Many women share the belief that if they were to stay in their country of origin, they would not have developed in the same way. May believes her life has changed because the primary goal for young women in China is to find a good husband. Negsti expressed that living on her own is a privilege, as she could only move out as a woman in Kuwait if she got married. Furthermore, when asked if her life would have followed in the same direction if she stayed in Egypt, Lily replied, "Knowing how I came here to Canada, I would have been much more closed and struggling with interacting with strangers. I wouldn't have met someone like you, for example. That outgoing personality I have right now wouldn't have been developed at all." While all participants view these changes as positive, it is important to note that these changes are linked to perceptions of who women *think* they should be within their new urban landscapes (an independent 'Western' woman). As these young im-

migrant women contend with new spaces, they also form new social identities and understandings of themselves as a result of their life stage.

Conclusion

This study unpacks how young immigrant women actively transform their city against a foreground of inequality and racialized contexts, revealing the social construction of space to be at the core of their urban experiences. First, I have emphasized two tensions experienced by participants in space; one being between new-found spatial freedom and gendered safety issues, and the second between freedom of mobility and the spatial restrictions they face as women. I argue that young immigrant women negotiate gendered safety issues through the development of spatial knowledge and through these processes, help transform spaces to be accessible to *all* women. Second, I outlined the diverse ways in which young immigrant women experience Otherness in space. What's emphasized here, however, is that they actively *negotiate* this Otherness by constructing belonging and claiming spaces.

After examining how young immigrant women shape the city, I analyzed why women chose their bedrooms, homes, or secluded spaces as where identity manifests. I discovered that home is a refuge from both the performativity they must adopt and the change that characterizes their life stage. As places where the processes of identity formation are at work, I argue that while perceived as still, these spaces remain in motion. Lastly, I examined how participants act on and mobilize their new identities as immigrants, women, and adults through different spaces.

This study illuminates that young immigrant women are not passive recipients who simply encounter social change, inequality, or new understandings of themselves. Rather, they actively engage in the processes that transform cities through claiming spaces, constructing belonging, negotiating inequality, and acting on different social identities. Young immigrant women are not simply accommodated; rather, they actively weave themselves into the fabric of cities. Addressing the underdeveloped research of young immigrant women in Canadian urban spaces, this study shows that participants' everyday experience of urban space is participatory, active, and negotiated.

Exploring how young immigrant women interpret and experience urban space opens up ways of understanding larger issues involving diversity, inclusion, and identity within cities. Engaging with the 'everyday' social constructions of space builds new understandings of integration, where space is actively claimed and shaped by immigrants. Further research is needed that allows the voices, needs, and perspectives of young immigrant women to be integrated in social research and urban policy. As this study focuses on the everyday, and how people subjectively interpret space, more research is needed that analyzes how young immigrant women in particular are affected by overarching structures of power. It is vital to explore how the institutions of political and economic power that constrain or direct agency influence life for young immigrant women. Furthermore, an analysis that includes young immigrant women and *class* as a social position is required. Addressing the rise of diversity in cities calls for reframing questions of immigrant integration to consider how spaces are actively claimed and constructed as ones of belonging by immigrants themselves. If cities are to belong to all people, all people must create them. If this is to be achieved, acknowledging that people experience space differently is crucial, and the multiple ways young immigrant women experience space must be incorporated, understood, and acted on by urban policy makers.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the Dalhousie University Anthropology faculty for investing in students and providing many opportunities to learn and grow. Thank you to Martha Radice for helping me make sense in my writing, in my ideas, and of the world. Your unyielding support has allowed my passion for anthropology to grow more than I could ever expect. Finally, a big thank you to the women who shared their photos, time, and stories with me. Your visions of the city are inspiring and I sincerely wish you all the best building your lives in Canada.

References

Ang, Ien. 2003. "Together-In-Difference: Beyond Diaspora, Into Hybridity." *Asian Studies Review* 27 (2): 141-154.

Brettell, Caroline B., and Carolyn F. Sargent. 2013. "Domestic Worlds and Public Worlds." In *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Caroline. B. Brettell and Carolyn. F. Sargent, 77-80. Boston: Pearson.

Clark-Ibanez, Marisol. 2004. "Framing The Social World with Photo-Elicitation Interviews." *The American Behavioral Scientist* 47 (12): 1507-1525.

Clark, Cindy D. 1999. "The Auto-Driven Interview: A Photographic Viewfinder into Children's Experiences." *Visual Sociology* 14 (1): 39-50.

Giritli-Nygren, Katarina, and Ulrika Schmauch. 2012. "Picturing Inclusive Places in Segregated Spaces: A Participatory Photo Project Conducted by Migrant Women in Sweden." *Gender, Place & Culture* 19 (5): 600-614.

Green, Eileen, and Carrie Singleton. 2006. "Risky Bodies at Leisure: Young Women Negotiating Space and Place." *Sociology* 40 (5): 853-871.

Hall, Suzanne M. 2015. "Migrant Urbanisms: Ordinary Cities and Everyday Resistance." *Sociology* 49 (5): 853-869.

Kolb, Bettina. 2008. "Involving, Sharing, Analysing—Potential of the Participatory Photo Interview." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 9 (3): 1-25.

Koskela, Hille. 1997. "Bold Walk and Breakings: Women's Spatial Confidence Versus Fear of Violence." *Gender, Place and Culture* 4 (3): 301–319.

Low, Setha. 1996a. "Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica." *American Ethnologist* 23 (4): 861-879.

Low, Setha. 1996b. "THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CITIES: Imagining and Theorizing the City." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1): 383-409.

Massey, Doreen B. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Maynard, Mary. 1994. "'Race', Gender and the Concept of 'Difference'

in Feminist Thought." In *The Dynamics of 'Race' and Gender: Some Feminist Interventions*, edited by Haleh Afshar and Mary Maynard, 9–25. London: Taylor and Francis.

Maynard, Mary. 2002. "Studying Age, "Race" and Gender: Translating a Research Proposal into a Project." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 5 (1): 31–40.

Nayak, Anoop. 2003. *Race, Place and Globalization: Youth Cultures in a Changing World*. New York, NY: Berg Publishers.

Rahder, Barbara, and Heather McLean. 2013. "Other Ways of Knowing your Place: Immigrant Women's Experience of Public Space in Toronto." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 22 (1): 145-166.

Rodman, Margaret C. 1992. "Empowering place: Multilocality and Multivocality." *American Anthropologist* 94 (3): 640-656.

Rosaldo, Michelle Z. 1974. "Women, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview." In *Woman, Culture, and Society*, edited by Louise Lamphere and Michelle Z. Rosaldo, 17-42. Stanford, CA: University Press.

Skelton, Tracey. 2013. "Young People's Urban Im/Mobilities: Relationality and Identity Formation." *Urban Studies* 50 (3): 467-483.

Statistics Canada. 2011. Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada (Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011001). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada. 2013. *Halifax, RGM, Nova Scotia (Code 1209034) (table). National Household Survey (NHS) Profile*. 2011 National Household Survey. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-004-XWE. Ottawa. Released September 11, 2013. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E (accessed April 14, 2017).

Statistics Canada. 2016. Notice - Supplementary Information 2017 Immigration Levels Plan. Last updated October 31st, 2017. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/notices/2016-10-31.asp (accessed April 14, 2017).

Woodley, Xeturah M., and Megan Lockard. 2016. "Womanism and Snowball Sampling: Engaging Marginalized Populations in Holistic Research." *The Qualitative Report* 21 (2): 321-329.

Liminal Social and Physical Spaces: Aspects of Identity and Socialization Patterns in a Neighborhood House

Alannah Berson

University of British Colombia, a.berson@alumni.ubc.ca

ABSTRACT

Vancouver, British Columbia, is a changing city with a diverse population from all over the globe. Within this metropolis are small neighborhood houses where people can find community services like conversation groups to learn English, clubs to meet new people, and daycare and preschool to care for their children. This article explores social relations in one neighborhood house. Despite the small size of the house, the members and users of the house do not necessarily identify with a larger house identity or an imagined community. Using ethnographic research, this paper examines how gentrification, imagined communities, and liminal events separate and unite different portions of the house membership via Goffmanian theory about masks, teams, and regions. It looks at the house in terms of individuals establishing team identity through space-claiming practices that reinforce mask identities. In a place and time of demographic change, this paper seeks to find out how the concept of neighbors and neighborhood membership is changing through individual and group efforts to control shared spaces.

Keywords: gentrification, imagined communities, liminality, Goffman, Vancouver

Gentrification and radical changes in neighborhood demographics are frequent conversations throughout Vancouver, British Columbia, as the third-largest Canadian city continues to have a notoriously tight housing market and a long history of immigrant neighborhoods. Mountain Neighborhood House is situated towards the southern end of the city. The house is part of a citywide system of non-profit "neighborhood houses," sites for community programs to give people a place to socialize or get support. As such, it is at the forefront of helping diverse sections of the neighborhood population through a variety of services. As the surrounding area undergoes gentrification, the house continues to focus on reaching out to low-income and new immigrant families, while also offering daycare to those lucky few who can afford it and can get one of the limited spaces. In this article, I examine how the various populations served by the neighborhood house seek space in the house and create and navigate various interactional identities bounded by events. Members of the house create imagined communities via participating in events at the house, which create interactional teams that depend on the liminality or in-betweenness of the house to bring together people otherwise separated by stages of gentrification.

The Neighborhood

The Mountain neighborhood is about a 30-minute bus ride from the downtown core of Vancouver and, like the downtown, is undergoing development that is changing the faces of businesses and of residents, including gentrification. Gentrification has been the subject of much debate, but it can be understood as "a complex process, or set of processes, involving physical improvement of the housing stock, housing tenure change from renting to owning, price rises, and the displacement or replacement of the exiting working-class population by the middle classes" (Hamnett 2003, 331). The city has a recognized housing shortage that continually forces housing and rental prices up (Sutherland et al. 2014). Frequently, older buildings, apartments and houses are torn down and rebuilt with newer, more expensive versions of what was there before, displacing the previous residents, often students or immigrants. The ethnic food restaurants are giving way to expensive cafes and shops selling vintage clothing and local handicrafts. This creates an area that glorifies objects and activities from times past (Glass 1964), while restoring older buildings to newer ways of life to support various interpretations of artistic consumption (Zukin 2010). This follows a decade-long trend of low vacancy rates in Vancouver, a city push to create a "livable" space, and a broader shift in the economy to people being employed in sociocultural fields (Ley 2010). This area is the perfect illusion of a diverse artistic paradise; however, Vancouver rent prices are beyond the reach of most artists and there are only a few traces remaining of the immigrant culture that previously characterized the area.

Walking through the neighborhood revealed a noticeable difference in socialization patterns between the newer houses and freshly painted apartment buildings compared to the older or more rundown houses. Among the newer houses, not that many children play outside, and rarely do people spend much time talking to their neighbors over fences. Instead, people seem to focus on their own families more and there is little feeling of being united by anything other than geographic location. This pattern of outdoor sociability is similar to what Levy and Roman (2010) describe as hidden dimensions of culture and class. They suggest that people who move into an area as a result of gentrification often use outdoor spaces for specific activities, not for prolonged social engagements like older residents do (Levy and Roman 2010, 288). Such differences in lifestyle patterns can even lead to feelings of resentment between older and newer residents, based on different conceptions of work and play (Levy and Roman 2010, 289). While I was living in the

neighborhood, my landlord warned me repeatedly about people hanging around in the area and there were a few times that I noticed a community police vehicle patrolling the area, creating an aura of fear and institutional intimidation that compelled people to adhere to the idea of spending time indoors unless going somewhere or engaged in a specific activity (Pérez 2010). Thus, the current concept of neighborhood in this area might be that of people sharing a geographical area and a belief that their neighbors are going though similar life styles and experiences, forsaking the imagined historical idea of "neighbors" being united through direct engagement with those who live nearby. This contrasts with the imaginary communities of Mountain Neighborhood House, where employees aim to facilitate neighbors engaging with other members of the house through various activities.

Methods

Given the changing patterns of socialization between neighbors as a result of gentrification, the neighborhood house is a primary socialization space, a space shared by the older and newer residents of the area. I spent six weeks volunteering in the Mountain Neighborhood House as part of an ethnography course, helping with various food and social programs. During this time, I observed and talked with staff and members of the house as they organized or accessed the diverse programming. Throughout my conversations and fieldnotes, as well as my interview with my supervisor, I noticed that discrete interactional spaces were created throughout the house. To analyze the creation of distinct social spaces in the house, I use the concept of "taming space," following Robertson (2007), to discuss how members navigate and claim physical space for themselves or their group. This navigation process depends on the formation of "teams" and "regions," as defined by Goffman (1959), as well as the "in-betweenness" or liminality (Turner 1967) of both the house and the teams, which creates temporary interactional sites that may reinforce or challenge team identities maintained outside of the house. Gentrification has fostered a transition between established patterns and

residents and new ones, creating an in-between state in the process. Thus the neighborhood house acts as an interactional stage for the various identities and the creation of "imagined communities" (Anderson 1983) based on individuals' conception of their own and others' "neighborly" identities.

The House

I went to the neighborhood house to meet with my supervisor and get an idea of what programs the house offers and in which I would be involved. From the front door of the house, I walked past a few chairs to the left of the front desk and a set of small offices on the right. Staff normally shared each office with three or four other people. Beyond this entryway was a set of stairs on the left, more chairs and a fireplace just beyond that, and a daycare at the end of the hall. There was a kitchen to the right of the daycare, followed by two large rooms called East and West Hall on the right side of the hallway, along with some bathrooms. Most of the special events take place in the East and West Halls because they have a foldable dividing wall between them and are the largest rooms in the house. While the East Hall was empty when I first arrived, the West Hall was occupied by a Chinese seniors' conversational group learning English. The upstairs had a small glass-walled meeting room, a preschool, and three larger meeting rooms. There were more offices where staff again shared rooms with three or four other people.

When I met Brianna, my supervisor, she listed the variety of programs that the house offered: a daycare, a preschool, special events to encourage people to socialize, and settlement programs to inform recent immigrants about Canadian culture and help them learn English if necessary. My work at the house centered on helping in the kitchen during the special events, making a map of food assets in the area, such as low-cost or environmentally friendly food, and administering a survey about what programs people were using and whether they had suggestions for future programs. The survey was not created by me, was not part of this project, and continued after I had left, which meant that I did not have access to the results. The ensuing observations and

reflections focus more on the process of administering the survey rather than the questions listed on it.

In the process of conducting the survey I spent time sitting on the first floor outside of the daycare, kitchen, and two main rooms. In the mornings and afternoons, parents in their 30s wearing suits, clean-cut spandex exercise wear, or fresh t-shirts and jeans would drop off their children at the daycare. Meanwhile, Asian seniors would occasionally sing in a Chinese choir in the East hall, or a Spanish play-group would gather in the West Hall. Even when the seniors saw the children on the way to the washroom, they would never acknowledge the children, just as the well-dressed parents rarely looked to the sides of the hallway as they dashed in with the forgotten lunch bag or walked and talked with their child on the way home for the day.

Despite sharing the same building in the neighborhood, and even the same open space of the hallway, it seemed like the different groups using the house did not interact with each other. However, when I was sitting in the chairs just off the hallway, I often found myself talking to staff, members, and anyone else who sat down for a moment. Sometimes the people were regulars, people who were almost always at the house, enjoying the coffee, waiting for a phone call, or waiting for the free bread given out on Fridays. Other times they were people who just wanted to drop in and visit with staff or other people who were frequently at the house. The chairs offered a place to sit and spend time without being in an activity, which might be why people tended to talk more here. While conducting the survey, I talked to a man who said he had spent almost a decade living in the area and that he liked coming to the house and doing various small jobs for the front desk, like changing light bulbs. He said that other times he just wanted to come in and sit down for a while. He was older, with grey hair, almost always wore a dusty embroidered cowboy shirt, and frequently joked with the woman who worked the front desk.

The boundaries of the patterns of sociability in the house simultaneously reinforce and contradict the patterns of taming space that Leslie Robertson (2007) describes in her discussion of the Vancouver Downtown Eastside (DTES). "Taming space," as Robertson defines it, consists of the "negotiations, transgressions and accommodations [people] make within particular spatial regimes" and the processes of how people reconcile their individual identities with wider social stereotypes of who occupies, works in, or passes through the area, each subject to their own stereotypes (Roberston 2007, 527). For some people, the Mountain neighborhood house acts as a social ground where they are accepted and given a safe place to enjoy free coffee, just as some of Robertson's interviewees find social recognition and acceptance for the first time in the DTES (Robertson 2007, 540). Women in the article talk about having space to call their own in the form of apartments (Robertson 2007, 544), or having a social space to have an identity accepted by a larger group (Robertson 2007, 539). Similarly, the Neighborhood House encouraged socializing among some members, but only within certain groups based on specific activities or services. Instead of strongly advertising the house as a place to spend periods of time, the flyers at the house stressed its services and did not mention its free coffee and chairs. Like Ho's (2015) account of a nearby neighborhood house, the free coffee and focused efforts of staff created a welcoming atmosphere for members but, in the Mountain Neighborhood House, group membership was enforced by participation in events or services used. For instance, the choir singers stuck together and did not talk to the people on the couches, the daycare parents, or the people in the room next door. This is an instance of taming space, of a room in the house being temporarily claimed as a place of identity based on an activity being scheduled there. However, part of this taming process is simply the negotiation of linguistic and other communicative divides between various groups within the space.

In addition to linguistic challenges in communicating in a multilingual area, there were activity-based barriers, as different activities encouraged groups to form around the activity. Goffman defines a performance team as "any set of individuals who co-operate in staging a single routine" (Goffman 1959, 79). The various purposes for which people use the

house operate as "routines" that guide how people present themselves and think of others. These teams then act in "regions" of the house that bind people's perceptions of themselves, the house, and others in the house (Goffman 1959, 106). Goffman defines a region as "any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception" (Goffman 1959, 106). The various areas of the house function as a source of identity, offering people a sense of purpose for being there, whether to socialize or to participate in a particular program. The "barriers to perception" can thus be walls within the house, activities that direct the focus of participants away from other occurrences in the house, and so on. In acting like a team, people lose some aspects of their individual identities as they seek to perform their task, making it difficult to interact with others outside of the group. The focus of such teams in turn claims some physical space within the house, making it a temporary region of team-based identity. Such identity performances focus on "express [ing] the characteristics of the task that is performed and not the characteristics of the performer" (Goffman 1959, 77). The house is thus broken down, socially and physically, into the various ways and reasons that people use the house, ensuring that groups of people with similar backgrounds and desires meet and socialize. Interacting with individuals from other groups is not discouraged, but neither is it encouraged.

Pamphlets and activities at the house frequently focused on different subgroups of the population, such as Mandarin or Cantonese speakers, Spanish parents, or parents needing childcare. With the focus on recent immigrants and the number of language related programs, it could be that people using one service do not communicate with people using another service for lack of a common language. Either way, people could identify as members of the same organization, and neighbors, yet avoid actually interacting with other members. The concept of "team" as defined by Goffman can thus be understood as operating at a few levels and styles of connection within the neighborhood house: the level of group activities for a range of audiences, that of the members of the house, and that of the wider neighborhood.

Regions and teams are not necessarily the same thing, but the concept of a neighborhood house depends on the group identity of "neighbors" where the shared task is living in some sort of communal way. Teams in this context are formed by performances of identity which inhabit particular regions of the house and wider neighborhood for varying periods of time. In the house, there are some regions that are very slow to change, like the daycare area or the kitchen, where set activities always occur, but there are other areas that change more rapidly, like the larger communal areas where different events are held on a daily basis. The wider neighborhood's patterns of gentrification are similar. There are some regions that change more rapidly and whose barriers to perception change who is included or excluded at faster rates than some local area stores and houses which hold on to their barriers longer. The sense of community depends on the vibe of the neighborhood, and how it is defined and enacted depends on how various waves of neighbors interpret "neighborly" behavior.

Helping at Special Events

While I was at the house I worked in the kitchen during a Cooking Club meeting and a Multicultural Dinner. Both events were based around being sociable over dinner, but were different sizes and had different target audiences. The Cooking Club is about 20 to 30 people who get together every two months or so and, led by a rotating volunteer cook, prepare food from different regions. The participants ranged in age and background. Some were young couples who had just moved to Canada, others were in their 40s and 50s and used the event as a chance to catch up with friends they had met in other programs run by the house. The event filled the kitchen with laughter, mostly English conversation, and spicy -smelling chicken.

The Multicultural Dinner was a much larger event with almost 100 people participating from the community and different programs in the house, a choir performing, and formal decorations. The kitchen was led by two Spanish-speaking women and some other volunteers, a few of whom were also members of the Cooking Club. Most of the cooking

instructions and conversations were conducted in Spanish mixed with a bit of English because there were a number of Spanish-speaking volunteers and one cook who did not speak much English. However, not all of the volunteers spoke Spanish; two women spoke Mandarin or Cantonese as their first language, English as their second, and no Spanish. These women came to help prepare the food and ended up working with me preparing the rice, separately from the rest of the food preparation. When the food was served, the volunteers brought it out to the attendees – who had bought tickets – and then we ate in a different portion of the house, away from the performing choir.

The two events seem quite similar in that they both focus on serving food in a social setting, but the exact bounds of where and when in the meal process the socializing happens are quite different. In the Multicultural Dinner, the focus is on talking over the meal and enjoying the entertainment together, whereas the Cooking Club socializes throughout the cooking and eating process. During the Multicultural Dinner, there was a clear divide between those who paid for the dinner, and thus ate in the decorated room with music, and those who prepared the dinner and sat out in the hallway, making the dinner a large production rather than a gathering of friends. However, this gathering, in contrast with the Cooking Club, could potentially facilitate interactions between people from different programs in the house.

During the Cooking Club meeting, the divide was more between people's different reasons for being there than what we did: between the members of the Cooking Club on the one hand, and, on the other, the staff and the volunteers (like me) who helped get the cooking process started but left the kitchen as more members showed up to take over. When the club meeting first started, I was part of the cooking crew, cutting vegetables and adding spices; as more people showed up, however, Brianna, my supervisor, asked me to leave the kitchen and help her with other parts of the event, like making name tags. She said that knowing when to draw back from an activity and leave it for the participants is an important part of giving participants a safe and fun space to be. As the staff withdrew, the kitchen became a place of laughter, spicy smells, and people talking about food and other parts of life.

The more congenial atmosphere of the Cooking Club could be a result of a club policy of trying to speak English as a common language, as well as of trying to get as many people involved with the cooking process as possible or of chatting with people sitting at the tables while the food was cooking. A common language makes it easier to get people involved, but only if they speak that language, which is one thing that made the Multicultural Dinner different. That evening there was no clear common language, so the group divided along linguistic lines as well as the lines drawn by the event organization itself. Although the dinner preparation included more people, it also alienated more people, at least on the volunteer end.

Thus the creation of social interactions in the neighborhood house contrasted with the unity depicted by Lees (2010) and the methods of taming space described by Robertson (2007), even if the goals were similar. The house is an institutional effort to facilitate the creation of social networks that in Lees' field site occurred more organically. Staff at the house seek to bring together and recognize the different strengths and roles of members through different activities (Lees 2010, 398) and must deal with a heterogeneous population (Lees 2010, 393). The house, partially funded by the government and run by a board of wealthier area residents, is a highly programmed effort to mimic the type of face-to-face networking that can occur more organically in communities, like what Lees describes. However, such unintentional casual networking is difficult to create in an area undergoing major gentrification, when significant differences of class or lifestyle may divide the population. The house also gives people a place to see their friends and belong, similarly to how the DTES offers a place of belonging (Robertson 2007, 539). However, as Robertson discusses, there is also a desire to tame space for oneself or one's group (Robertson 2007, 544). The house was a site of a complex and ever-shifting web of social relations depending on the people and groups present.

The governing factors of this web seemed to be language abilities and the will to establish a common language in a given activity, as well as people's purposes or reasons for going to the house. These aspects follow Goffman's assertion that "in so far as they [in this case, members of the neighborhood house] co-operate in maintaining a given impression, using this device as a means of achieving their ends, they constitute what has here been called a team" (Goffman 1959, 84.) If a person sought to be social, like the regulars who chat over coffee and come in several days a week, then that person's community of people to interact with encompassed others encountered in those situations. If a person saw the house as a place to do a certain activity or access a service like daycare, then that person saw only those in the narrowed field of focus around those services and events. The various social groups active within the neighborhood house depend, to some extent, on the members of those groups using the programs to achieve a certain end, whether it be socializing, cooking a meal, learning a language, or otherwise being socialized into the urban Canadian context. The two dinners discussed differed mainly in scope: the Cooking Club had fewer participants but had more flexibility in who could interact with whom; the Multicultural Dinner served more people but generated a narrower definition of who interacted with whom, limited by who shared a table in the dining room or a language in the kitchen. (Unfortunately, due to my position in the kitchen, I was not able to see how people chose which table to sit at and who to talk to.) Thus it is not just physical space and its functions, but also social and mental space and goals that determine how people interact and include others or not.

An Administrator's Point of View

During my time at the neighborhood house, I interviewed my supervisor, Brianna, about how she saw her position within the house as the Community Developer and where she wants the programming to go. She explained, "We work on those different spectrums of the community development. We go from service, to engagement, to empowerment." Thus my supervisor saw the house not just as a place where people would meet, but to have those

meetings give people power and confidence in their own abilities such that they eventually feel more certain of their autonomy and agency. This was part of why the house relies heavily on members to act as volunteers to share their time and knowledge. If members put their own work into a project, like in the Cooking Club, they had something to show for it, a meal to share with friends, along with new or reaffirmed cooking abilities. The people leading programming at the house then sought to facilitate social and knowledge exchanges, developing social networks, and building a stronger sense of community in the process.

Specifically with regards to the Cooking Club, Brianna said, "It's a good way to feed your family. It's a good way to make friends. It's a good way to have more of a social experience. Because you could get really isolated." She contrasted this with the Multicultural Dinners by saying, "[the Multicultural Dinner is] more open just because there's a fee, it's easier right? And we have more space, like we take up to a hundred, maybe eighty people." The latter was also more widely advertised due to the larger space capacity. The Multicultural Dinner reached out to people across programs and even outside of the house, thanks to people inviting their friends, possibly creating further-reaching social networks. The Cooking Club was smaller and focused on deepening in-house relationships, often formed in the settlement programs or between people who like socializing around food. Brianna realized this, noting, "The Multicultural Dinner is more sharing, like open sharing without necessarily getting too close. Yeah, and I would say the Cooking Club is about more like making friends because you actually get to relate to people more closer than, than the dinner."

Brianna's understanding of the differences between the two groups reflected the conclusions I reached about them, but is based on a different point of view. While she was talking about the house as a whole, my position in the kitchen gave me get a glimpse of how some of the volunteers, many of whom are members of the house, interact in these different contexts. I do not know if Brianna has seen or thought about these differences specifically as she did not mention them in the

interview. However, based on volunteer comments, the programs were run differently in the kitchen and, based on my observations, the staff handling of these two events does not quite match up with Brianna's stated intention.

A volunteer during the Multicultural Dinner, who was also a member of the Cooking Club, tried to get more of the women to speak in English, saying that this would help include more people in the cooking process. The Multicultural Dinner did not have a rule about language use that members imposed and reinforced like the Cooking Club did. At neither event did a staff member comment on trying to speak a common language, suggesting that it was the members who thought that the rule was important enough to try and enforce. Again, this demonstrates how different groups within the house constituted Goffmanian teams. These teams depend on the ways that members deploy group identity characteristics by controlling their mask in a group performance. Goffman's idea of masks, "the role we are striving to live up to" (Goffman 1959, 19), encompasses how people try to act within a social interaction to follow established social rules and expectations. While the Multicultural Dinner did not have an overt rule about language use, there were clearly other social expectations at play in terms of how people interacted in the kitchen versus out where the entertainment and socializing was occurring. Even within the Cooking Club there were other clear means of mask control that governed how people interacted with each other. For example, people shared stories about where they were from, listened to the person leading the event, and so on. All such activities culminated in establishing an outwardly orderly event and coherent group interaction that reinforced elements of a group identity.

This instance is almost the opposite of what Stacey Pigg (2013) found in her work with international non-profits, where the language was too tightly controlled to be relevant to the people the organizations sought to help. Pigg argues that the NGOs she studied could not actually help the people in the area because the NGOs were not allowed to translate the language of the organization into the language of the local people. The wider organizations had too great a control over their members' actions

and the organizations' self-presentation through pamphlets and language, and people within them were stuck trying to work through broken policies. In the case of the neighborhood house, it was instead the lack of language policies or suggestions that isolated different people. While English was the language of the Cooking Club, it made sense that it was not the *lingua franca* of all events, like the Chinese choir or Spanish parenting group. However, perhaps having a stated language policy for some events would help achieve the goal of empowerment in a mixed language environment. Of course, this would only address the question of how to communicate in an environment where people have already gathered to socialize with each other; it does not examine the complications of interpreting and understanding how people and the house are set up to socialize or not across different groups inside the house.

Communities, Space, and Liminality

The neighborhood house offered a variety of programs for people to bond over, creating communities of people where everyone could see each other. However, the community of people who identified as members also created imagined communities, which Benedict Anderson (1991) defines as "*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members" (Anderson 1991, 6). Anderson is talking about nations, but such ideas can also apply to smaller numbers of people, since most members of the house do not regularly see each other but still identify as members of the same group, the neighborhood house. The members of the house also form a community by Anderson's definition because "in fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (Anderson 1991, 6). Thus the members of the house may belong to a variety of imagined communities because any group that considers itself a group might not physically see everyone thought to be in the group at a given time or activity, but still acts as a collective, and is thus an imagined community.

These imagined communities exist on multiple levels, arising from connections on the Goffmanian teams created around the activities in which people participate. They also socialize limitations based on the languages people speak, the places they identify as coming from, the places they live, and so on. Thus, the divisions of the surrounding neighborhood area might also have been a function of imagined communities, where specific streets arbitrarily made up part of an identity from the accident of who ended up talking to whom. However, within the house, the divisions between groups and the cohesion of different groups were strong or weak to different degrees depending on the situation. Such variations are based on perceived aspects of team identity and what elements of personal masks facilitate or challenge the conception of a particular group identity. For instance, in a kitchen where there were women from different Spanish speaking countries, the women mentioned which countries they came from, but then fell into a single group by speaking a common language. This created a cohesive group of Spanish speakers while defining a boundary of who was not a part of it, by virtue of using a language that not everyone in the kitchen could speak.

This does not explain how the larger house events hailed a larger group identity that was pushed aside once the event is over in favor of smaller activity-based group identities. There was something special about the larger events that let people break through the smaller imagined communities that function on a daily basis, in order to focus on the larger community of membership in the house. Unlike the instances when daycare parents ignored the people sitting on the couches, or when the Chinese choir did not interact with the kids group next door, the Multicultural Dinner and the Cooking Club were liminal events. Liminality, for the purposes of this paper, is the idea that for short, defined periods of time, a new social or interactional order is created in-between established orders. These events were in-between the daily social patterns, like who talked to whom while sitting in the couches on a given day, or who came in for coffee, because the coffee and couches were available any time the house was open, while the special events were transitory moments. Consequently, during

these larger events, people developed a liminal persona, which Victor Turner (1967) describes as "invisible" because "the structural "invisibility" of liminal *persona* has a twofold character. They are no longer classified and not yet classified" (Turner 1967, 96). The larger events brought people from different subgroups within the house together and created an in-between space where people could simultaneously inhabit multiple identities: one being the group(s) they were involved in within the house, the other belonging to the Cooking Club or the Multicultural Dinner. Neither identity encompassed the whole person, but rather influenced how people interacted in larger mediating social contexts that broke the patterns of normal socialization.

The idea of liminality in this context is further enhanced by Goffman's ideas of teams and how members express different elements of themselves through their social masks (Goffman 1959, 19) to facilitate group conformity (80). The context of liminal events like the Cooking Club and Multicultural Dinner gives participants a time-space area to engage in a group activity larger than other ones run by the neighborhood house, yielding a new group or "team" to be a part of. As such, the identifying characteristics of this team are different from those of other, smaller activities, and thus people's masks must change to foster their new social alignment.

This use of liminality differs from Van Gennep's, which considers liminality primarily in relation to sequential rites of passage: "Although a complete scheme of rites of passage typically includes preliminal rites (rites of separation), liminal rites (rites of transition), and postliminal rites (rites of incorporation), in specific instances these three types are not always equally important or equally elaborated." (Gennep 1960, 11). Instead of passing through a transitional series of rites at the larger social events, the people socialized in a temporary space that, at least for a while, transcended the subgroup memberships with which people aligned at other times in the house. The liminal spaces then also took on aspects of permanence by recurring at monthly intervals, despite the actual event only lasting for a few hours.

The house staff could use these events to temporarily, but regularly, transcend the smaller imagined communities created by the different services and activities such as the daycare, free coffee, conversational groups, and choirs. When these events were not in session, people redefined themselves based on which group they were active in at a given moment. In other words, individuals' social masks were determined by the team that coalesced around the neighborhood house activity they spent the most time doing. These patterns of liminal activities determining temporary team identities did not just exist in the neighborhood house, but also in the larger community, which was apparent on my walks through the neighborhood. Outside the house, however, liminal spaces were defined more by physical space, like streets and yards, rather than the activities and room dividers that marked them out inside the house.

Gentrification

In the wider neighborhood, gentrification played a role in determining which physical spaces were used for socializing and what types of teams formed, as manifested in people's mask creation and maintenance. In places where people talked to their neighbors outside their own houses, it was perhaps because they had defined an imagined community around the concept of neighbors and the idea that neighbors should talk to each other. In my observations, however, some of the other streets were quieter and the residents did not spend much time outside talking to people who lived nearby. These observations of differences in social identity creation and maintenance follow the patterns of gentrification mentioned earlier (Saracino 2010, 13; Glass 2010, 21; Zukin 2010, 37; and most overtly Levy and Cybrivsky 2010). Thus, it comes down to how the newer residents who live in the freshly painted homes defined their identity with regards to the neighborhood. For some it might have just been a place to live; for others, it was a system of social networks.

The neighborhood house's liminal spaces formed around the boundaries of teams whose identity was based on an activity. These groups formed explicit teams, while other key groups were comprised of the people who used the house's services, like the daycare, but did not attend other house events. This latter group of people did not qualify as an explicit team because they had no set task to perform, other than using a particular service within the context of the house, but they nonetheless formed a visible group. The group's identity was based on consumption practices as part of gentrification (Glass 2010, 21), where the key to being part of the group was a Goffmanian mask created by using certain services in the house and wider lifestyle performances. This division became apparent while I was conducting surveys of people at neighborhood events in the area. For example, the neighborhood house had a booth at a local school fair. People whose children went to the school came because it was a fundraiser for the area and to visit other booths that listed local services. While I was there, I conducted surveys to see what people outside of the house would want from the house or whether they had been there. During this time, I met an older white man with white hair who had served on the board of directors for the house, who said nothing about how long he had lived in the area, but said he never really attended events or used any of the services. He was not the only one. A young white man in his 30s told me, when I asked him if he knew of the house, that he was really only interested in getting his child into the daycare or preschool, and expressed no interest in any of the other activities the staff ran. His conception of group identity with regards to the house solely followed the activity of consumption and performing a wider group identity through such associations. If Goffman's idea about "staging a single routine" is broadened to include commodity consumption, than this group would also qualify as a "team," but in a much wider context and scope.

These responses from outside of the house show a clear division between existing residents and some of the people newer to the area, as well as possible class and racial divides. The newer, wealthier, typically white families moving into the area could change how the house works and who can access its services. While I was there, the programming was heavily focused on helping people who had recently immigrated into Canada, and/or had linguistic

or cultural differences from the imagined community of Canada at large. However, as my walk through the neighborhood showed, the diversity of the area is changing: rents are rising, and the younger, wealthier families who are moving in could be pushing out some of the lower-income recent immigrants from the area. This means that some of the people who could use the services offered by the house travel long distances to it via public transportation or other methods, while the people who live closest to the house use the fewest number and narrowest range of the house's programs.

These families, the ones using the daycare and preschool, may socialize outside of the house, thus forming an imagined community through their consumption of a program at the house, but functionally operating outside of it. It could also be that the parents of these children do not interact with each other at all, except to pick up and drop off their kids; I do not know as I was not able to be involved in either the preschool or the daycare. It would be an area for further study and could indicate how the programming at the house may need to change in order to serve the people in the Mountain area.

Parents or guardians need the services of a daycare or preschool for longer than a single night, but their use of the house mirrors the patterns of some of the weekly events at the neighborhood house. The choirs and conversation groups may not make much use of all of the events at the house either, so perhaps the parents in the area are not all that different from other members of the house. Instead, perhaps the house simply served as a location rather than a liminal event conducive to meeting people outside of an established social group. What changes with gentrification, though, is how far people who are targeted by many of the services offered at the house – especially newcomers to Canada – will have to travel to use them. That said, events like the Multicultural Dinner do not happen very often, lessening the inconvenience of traveling further to participate in them. As the process of gentrification continues, I wonder how far people will need to move in order to afford to live comfortably, and how long they will still use the Mountain neighborhood house as opposed to others in the Vancouver area.

The conflicting identities of teams created at the neighborhood house show how liminality and imagined communities are part of what creates Goffmanian regions. Some regional barriers can be physical - the way that certain areas of the neighborhood are heavily fenced or controlled by community police - while others are socially constructed- who is allowed to what events and who converses with whom. Gentrification in the Mountain area is creating perception barriers based on consumption practices - whose children get into the daycare, who goes to the Multicultural Dinners, and who can afford to live in which houses. Money and the curation of particular neighborhood images erase marginal people from the image of the area. Even though many lower-income people and recent immigrants still live in the area, the stores popping up recently as well as the patterns of socializing amongst wealthier newcomers cultivate a different image for the future of the neighborhood. The newer image of the Mountain area is based on perceived ideas of social progress through the monetary investment seen in new houses and new stores (Zukin 2010), and as various parts of cities compete for such redevelopment (Atkinson and Bridge 2010, 59), gentrification is encouraged by city development projects and changes in the real estate market. The Mountain neighborhood image is ripe for revision, as Vancouver's focus on sociocultural fields (Ley 2010, 106) only encourages the illusion of la vie bohème associated with redevelopment in gentrifying areas (Mele 2010, Atkinson and Bridge 2010, Lloyd 2010, Glass, 2010, Smith 2010).

The Mountain Neighborhood House's response contrasts with the outcry over the situation in Strathcona, as described by Lee (2007), in that residents in the house never expressed any concern for the changing situation in the neighborhood and certainly did not mention being upset by the divisions within the house programming. This suggests, again, that perhaps the members of the house are not worried by the changing face of the neighborhood. Maybe the events within the house offer enough stability and people are able to commute to them easily enough that

larger events are not really threatened by the changing times and demographic makeup. The gentrification process only continues, however, and as it does so, it will probably affect the neighborhood house at some point, but not in any clear, single way. As shown in the housing report for the Downtown Eastside (Sutherland et al. 2014), there is a growing housing crisis in Vancouver with a clear lack of affordable housing, leading to greater social stratification within the city. Rising housing prices force more people to either move or face financial struggles by staying in the same area. Robertson (2007) discusses how important access to services is to feeling at home and safe in an area, but the question of which services and who they will be helping remains to be settled. Currently the Mountain Neighborhood House still offers a diverse array of services, and Brianna mentioned wanting it to stay that way in the interview. She also wanted to help poorer parts of the community by offering programs with even lower food prices, showing her desire to reach out to lower-income people moving into the Mountain area as they get pushed out of the Downtown Eastside and elsewhere. She did not mention expanding programs for the newer wealthier people in the area, perhaps because they do not need the house programs as much as those who are limited by money or language barriers.

While it is admirable that the house is reaching out to those mainstream society frequently forgets, I do wonder how the conception of what it means to be a member of the house will change depending on which developmental direction the house pursues. They can reach out to the newer residents of the area, who are largely wealthy and mostly seek the child-care services, or they can continue to reach out to more marginalized social groups who use the Multicultural Dinners and other programs to meet people in the area. The larger events could still serve as "liminal" bridges, helping people meet individuals from other groups within the house to foster a larger sense of imagined community, but only if people want to develop a broader team orientation. The people who openly identify as members of the house tend to be those who use the larger programs and meet the largest diversity of people. Those who use only a few

programs keep to themselves and their smaller imagined communities, possibly creating future barriers within the neighborhood house, whose programs cannot continue to diversify without community support and funding. The effects of gentrification appear to be only starting to be felt at the house, as new people seek it out only for its physical services and not the social ones. Further research over a longer period of time could investigate how the house, and its members, perceive and react to the changes if they continue.

Conclusion

The neighborhood house created a middle ground between individual people and the idea of the neighborhood at large. It mirrored the divisions of the neighborhood at large via different methods of identity and community creation, but also gave people the chance to transcend the boundaries of imagined communities. However, it was not a completely open environment, either through accident, manipulation, or ease of use. The choice of a lingua franca, for instance, was partially an accident - people started talking in a language they knew they shared, and people who joined tried to follow the established pattern, perhaps explaining how Spanish became the lingua franca during the Multicultural Dinner. In other instances, the house staff or the members have a stated language policy, deliberately manipulating the choice of language with the intention of easing communication and allowing team formation.

Gentrification is changing the Goffmanian regions of the area by introducing new teams who engage in different primary or consumption activities and thereby inhabit different masks in interpersonal interactions. My walk around the area before my fieldwork started shows how gentrification creates visible regions whose barriers are higher priced stores and a particular idea of society entwined with rebellion against previous urban/suburban ideologies (Smith 1979, 72; Smith 1998, 35; Zukin 1982; Ley 1996). These areas are inhabited by wealthier, younger, often white, residents, while the older areas are more racially diverse and lower-income, with multi-generational households. These different lifestyles and life stages interact with the wider

area in different ways, through patterns of participation in activities or consumption, thereby creating teams with other individuals and/or families who participate or consume similarly. Such regional and team identities, influenced by life outside of the house, are mirrored in interactions within the neighborhood house.

Imagined communities, or teams with a set activity or pattern of behavior, exist within the neighborhood house and serve a socializing function, regardless of language, due to their liminality. During an activity, people are given the opportunity to meet people from different programs and, through the course of the activity, reorient to new team identities through shared projects. Perhaps through the regularity of the liminal activities, it is possible for members to make friends and form new imagined communities, crossing group divides. Such communities and boundaries almost always exist within social and physical spaces, either feeding off or creating further boundaries between people, but also generating aspects of identity. When one is a member of a group, one simultaneously makes oneself separate from a larger population and yet unified with a subset, in ways that are often identifiable by others.

Gentrification could fundamentally change the neighborhood house as it will inevitably change the surrounding Mountain area, but it could also offer opportunities for community creation and understanding. If the house staff manages to increase the diversity of its programs, as well as encouraging all to participate in the larger events, then these events could offer additional liminal spaces for people of different classes and backgrounds to meet. These meetings could then benefit the community at large by fostering a better understanding of the diversity among members of the house, but only if the newer users of the house's services decide to break out of their established patterns and attend such events. It all depends on how people define and perceive their neighbors. Is "neighbor" a category that extends beyond physical, social, and cultural boundaries, or is it doomed to be defined by them? The next few years should tell.

Liminal events invite people to complicate or add to their identity by minimizing previous team identities via new teams created by a shared orienting activity or purpose. Perhaps by understanding how the different levels of imagined communities operate it might be possible to better understand ourselves and how we choose to define ourselves and interact with others. Maybe we can take this information and challenge ourselves to talk to people we would not have otherwise; we never know what we might learn and this knowledge can empower us or others to do more for our neighbors and neighborhoods and to have a better sense of what our neighborhood is and with whom we share it.

References

Anderson, Benedict R. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

Atkinson R. and G. Bridge. 2010. "Globalization and the New Urban Colonialism." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 51-61. New York: Routledge.

Glass, Ruth. 2010. "Introduction: Aspect of Change." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited byJaponica Brown-Saracino, 19-29. New York: Routledge.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Hamnett, Chris. 2003. "Gentrification, Postindustrialism, and Industrial and Occupational Restructuring in Global Cities." In *A Companion to the City*, edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 331-341. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Ho, Selena. 2015. "How Welcoming Space is Created, Maintained, and Always Evolving in Frog Hollow Neighbourhood House." *The Journal for Undergraduate Ethnography* 5(2): 29-39.

Lee, Jo-Anne. 2007. "Gender, Ethnicity, and Hybrid Forms of Community-Based Urban Activism in Vancouver, 1957-78: The Strathcona Story Revisited." *Gender, Place and Culture* 14(4): 381-407.

Lees, Loretta. 2010 "Super-gentrification: The Case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 45-50. New York: Routledge.

Levy, Paul. R. and Roman. A. Cybriwksy. 2010. "The Hidden Dimensions of Culture and Class: Philadelphia." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 285-293. New York: Routledge.

Ley, David. 2010."Introduction: Restructuring and Dislocations." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 103-112. New York: Routledge.

Lloyd, Richard. 2010. "Living Like an Artist." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 185-193. New York: Routledge.

Mele, Christopher. 2010. "Forging the Link between Culture and Real Estate: Urban Policy and Real Estate Development." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 127-132. New York: Routledge.

Perez, Gina M. 2010. "Gentrification, Intrametropolitan Migration, and the Politics of Place." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 319-329. New York: Routledge.

Pigg, Stacey Leigh. 2013. "On Sitting and Doing: Ethnography as Action in Global Health." *Social Science and Medicine* 99: 127-34.

Robertson, Leslie. 2007. "Taming Space: Drug Use, HIV, and Homemaking in Downtown Eastside Vancouver." *Gender, Place and Culture* 14(5): 527-49.

Smith, Neil. 2010. "A Short History of Gentrification." In *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 31-37. New York: Routledge.

Sutherland, Rory, Jean Swanson, and Tamara Herman. 2014. *No Place to Go: Losing Affordable Housing & Community. Carnegie Community Action Project's 2013 Hotel Survey and Housing Report*. Vancouver: Carnegie Community Centre Association.

Turner, Victor W. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Rituals*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Zukin, Sharon. 2010. "Gentrification as Market and Place." *In The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino, 37-44. New York: Routledge.

Sameness and Difference: Asserting Cultural Identity Through Multicultural Experience and Negotiation

Sarah I. Han

Wheaton College, sarahirenehan@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Multiculturalism "seeks to use cultural diversity as a basis for challenging, revising, and relativizing basic notions and principles common to dominant and minority cultures alike" (Turner 1993, 413). This paper explores the assertion of ethnic minority Baloch women's cultural identity through the lenses of marriage, nationalism, and education. Drawing on linguistic analysis, it shows that Baloch women in Al Ain construct their multicultural identity by navigating between the structures of tradition and personal agency: they replace kin endogamy with marriage with those who are culturally similar; develop a sense of nationalism that negotiates between their country of origin and their country of adoption, regardless of their citizenship; and pursue complex paths involving education and marriage among the opportunities presented by family and state support. The displaced Baloch community in the United Arab Emirates, underrepresented in academic research, contributes uniquely to conversations of multiculturalism, ethnic minorities, nationalism, and gender in the Middle East, a non-white, Muslim-majority context, with implications for global mass movements of refugees, women's rights, and ethnic and racial minorities.

Keywords: multiculturalism, displacement, nationalism, kinship, Middle East, gender

"Hello?" My voice is met by the sound of dogs barking and I turn back to my mother's friend and assure her, "This is the right home." Seeing Ameera wave in welcome from the doorway of the house, I step over the threshold of the iron gate, faded pale blue from the desert sun. My mother's friend follows closely behind. As a single, Asian American woman, I enter into the lives of participants as a visible outsider. I visit these women with my mother or a friend of my mother, rather than travelling alone. The presence of an older, married woman chaperoning my actions in public signals sensitivity to the tangible cultural expression of protection and decency for a young, unmarried woman.

We enter the *majlis* [sitting room] where Umm Rashid stands up to greet us. Four kisses on one cheek and the greeting "*Kif halich?* [How are you?]" The whirring of a fan fights against the summer heat and almost overwhelms the low hum of the Pakistani game show on the TV. As she sits down and throws her scarf over her shoulder, the iconic Balochi pocket, heavy with embroidery, drapes gently on the ground. This characteristically Balochi outfit has been referenced by many of the younger participants as the outfit their mothers always wear, but they only don for weddings or *eids* [festivals]. Settling into the cushion on the floor, I hear Asma's words echo in my ear, "We all originally are Baloch. So we have the same things in common...'cause we all have the same culture, the same food habit, the same dressing style, everything is same."

The Baloch people have a long history in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Originating in Balochistan, a province spanning the western side of Pakistan, eastern Iran, and southern Afghanistan, today the Baloch people live in countries all over the world with many residing in the Middle East. Many people, including the Baloch, moved to the UAE for economic opportunity as the country discovered oil and began to build up industries under the vision and leadership of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan (Davidson 2006). Because of political ties between colonized areas in and around Balochistan and the British presence in what is now known as the UAE, as well as the religious affinity felt between Sunni Arabs and Sunni Persians, Baloch immigrants could move across borders to the Emirates without passports before the Emirates became independent in 1971 (Zayed University n.d., Abdullah 1978). As documentation became more important, the UAE government offered many Baloch people the choice of local citizenship or citizenship from their countries of origin, Pakistan and Iran. More recently, the Emirati government has given local citizenship or Comoros Island passports to many of those who were formerly known as *bidoon* [outside], lacking passports, and thus lacking the documents necessary to enroll children in school, access healthcare, obtain a work permit, open a bank account, and travel easily within the U.A.E. and across national borders (Arbrahamian 2015; Zacharias 2013; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor 2008). Because of the large expatriate population in the UAE, the Emirates is a country of minorities, with local Emiratis making up only 15 percent of the total population (Central Intelligence Agency n.d.). A study of the Baloch, as a diaspora people, provides a means to examine themes that are pertinent in a transnational world, including multicultural identity construction, assimilation and distinctiveness (Ali 2011). The more specific exploration of identity construction in Baloch women has implications for gender studies of other diaspora communities, especially as they intersect with familial, ethnic, and national identity.

Multiculturalism "seeks to use cultural diversity as a basis for challenging, revising, and relativizing basic notions and principles common to dominant and minority cultures alike" (Turner 1993, 413). Multiculturalism can be understood as "numerous cultural identities

manifested in people and societies" (Rodriguez 2000, 153). The plurality of cultural identities can be founded in an array of factors including ethnic background, national affiliation, and family history. Navigating multicultural identity involves negotiating values and principles that may be expressed in conflicting or contrasting ways. The conversation around multiculturalism has the valuable potential to challenge and reshape the assumptions of majority and minority cultures. While conversations on multiculturalism have historically been based in Eurocentric assumptions, exploration of multicultural identities in nonwhite majority contexts is critical to deconstruct the othering of non-European derived elements (Eller 1997). Balochi women in Al Ain construct their multicultural identity by navigating between the structures of tradition and personal agency: they replace kin endogamy with marriage with those who are culturally similar; develop a sense of nationalism that negotiates between their country of origin and their country of adoption, regardless of their citizenship; and pursue complex paths involving education and marriage among the opportunities presented by family and state support.

Methods: Narrative Study of Identity Construction

The initial foundational question of this project was: How do Baloch women in Al Ain construct identity for themselves and their children through education and the retelling of history? As I entered the research process, however, I found that because of the variety of marital statuses as well as generational differences, personal identity was more central than maternal identity in the narratives of these women. While there were distinctions drawn between displaced Baloch and those resident in Balochistan, political and Balochi history were not prominent themes in these women's narratives, especially in conversations with women in their forties and younger. "History", qualified in this context as the retelling of personal or recent family history, can be a useful way of framing the personal narratives of participants. While religion was an important theme within the narratives of individuals, due to the constraints of this paper, it will not be addressed, except as it intersects with the

themes explored here. The driving question for this research project was shaped through the process of research and writing and can be stated: How do Baloch women in Al Ain construct their identity through marriage, national affiliation, and education?

To narrow my scope, I limited participants to women over the age of 18, in the city of Al Ain in the UAE. During my research time, I was also introduced to a Baloch woman who lived and worked in Dubai. Since the scope of research was limited to Al Ain, the data from her interview is treated as supplementary rather than the primary focus of analysis. Over the course of this project, I spoke with ten Baloch women. At the time of research, two were single, one engaged, and seven married; one has previously been divorced. Some are mothers of young children and some have children fully grown. In a family-based cultural context, these categorizations significantly shape the expectations, responsibilities, and voices of authority, particularly the role and influence of patriarchs, in these women's lives. Participants held passports from Pakistan, Iran, and the UAE. Citizenship is a major theme in this exploration of identity as it intersects with the family history in the UAE, relationship to the local government, educational opportunities, language, and many other important themes. In terms of education, some women had never attended school while others had finished a Bachelors degree and had hopes of eventually completing a doctorate. The educational opportunity for women closely reflects the values of their closest male authority, usually a father or husband. The women ranged in age from their early twenties to late sixties and seventies. Most of the women's families have been in the UAE for several decades, though they maintained different levels of connectivity with relatives and friends in the Balochistan region. The diversity of women in regard to these different factors provides this study with a wide array of perspectives, avoiding a monolithic representation of the experiences of Baloch women.

The basis of this research project is primarily unstructured personal interviews, conducted over the course of three months in public places and homes, according to the preference

of the participant. Because of the communal nature of the home, interviews conducted in the *majlis* [sitting room] of the home were not expected to be private. For the sake of clarity, pseudonyms were added in the case of multiple participants with the same name.

One limitation of this research was language. While I, as the researcher, had basic conversational Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and participants could understand the general ideas I was communicating, the participants spoke a mixture of Khaleeji Arabic, Balochi, Urdu, Farsi, and varying levels of English. The diverse linguistic demographics created challenges in communication and translation. For example, during one visit, I asked questions in Arabic to the mother of the family, Umm Rashid, while her daughter Noora, sitting next to her, translated into Balochi. Umm Rashid responded to my questions in a mixture of Urdu and Balochi and my mother's friend, who is also her long-time family friend, translated back to English for me, mirroring the imagery and spiritual references Umm Rashid used. At one point in the conversation, a dispute between Umm Rashid and some of her daughters over whether the role of women has changed was not fully translated because of limitations in my translator's vocabulary. These recordings were not fully transcribed because participants' original responses were sometimes inaudible due to multiple conversations simultaneously occurring in the *majlis* [sitting room], which is the hub of family life, and the limitations of this project in finding translators fluent in English, Urdu, Balochi, Khaleeji Arabic and MSA. This situation illustrates the difficulties of research involving several languages and the necessity of translation embedded in the design of this project.

In addition to translation between languages, eight of the interviews were conducted primarily in English. Educated women could converse with a mix of formal MSA and English, depending on their schooling and exposure to native English speakers. When conversing with individuals who knew very little English, the process of communication was more complex. While their meaning was communicated to me through further explanation, movement, and

clarification, this indirect method of communication made it difficult to transcribe with precision their exact wording. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participant. In four cases where participants requested that I not use a recording device, I took notes on their responses. Quotations from these unrecorded interviews are approximate rather than precise, written to capture the participant's cadence of speech. Direct quotations have been left largely unedited to retain original wording and seek to capture the rhythm of conversation rather than conform to the norms of academic English writing.

Findings: Marriage, Nationality, and Education

The negotiation of multicultural identity occurs dynamically between structure and agency. Angelika Bammer states, "...home is about separation and commitment; and identity is at times about what we are essentially not, but are also not free to dispense with. The politics of identity, in short, is a constant process of negotiation" (1994, xiv-xv). Because of this, cultural and multicultural identity cannot be essentialized. However, the politicization of ethnic identity tends to be reductionistic. In the context of nation-states, the construction of "imaginaries of national identity intended to supersede all other identities...[creates] and [solidifies] socially constructed distinctions between insiders and outsiders" through "conferring or denying legal, social, and cultural citizenship" (Cainkar 2013, 128). The imbedding of power in citizenship opens and closes specific opportunities to individuals with differing national and legal standings. The dynamic between structure and agency is primary in the negotiation of multicultural, transnational migrant identity. As Catherine Bryan says, "Responding to these opportunities and restrictions and reflecting the complexity of migrant decision-making, these strategies are at once reactive and creative, responsive and adaptive, and complicit and subversive" (2012, 133). In the following sections on marriage, nationality, and education, this dynamic between structure and agency will be further explored. Rather than examining factors in isolation, I include multiple characteristics of participants, namely gender, ethnic minority

identity, and national identity, in an effort to "simultaneously analyze other particular identities of an individual which [contextualize] identity relations, agency, and manifestations of power" (Rodriguez 2000, 162).

Marriage: Cultural Commonality

Asma leans forward as she speaks. "The *main* thing if I talk about the early marriage or the education part is the same. It's the same in the Baloch of Oman, same in the Baloch of Kyrgyzstan, Iran, it's the same." Asma gestures, emphasizing the importance of her statement. "It's the same. Because we all originally are Baloch. So, we have the same things in common." A recent graduate from university with a Bachelor's degree in engineering, Asma is working as a translator at a well-established hospital in Al Ain.

She sits next to me on the cushioned booth of the mall coffee shop and continues, "So that's why my mom says, she says if a guy comes from Oman and he's Balochi, we wouldn't mind to make him our son-in-law if he's good. So, what I mean is, he should be a Balochi no matter from which part." At 24 years old, Asma is single,[1] unlike most of her cousins who married around the age of 18. In Balochi culture, marriage is spoken about as an expectation rather than an option. Asma is expected to marry first since she is the oldest of five children. Her two sisters do not have the pressure to marry because they are in grade school, under 18 years old, and their sister Asma and two older brothers are likely to wed before them. Having completed her undergraduate degree in engineering, Asma knows her mother is ready for her to be married. In considering a marriage partner, her parents deem Balochi heritage an essential characteristic. Asma explains, "'cause we all have the same culture, the same food habit, the same dressing style, everything is same." Balochi culture is framed as a basis of sameness on which communal, ethnic and familial identity is built. Although the diaspora of Baloch people is spread across many countries, the culture and ethnic identity remains an essential foundation of commonality for marriage. Citizenship is not considered an important factor, especially compared to ethnic identity expressed in

communal association and cultural expression. These priorities expressed by Asma correspond with the lives of the other women I have spoken with who are married or engaged to exclusively Baloch men holding various nations' passports. Gesturing toward me, Asma continues, "I think you would feel more comfortable with someone who's from your own." She pauses as I nod my understanding of partiality toward in-group socializing (Horwitz and Rabbie 1992, 265).

Asma goes on to contrast her parents' preference for a marriage partner from the same cultural background with her peers' "development in their thought" and "open-mindedness" for difference. The conversation around love marriages could be attributed to a Western, modernist framework of "development" and a postmodern valuing of "open-mindedness" and plurality (Hinojosa 2009; McHale 1992). Studying and working in the UAE is a cross-cultural experience where Baloch women have opportunity to interact closely with different cultural values and expectations. However, Asma has not seen the "modern" pattern of meeting someone, getting to know them and then marrying among her Balochi community, "us." Across the table, her two younger sisters stir their hot chocolate, half listening to our conversation.

"So sometimes...for my mom I used to tell her, what if I find someone at work and I would say like I want to marry so and so. She used to be like, 'NO.'" She pauses for emphasis. "'Should be from our place. Should be a Balochi.' I used to tell her, 'We're getting developed and people are open-minded. Time has changed.' But no, she still wants to follow her own, old plan. So, let's see. I might change the history." Her sisters smile at the reference to this familiar conversation. The preference for cultural homogeneity in marriage within a multicultural context creates tension between generational expectations. As an individual who has grown up in a multicultural context, Asma narrates this tension with language of "developing" toward "open-mindedness". Modernity is understood through the lens of orientalism, framing the "West" as bringing enlightenment and development to the "East" (Said 1978). However, she frames these changes in positive language,

recognizing her personal agency to "change the history." This tension of multiculturalism ties back to the dynamic relationship between expectations and the personal choices that are made. Structures and history of power dynamics shape the grounds on which an individual makes decisions. Asma's parents insist that her husband must be of Balochi descent to be a candidate for marriage. Personal agency, in turn, reinforces or challenges structures; in Asma's words, she can "change the history." Asma's choices are made in conversation with these expectations. She does not completely reject or accept their expectations, but instead her language points to a more nuanced response. She holds her respect of her parents, their opinion, and cultural tradition in tension with her own willingness to defy expectations. This tension can be attributed in part to Asma's experiences in mixed-gender classrooms and work environments as well as the large expatriate population in the UAE.

~~~

Perched on the edge of the bed, I sip my tea, listening carefully as Noora describes her marriage. This is not her first marriage, she explains. Her countenance changes as she speaks, indicating her emotional response to painful memories. She was married to a cousin in Iran. In general, marriage to a cousin or relative is preferred over marriage to a family friend or a love marriage. Sitting in her mother's home nursing her youngest son, Noora recalls her experiences that seem so distant from her present circumstances. When she moved to Iran to join her husband, she experienced firsthand the differences in lifestyle and values between her extended family in Iran and her family in the UAE. Everything was unfamiliar in Iran from the food to "the way of life." She pauses as she collects the right words to communicate to me. Her first husband smoked *hashish*, a form of cannabis. After only four months of marriage, she came back to the UAE to rejoin her family.

I smile at the sight of her four-year-old son peeking shyly through the cloth that divides the bedroom from the sitting room where Umm Rashid and her husband sit talking and watching television. The TV across from me in the bedroom fades into white noise as Noora continues her narrative. Two years after her return to the UAE, she was engaged again. This time, her husband is a friend of her brother. During their six-month engagement, her fiancé came to visit with her. Her face is bright with expression as she highlights the difference of her second marriage. They love each other, she explains. Now, with three young sons, she lives in her mother-in-law's home. Watching her eight-year-old son run in and out of the room with his young cousins, she muses. Life is like her friends' lives. It has the normal busyness of chasing after her sons and the sounds of them fighting.

Noora's personal narrative illustrates the effect displacement has on marriage and cross-cultural factors. While Asma emphasized the sameness of Balochi culture creating foundational similarities for marriage, Noora's experiences highlight the possible disconnect in the practical application of this ideal. Having grown up in the UAE her whole life, her marriage to her cousin had less cultural commonality than her current marriage to a Balochi family friend in Al Ain. This does not contradict Asma's theorization of cultural commonality as a basis for marriage. However, it suggests the primacy of cultural commonality over kin endogamy in the context of marriage for Balochi people in the UAE. The impact of this reprioritization is the weakening of familial ties arising from differing categorizations of licit and illicit behavior and the simultaneous strengthening of collective identity through shared experiences and practices.

~~~

The light of the late afternoon sun peeks through the doorway behind Somia and she stands to turn off the lights and close the door. Sitting in the darkness of the *majlis*, she projects a video from her mobile phone onto one of the heavily tapestried walls. Somia is a friend of my mother's friend in her late twenties and she readily invited me into her mother's home in Al Ain, preferring to meet under her mother's roof rather than her mother-in-law's.[2]

As images of women dancing flit across the walls, Somia and her eldest sister Mona begin to identify the clothing. "This one is Emirati...this one is Bahraini...this one is *Hindi* [Indian]...."

The mosaic of colors, cloth, and faces flicker as the women in the video celebrate the imminent wedding of Somia's cousin. The women at the *leilat al-henna* [henna night] chose to put on clothing from a variety of cultures and nationalities with which they had varying degrees of personal association. The multiple-day event of a wedding gives these women, and especially the bride, opportunity to wear numerous outfits. Their choices to wear different symbols of national and ethnic identity are not necessarily statements of their own personal background or legal identity. In a country comprised of minorities, the choice to put on a certain national or ethnic dress cannot be understood as assimilation by a singular minority to a standard set by a singular majority. Rather, as a member of a minority among minorities, Somia narrates cultural exchange across national differences in terms of personal agency. The choice to wear aspects of a specific culture in a certain setting is foundational in expressions of multiculturalism. Wedding guests, as well as the bride and her family, may choose to wear clothing that represents their ethnic heritage or national identity, or they could wear the dress of nationalities to which they have no personal connection. When asked why they chose to wear a certain style of dress to their wedding, Somia referred to personal preference as her primary motivation while Asma attributed it to "mixed culture." Asma described the logic of "mixed culture" saying,

> Maybe I see some people from Western country, I see some from Eastern, and I see their cultures. Maybe I want to try them, or some of them I just adapt to those cultures. So, the more you live with them, you learn how their life is and you put it into your own life and that's how it becomes… I see weddings here, people over here, they all wear white, and the things are like that, you would want to do that, right? Even if you don't want to, you see everyone doing it. It has become like a trend.

Multiculturalism, or "mixed culture", results from close interaction and sought understanding between different cultures (Bhabha 1996, 59). Personal agency is primary in choosing to adopt customs and symbols of other cultures. Asma attributes some changes in cultural expression to social shifts and "trends" that may even bypass personal desire and preference. She admits that her view is in preference of "the old way." However, she sees the power dynamics at play in the conversation of modernization and multiculturalism. She voices her peers' perspectives, "They say, I'll go how the world is going. The other [reason things are changing] might be the development in their thought. Like maybe they want to grow up, they want to change their cultures, they want to be more modern." Living as displaced people in a country where every nationality and culture is a minority, cultural exchange is almost inevitable. In addition to the multicultural dynamics present in the UAE, there is a strong influence that is framed in orientalist terms of modernity (Said 1978).

While Asma spoke of sameness and cultural commonality in Balochi culture, wedding celebrations in both her and Somia's experience are a multicultural endeavor. Though practices and choices of individuals are shaped by their experiences and preferences, it would be an oversimplification to ignore the dynamic interaction between agency and structure. As Sherry Ortner wrote, "history makes people, but people make history" (Ortner 2003, 277). Somia and Asma synthesize culture moving between their abstract description of culture and their daily practical choices.

Nationality: Citizenship and Nationalism

Sitting next to a sprawling spread of assorted nuts, chocolates, tea, and sweets, Somia pours another cup of hot *chai* [tea] next to my half-full cup of coffee. "You know, many people when they said, 'What's your family name?' 'I am Balochi' 'Really?!'" She exclaims, her face mimicking an expression of the surprise she has seen. "They are surprised because they think, 'They don't know, they don't have education.'" Blending the voice of a hypothetical observer with her own, she explains, "I don't want to say bad, but most from Pakistan don't have education too much. Not because they don't have, but their life is different." Somia's words reflect the experiences of Ameera, one of

the youngest daughters of Umm Rashid and Noora's younger sister. Ameera expressed that other people cannot recognize her family's Balochi ethnicity and heritage until they are told. Once told, they are often surprised to hear they are Baloch and not Emirati. She attributed this confusion to the clothing they wear in public, which is the Emirati *abaya*, a long black robe worn by women on top of their clothing, and *kandura*, a long white robe worn by men. Without visual distinctiveness, the Baloch people can choose to claim or disassociate from their Balochi identity through outward cues such as their clothing. These choices in symbolic practice are related to the generation and age of participants as many of the older generation with closer ties to Balochistan still choose to wear the distinctly Balochi dress, at times layering the *abaya* over their Balochi outfit, paralleling their layering of identities that are worn or discarded. The perception of Baloch people is tied to reductionistic generalizations regarding socioeconomic status and educational attainment. These simplifications shape both the outsider's expectations of Baloch people as well as the Baloch women's personal symbolic representation of otherness or assimilation. A double consciousness, defined by Du Bois as the "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others," is expressed by these Baloch women in their negotiation between personal preference and external response (1903, n.p.).

Longevity of residence in the UAE promotes assimilation to local culture. Somia explains, "They see me, I am different than somebody come just a few years. It is different when you born here. Your life all in UAE. Of course, you do all things same as this country!" Somia ties her culture and lifestyle to the norms of the Emirati people. Without alluding to or exclusively affirming her Emirati citizenship, she highlights the cultural similarities of Baloch people living their whole lives in the UAE to the local culture, attributing the similarities to extensive exposure and successive assimilation to the Emirati culture.

Continuing her negotiation with theoretical opponents to her perspective, she represents and argues against their perspective, stating

They don't think that the world will

be different, be changed. You stay long time in UAE, you should have this nationality. They think no. One day, maybe I go back to my country. But it is very hard. My life is here. I don't know anything about my grandfather and mother country. Why I go back? Because you know? ...We are Sunni. And they have [in Iran] Shia, too much. And that is very hard.

Somia ties in religious practice as a point of tension in her transnational identity construction. Though her family is historically from Iran, the pressure as a religious minority pushes her toward closer association with Emirati culture. Familiarity, tied to personal experience and religious identity, plays an important role in her nationalistic feeling toward the UAE and the lack of ties to the country of her ancestors.

Somia's narrative mirrors Noora's words, telling me that when her sons visit Pakistan, everything is unfamiliar. They continuously ask, "What is this?" as they experience an environment and culture they are unaccustomed to, even though their passports may say they are home. Somia and Noora's families have a sense of nationalist identity rooted in their recent family history and cultural assimilation to the UAE, regardless of historic and official non-Emirati identities.

"And we don't want to lose our UAE [citizenship], go to Iran. Why? My country is UAE. *Khalaas* [finished]," Somia states, indicating her hypothetical debate is definitively over. "My life, my all things are in this country. And my nationality." Somia claims the UAE as her own because of her cultural and religious continuity with the imagined community of the Emirates. Benedict Anderson theorized nationalism as the creation of an imagined community, arguing that "nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being" (1991, 12). Somia's legal status as a citizen is secondary to her personal association with the cultural practices, or as she says, "all things" in the UAE.

In response to my question if their UAE citizenship provides benefits, Somia exclaims, "Yes, too much. You know, education and medicine. Many, many things are free. Free!" Turning from her older sister, Mona, lounging on a couch across the room from us, Somia translates her words for me. "You know, she said 'No country like UAE. No country.'" While her passport resonates with her nationalist feeling toward the UAE, the benefits of citizenship are an additional advantage. Her response calls to mind Noora's desire for her children to have local passports in addition to their expatriate Pakistani citizenship. As Somia indicated, the local passport provides many resources including free education. Noora experienced the impact of the lack of Emirati citizenship, and thus lack of access to public school, as well as being unable to afford a private education. Instead, she studied her older sisters' textbooks at home for seven years, later teaching her younger siblings. Non-citizens expressing such strong feelings for their country of residence highlights the limitation of defining nationalism in terms of formal citizenship (Ong 1999). Families such as Noora's, living in a state of suspension between their personal, national and cultural association with the UAE and their legal status as non-Emiratis, must work to create a sense of stability in their liminal state (Turner 1969). This includes the creation of alternatives to the educational options unavailable to them.

Many displaced Baloch people find themselves in a state of liminality marked by two spheres of identity and place: the Emirates and Balochistan. Where Somia and Noora feel a sense of nationalism toward the UAE, Asma expresses a closer tie to Pakistan, describing traditional cultural practices and symbols as present "back in country." Many members of her extended family are displaced in other emirates and countries in the region while others are still in Pakistan. Within Pakistan, most of her family has lived in the city of Karachi in the southeastern Sindh province for generations. The conflicts occurring in Pakistan affect her relatives and she hears about bombings and attacks from their firsthand accounts. Her identification with Pakistan could be attributed to her family's more recent history in the UAE, with her father as the first

generation to move to the UAE in 1996 when Asma was young. Having moved numerous times to different villas within Al Ain, the sense of instability of place compounds her family's displacement in the UAE. Nancy Hornberger identifies the in-between as transnationalism, defined when an individual "moved bodily across national borders while maintaining and cultivating practices tied – in varying degrees — to their home countries" (2007, 326-7). In turn, transnationalism "lends itself to a dually-linked process of 'becoming other' to both home and host national-cultural contexts." Asma's sense of security is not tied to cultural context as much as it is grounded in her relationship to her immediate family. When she gets married, she wants to stay close to her family, wherever they may be, simply stating, "Home is home. Family is family."

In contrast, Umm Rashid relates to her Pakistani citizenship in different ways. Though given the chance to vote in a recent election in Pakistan, Umm Rashid admits she has no interest. The twenty years she lived in Pakistan are superseded by the forty years she has spent more recently in the UAE. She has a deep respect for the Sheikh and his development of the Emirates, contrasting his investment in the people of the UAE with the government in Pakistan that "eats the money" instead of giving it to the people. For Umm Rashid, her sense of nationalism is related to her respect for the government and forms of structural power. Her disengagement with civic functions such as voting indicates a distancing from her passport country.

Her daughter Noora mirrors her perspective saying her impression of Pakistan is that there is always fighting on the TV. She states simply, "Those are not my people. That is not my government." Noora disassociates from not only the civic implications of her official nationality, but her national identity itself. Regardless of her legal status, she aligns her identity with the UAE rather than Pakistan. The tension between two spheres of Emirati and Balochi identities highlights the negotiation of intercultural identities crossing lines of personal and legal association.

Education: Gender, Opportunity, and Desire

"When a person is uneducated, his thoughts, he will not look to the future... He just looks at the present, what is there, what is not there." Yasmin is a young Baloch woman a few years and entry level jobs past her high school graduation. Sitting across a small coffee shop table, she draws a sharp contrast between life with and without an education.

"[An uneducated person] doesn't look to the side effects of a thing. Just he is not caring that much. When a person is educated, he will know, he will think before doing that thing." Yasmin conceptualizes education as a strategy of character building. The high view of agency implicit in her narrative is also marked by the dynamics of gender that are present in numerous aspects of her life, including her gendered word choice. Speaking in similar terms about education, Asma reflects, "I would say, a girl educated can have a better married life compared to an uneducated one." Education is both a means of becoming and it shapes the trajectory of desire (Deleuze and Guattari 1972). For both Yasmin and Asma, education is an accomplishment of personal growth that can be then used to describe an individual.

The conceptualization of education as a means of becoming provides a basis for personal goals. However, the implementation of desire is dependent on opportunity. When asked about her dream job, Yasmin laughs, "I want to be an investigator...You see now it was just a dream. But still, I like that thing, a thing which I like. I can't, we don't get." Yasmin quickly qualifies her dream of being a detective, highlighting the understood distance between her desires and real opportunity. As a daughter, she experienced inconsistent support and intermittent discouragement of education, making the pursuit of her high school diploma difficult. This uncertainty of familial support translates into her future hopes and endeavors. Similarly, in response to the inquiry if her husband allowed her education, Somia diplomatically said, "He allowed and not allowed. Sometimes he, *yanni* [I mean], he see many things in my life differently...the dinner not at times because you come late. Ok, but the

life is going." Somia is studying at level 7 at UAE University, an internationally accredited institution founded by Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan. After completing her general education requirements at level 9, she will choose her major and hopes to graduate two years later, "*inshallah* [if God wills]." The dual "allowing" and "not allowing" dynamic with her husband highlights the inconsistency of opportunity, even as she is in the middle of her studies. This is reinforced by her history of leaving university and the pursuit of education when she first got married. Education and marriage, while not contradictory, are held in tension as the role of women is disputed. Agency to follow desire, for Baloch women, is uncertain and limited as male authority holds the power of opportunity.

Although the opportunities to follow desires are contingent on patriarchal support for many Baloch women, the dynamic between structure and agency is not necessarily antithetical. The conversation about Yasmin's dream job is quickly followed by a conversation around marriage. When asked if she will marry, Yasmin immediately responds, "Yeah, I'm engaged now." After exclamations of congratulations Yasmin expounds. "I was thinking, no, it's not that compulsory, but he proposed so I accepted. It was actually love marriage." Yasmin smiles and explains that her parents are still unaware that she met and knows her Baloch fiancé personally as a high school classmate. Instead, her marriage was orchestrated officially as an arranged marriage through her connection to her fiancé's sister and her brother's work with his father. This narrative of formalizing a self-arranged love marriage is one that is familiar, though the details of maneuvering may vary.[3] Rather than seeing arranged and love marriages as mutually exclusive, Yasmin creates the marriage opportunity that she and her fiancé desired. Unlike her educational opportunity, she is able to increase her agency in marriage decisions by utilizing patriarch-centered systems of acceptability in conjunction with her desired choice. She narrates her negotiation of her multicultural identity with the contrasting expectation of arranged and love marriages, seeking to balance cultural and familial expectations with individual agency and desire.

Desire for education and personal development is not necessary for opportunities to arise. In some cases, opportunity may inspire interest. Asma highlights this concept with her narrative, explaining, "I feel there's a change [in culture] because my dad made me, made me fulfill everything...He was always an encouragement for me, even regarding my license, I never wanted to drive." Although Asma highlights the male support of women's education, the masculine gaze is intrinsic in the patriarchal encouragement of female education and the dependency of educational opportunities on a male figure. Before learning to drive, Asma did not have the desire to pursue her driver's license. Now, Asma admits, "I used to be scared, but no more. Yeah, I'm a safe driver, but at the same time I enjoy it...Now I'm a person who drives like I'm driving in a race track." The patriarchal encouragement of Asma's education provided her the opportunity to earn her driver's license and, despite the original lack of interest, Asma came to desire the skills and experience she attained through learning to drive. Opportunity does not always need to follow desire, but they may arise simultaneously.

At the risk of representing Baloch women as helpless and lacking agency, it is important to recognize that they have heterogeneous desires (Abu-Lughod 2002). When asked about the most important things in her life, Yasmin first responds, "Complete my education." Her definition of completion is a minimum of attaining a Masters degree in Business and Commerce. Yasmin's ambition directly contrasts the perceived lack of value in educating women that Asma explains, saying, "They believe that girls don't have to study so much 'cause they end up in the kitchen." The logic of not educating women because of their traditional role is in the kitchen is based in an underlying assumption of marriage and motherhood as essential in femininity. This logic dichotomizes the roles women can have, placing a professional identity in opposition to maternal and familial roles (Shields 2008). Women, including engaged Yasmin and married Somia, live out the intersectionality of their social roles as both student and fiancée/wife. For Yasmin, Asma, and many other Baloch women, education ranks high in desire and value.

In contrast to these women's desire to continue studying, Ameera, Umm Rashid's youngest daughter, readily told me that she did not want further education. She was privileged to graduate from high school, but she did not enjoy it and is glad to be done. She explained that she did not want to go to university because she is now married with a young almost four-year-old son. While her older sister Noora borrowed books to supplement her education after she was taken out of school, Ameera has the possibility to study at university, but lacks the desire. Haleh Afshar notes that it is important to "discard the undertones of weakness and subservience that have generally been attributed to terms such as motherhood, marriage and domesticity and respect the choices made by non-Western women" (2005, 1). Rather than framing her decisions in terms of oppression, Ameera's disinterest in further education could be attributed to a different conceptualization of education. She does not see education as a means of self-improvement, but regards it as an option to be an alternative self from the one she desires. The rejection of education for Ameera signals her placement of a higher value on her identity as a wife and mother than the potential identity she could possess as a university graduate.

Shifts in gender roles and perceptions shape structural level changes in opportunity. Asma describes new understandings of men and women, stating, "We're all considered equals. So this shows how different today's culture is from our past culture. So I would say that's really amazing. As long as we are going faster, the generations are changing. Their thoughts are also changing." Rather than reducing culture to static understanding and application of tradition, Asma describes the logic of culture as dynamic, interacting with the multiculturalism at play in the UAE that challenges the basic principles of every culture (Turner 1993).

In addition to the cultural changes described, lack of agency and opportunity when there is a strong desire for education can result in resolve for the next generation. In Asma's case, her father was taken out of school as a child after a few years of study to work in a garage to help

support his family financially. Similarly, Asma's mother completed seventh grade and her brother began telling her, "You're grown up now. You don't go out. You don't study." Their collective experiences led to their commitment to support their children through higher education. Asma was able to receive her private university education in Al Ain University of Science and Technology because her mother became a businesswoman to supplement her father's work, buying supplies and selling her intricately crocheted clothing. Because of her parents' sacrifice to support her education, Asma says, "So today wherever I am, I will thank them because they didn't see how hard our time was, but they made me what I am today." The lack of opportunity and agency to follow desire fostered the proactive support Asma's parents give their children, shaping their children's actions and use of agency.

Differing views on women's role and appropriate educational aspirations can cause tension within Baloch communities with shared history. In diaspora communities, this can create distinctions between those displaced and those "left behind." Asma draws sharp distinctions between her experiences and the lives of her cousins in Pakistan. Her uncles often questioned her parents' decision to support her private university education, pointing out Asma's singleness as a correlated factor to her educational identity. Asma mirrors the inverse correlation of education and marriage saying,

> Now they [my cousins] all are married. With kids... after finishing their school, high school, grade 12 or grade 10, they just got married. Some of them didn't even study. I wouldn't blame them, some of them. Their parents didn't let them, like my father's, a few of my father's brothers, they believe that girls don't have to study so much 'cause they end up in the kitchen. That's what they believe. So they didn't study. And some of my cousins didn't want to study, so it's either both the ways.

The two reasons that Asma's female cousins did not pursue higher education are the lack of opportunity from their fathers and the lack of

desire. In this way, both patriarchal power and personal agency are portrayed as potentially resulting in a similar adherence to a maternal and domestic role. However, it is worth noting that Asma's description presents her cousins as usually completing high school, a level of education that is dramatically different from the limited years of schooling her parents received in a similar geographical context. This suggests that there has been a change in educational expectation from a familial, cultural or legal perspective. The decisions to marry and to study beyond high school are understood as conflicting pursuits. To truly pursue one, the other must be indefinitely postponed. Asma describes her decision saying, "Even in my case, when I finished my high school, my dad asked me if I would want to marry. He asked me, and I said I would want to study. So I continued and today I believe I have done the right choice." The choices Asma and her family made through her completion of a Bachelor's degree reflect a prioritization for personal development, conceptually tied to education, over the social and cultural expectation of marriage and motherhood. Her desire and choice to pursue a university degree aligned with the financial and personal support of her parents that provided a viable opportunity to study. Asma summarizes her pursuit of education with the simple words, "It was my dream and I completed it."

Conclusion: Multiculturalism as Embrace and Critique

As Baloch women construct their intersecting Balochi and Emirati identities, cultural commonality plays an important role in perception from others and self, marriage relationships, and nationalistic feelings. While abstract Balochi culture is narrated on the basis of sameness, symbolized in clothing and marriage practices, assimilation to local Emirati dress commonly creates ambiguity in perceived identity. Multiculturalism emerges in clothing choices as international fashion trends and, more broadly, international markets inform preference. The spirit of nationalism toward the UAE and the Emirati government results from personal history and personal association with place. Such nationalist sentiment can arise regardless of actual citizenship as Baloch women may have mentally left behind the

nation of their ancestors even though they do not have legal status in their adopted country. Official citizenship, in addition to the relationship between women and patriarchs, affects educational opportunities. Women's responses to these opportunities vary as they conceptualize education as a trajectory of self-improvement and a means of attaining an alternative identity. Desire and real opportunities meet inconsistently in the intersection of these individuals' identities as daughters, mothers, wives, ethnic minorities, and women.

Further research on the perception of Baloch people by the local Emirati people would nuance understanding of the Balochi presence in the UAE, providing complimentary perspectives to self-representation. One limitation of this project was the short span of research. A longitudinal project regarding the Baloch people would allow for greater collection of data and a richer exploration of themes introduced by this paper. Narratives of Baloch men would provide contrasting perspectives on marriage and national identity, especially as they relate to topics of nationalism, gender and education differently in a patriarchal society.

Multiculturalism can be theorized as a process of constructing a cohesive cultural identity *outside*, *in between*, or *within* the bounds of nationality. To construct multiculturalism *outside* of national identity is to reject the conversation of nation-states and citizenships as unnecessary in multicultural identity. For example, individuals who do not identify culturally with their passport country may seek to distance themselves from nationalistic discourse by rejecting the value of national identity. However, such a stance prevents groups from challenging and redefining the nation-state as an imagined community. To construct an identity *in between* has the potential to bring together unique and distinct cultures and create something new. The weakness of this theorization is that it removes multicultural identity construction from direct negotiation with majority and minority identities and cultures. The Baloch women who participated in this project constructed their multicultural identity *within* the conversation of national identity. Their identity did not fit into

the simplistic definitions and assumptions that national identity would be synonymous with citizenship. However, by negotiating their sense of self *within* they could simultaneously acknowledge and reformulate the construct of national identity. Thus, constructing a multicultural identity *within* requires a place within contemporary conversations of nationalism.

The tension of holding multiple cultures in a unified individual identity has implications for numerous topics including refugee movements, as transnational people seek to create a sense of stability in a geographically and politically turbulent lifestyle. National identity, distinct from passport identity, follows from cultural commonality and has the potential for stronger loyalty than legal citizenship. Many refugees and transnational individuals become "other" to both their original and their host context and may create a sense of home in relationship to immediate family and community. A distinct legal national identity has less priority over community with people of shared culture and experience as well as understanding and exchange across cultural differences. Conversations on women's rights, especially as they relate to education and marriage, must carefully consider the dynamic relationship between opportunity and desire rather than giving simplistic responses to complex power dynamics. Racial and ethnic minorities will benefit from constructing their multicultural identity *within* contemporary conversations as this provides an opportunity to "challenge, revise and revitalize" the values and assumptions of both majority and minority cultures (Turner 1993, 413). Multicultural identities are expressed in diverse and distinct ways as individuals actively respond to and reshape structures and cultural expectations. For the women who participated in this project, multiculturalism is not a complete rejection of one culture to embrace the other, but the simultaneous embrace and critique of both without contradiction.

Acknowledgements

I am truly grateful to the women who participated in this project for sharing their lives, and to my advisors, Dr. Christa Tooley and Dr. Christine Folch, for their guidance. This work was made possible through the financial support of the Global Scholar Award from Wheaton College's Center for Global and Experiential Learning. Thanks K&T for graciously hosting me, T&M for sharing contacts and contextual knowledge, Esther Han for countless hours of transcription, and Abigail Bowman, Bethany Thomas, Lauren Palmer, and Sarai Lopez for additional help. Most of all, thank you to my family for unending support, encouragement, and investment.

Endnotes

[1] A year after these interviews, Asma married a Baloch man in an arranged marriage.

[2] The invitation into a space is shaped by the dynamics of authority that are present at her mother-in-law's house. Noora explained her similar preference to host me in the small bedroom she lived in with her husband and two young sons rather than the main *majlis* of the house, saying, "If I go out [of the bedroom], it is the house of my husband's mother and my husband. Here in this room is my space. I am ruler of it." Power dynamics inhabit space. The mother of the house has a level of authority and scrutiny that can be placed on the younger women of the house. This shapes the lack of ownership of space Somia and Noora feel in their mother-in-law's homes and their claims to owning space through hospitality. Marriage creates new dynamics of inhabited space and tangibly restructures the power dynamics these women literally inhabit.

[3] Asma later described her new marriage as "arranged and then love", mirroring Yasmin's engagement that she narrates through both love and arranged marriage.

References

Abdullah, Muhammad Morsy. 1978. *The United Arab Emirates: A Modern History.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc.

Abrahamian, Atossa Araxia. 2015. *The Cosmopolites: The Coming of the Global Citizen*. New York: Columbia Global Reports.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2002. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American Anthropologists* 104 (3): 783-790.

Afshar, Haleh. 2005. *Women and Politics in the Third World*. New York: Routledge.

Ali, Syed. 2011. "Going and Coming and Going Again: Second-Generation Migrants in Dubai." *Mobilities* 6 (4): 553-568.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Bammer, A. (1994). "Introduction." In *Displacements : Cultural Identities in Question*, edited by A. Bammer. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, xi-xx.

Bhabha, Homi K. 1996. "Culture's In-Between," In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, 53-60. London: Sage Publications, 53-60.

Bryan, Catherine. 2012. "Gendered Returns, Ambivalent Transnationals: Situating Transnationalism in Local Asymmetry." *Anthropologica* 54(1): 133-142.

Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. 2008. "United Arab Emirates" from *2008 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*. Accessed May 13, 2017, https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2008/nea/119129.htm.

Cainkar, Louise. 2013. "Global Arab World Migrations and Diasporas." *The Arab Studies Journal* 21(1): 126-165. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41968271.

Central Intelligence Agency. n.d. "The World Factbook – Central Intelligence Agency." Accessed January 30, 2017. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ae.html.

Davidson, Christopher M. 2006 "After Shaikh Zayed: The Politics of Succession in Abu Dhabi and the UAE." *Middle East Policy* 13(1): 42-59.

Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. 1972. *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. London and New York: Continuum.

Du Bois, W. E. B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk.* New York: Bartleby.com, 1999, accessed January 30, 2017, http://www.bartleby.com/114/.

Eller, Jack David. 1997. "Anti-Anti-Multiculturalism." *American Anthropologist* 99(2): 249-256.

Hornberger, Nancy. 2007. "Biliteracy, Transnationalism, Multimodality, and Identity: Trajectories Across Time and Space." *Linguistics and Education*, 18(3-4): 325-334.

Horwitz, Murray and Jacob M. Rabbie. 1982. "Individuality and Membership in the Intergroup System." In *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, edited by Henri Tajfel, 241-274. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ong, Aihwa. 1999. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Ortner, Sherry. 2003. *New Jersey Dreaming: Capital, Culture, and the Class of '58*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Rodriguez, Alicia P. 2000. "Adjusting the Multicultural Lens." *Race, Gender & Class* 7(3): 150-177.

Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York City: Pantheon House.

Shields, Stephanie A. 2008. "Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective." *Sex Roles* 59: 301-311.

Turner, Terence. 1993. "Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What is Anthropology That Multiculturalists Should Be Mindful of It?" *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (4): 411-429.

Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Zacharias, Anna. 2013. "Bidoon celebrate UAE National Day as Emiratis." *The National*, Nov 24. Accessed December 22, 2015. http://www.thenational.ae/uae/heritage/bidoon-celebrate-uae-national-day-as-emiratis.

Zayed University. "The Story of the UAE." Accessed January 30, 2017. http://www.zu.ac.ae/main/en/_careers/living/story.aspx.

"Time for a Promotion? No, It's Not for Me..." How Caring for Children with Life-Limiting Conditions Affects Health Care Assistants' Career Decisions

Esra Arslanboga

Durham University, esra.arslanboga@durham.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the relationship between the level and experience of care provided by Health Care Assistants (HCAs) to children in palliative care and the HCAs' views about their career progression. An ethnographic approach was taken to explore the reasoning that informs Health Care Assistants' choices about whether to pursue a career pathway into nursing. The author, a medical student, conducted the study using participant observation while working as a volunteer for one year in a Children's Hospice in England. The data presented and analysed here were collected through unstructured conversations with the HCAs. It was found that the main reason why HCAs declined opportunities to progress in their career to nursing was their fear of not being able to be emotionally available to the children with whom they worked. HCAs also wanted to avoid working in hospital settings, where they perceived that they would have to trade off emotional involvement in caring for patients against career advancement. The decision to pass up a promotion, in some cases several times, is not easy, especially when pay may be substantially higher. This study shows that participants' job satisfaction and valuing of having time to provide compassionate care were the main motivations to avoid progressing from HCA to nursing roles.

It is now well understood that a consideration of emotions in everyday life enriches our capacity to understand social interactions, the cultural and relational factors that influence and regulate behaviour, and the ways that social structures impact feeling (Williams and Bendelow 1995). Moreover, studying the role of emotions in society and culture can help illuminate how social fields such as gender, work, and family are constituted, experienced and enacted (Williams and Bendelow 1995).

The use and experience of emotion in the world of work has been a fecund research area for social scientists, especially Arlie Hochschild (2012), who has deepened our theoretical understanding of how work invokes and demands emotional labour, which is often unrewarded. Central to Hochschild's thesis is that emotional labour is an acquired skill that requires people to learn and demonstrate appropriate ways of feeling, expressing their own emotions and responding to emotions of others. Furthermore, emotional labour both makes and partakes in the social, cultural and relational contexts in which it occurs. This insight rejects conceptualizing emotions as innate universal experiences and expressions of feeling, proposing instead that they can only be understood in specific socio-cultural settings.

This sociologically inflected approach to emotion aligns very well with the work of anthropologists (for example, Rosaldo 1984; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990) who explore emotions in the everyday life of small, relatively closed communities outside the global north. Their research has shown that emotions are central features of 'little cultural worlds' where what is possible to feel, by whom and in what contexts are framed by local modes of language and discourse, relationships and social hierarchies, moral codes and norms about conduct and behaviour. Hochschild (2012), Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990) and Rosaldo (1984) encourage us to consider emotions as central to understanding social contexts and human experience. Because emotions are socially constructed, they provide refractive potential for understanding social and cultural orders.

Healthcare settings have proved to be particularly rich environments for the exploration of emotions. Emotions are strongly invoked during patients' experiences of health and illness throughout their management and treatment, often even beyond hospital discharge. Thus, the concepts of care and caring have unsurprisingly become important in health research (Mann 2005). Studies of the emotional labour involved in caregiving by nurses in the Global Northwest have shown, consistently, that caring as an emotional activity is important to nurses in terms of their personal and workplace identity, connectedness and responsiveness to patients (Henderson 2001). However, Henderson (2001) also found that nursing staff perceive that the emotional labour involved in care-giving is neither institutionally recognised nor valued, and may even be denigrated by other healthcare professionals, while at the same time, the professional clinical role expected of nurses can diminish their ability to perform the emotional work they define as care. This resonates with the earlier work of Staden (1998), who found that nursing staff defined caring in terms of attentiveness to others by giving time and empathy, and felt that these skills were not taught but acquired experientially, and were not institutionally recognised. Interestingly, Hochschild's research in healthcare settings led her to develop the concept of attunement – which invokes emotional connectedness, responsiveness to patients and alignment of care needs and care-giving – as critical to experiences of emotional labour in care-giving and what she terms "appreciative starvation": the perception that the emotional aspects of care-giving are under-rewarded economically and at risk of marginalisation because of pressures on nurses to work more quickly and dedicate less time to individual patients (Hochschild 2003, 69).

The views and experiences of emotional labour amongst Health Care Assistants remain largely unexamined in the research literature. This study sets out to explore the experience of caring amongst HCAs working in a charitable healthcare setting that provides nursing and palliative care to children with life-limiting illnesses. It demonstrates that particular forms of emotional attunement are central to HCAs' professional identities and represent a central element of what they identify as their work-place labour. They perceive a tension in their potential for career progression, usually into nursing, due to the threat posed to their capacity to engage in that form of labour.

Palliative care for children and young people in the United Kingdom

There are approximately 23,500 children and young people in the UK diagnosed with life-limiting or life-threatening illnesses. About half of these children will have substantial palliative care needs, with around 3,000 deaths each year. On average, 100,000 family members each year will be affected and in need of support.

Life-limiting illnesses are described by the charity Together for Short Lives (2016) as those resulting from health conditions with no hope of cure and from which patients will die. Life-threatening illnesses are those health conditions in which treatment is possible, but may not be successful. Children's palliative care is an active and total approach to caring for children with incurable diseases from point of diagnosis, throughout the child's life, death and beyond for family members if needed. This type of care encompasses biological, physical, psychological, emotional, social and spiritual elements, focusing on enhancing quality of life for the child and providing ample support for the family (NICE 2011).

The Children's Hospice

The setting for this study was a children's hospice in the northeast of England providing care to children aged between zero and six years old who suffer from life-limiting or life-threatening conditions. Beyond this age, the children are passed over into the care of another hospice in the local area, should their

healthcare plan allow it. The hospice was formed through a pro-life charity [anonymised] in response to the Abortion Act 1967. The charity set out to support 'total pro-life action' in response to the prospect of abortion due to disability, which the charity considered an act of discrimination.

The hospice works in partnership with complex care teams within the National Health Service (NHS), a government funded public service, to ensure consistent holistic care is given to each child. This can include physiotherapy, nursing care, medical care, pharmacology, music therapy, sensory room activities and stimulation, speech and language therapy, parent or sibling groups, counselling services, hydrotherapy, complementary therapy and bereavement support. The hospice has recently implemented a partnership with a local family medicine clinic (known as General Practice (GP) surgery in the UK), responsible for the treatment of common conditions and a point of referral to specialists in other circumstances. Currently, the hospice works with three physicians who are called when a child's health deviates from norm but not seriously enough to require ambulance services. This service provides ongoing care from physicians who have prior knowledge of the children and their individual care needs – the kind of knowledge that can prove critical in emergency situations. Furthermore, the hospice can now legally provide end-of-life care in partnership with the local hospital, which requires collaboration with a palliative care consultant.

Staffing and clients

The hospice can accommodate six children at any one time with 30 children currently utilising the service. Children are invited to stay as the family's schedule and financial circumstances permit. Each child is cared for by a HCA, although it may not be the same HCA on each visit, to allow all healthcare professionals to get to know every child's individual needs in case of staff absence. To support the HCAs, at least two nurses are present each shift to administer medicine, take charge in emergencies, and complete legal paperwork. Twenty HCAs and fifteen nurses are currently employed by the hospice. Three of the nurses

are outsourced 'bank' nurses, which means they are principally employed by the local hospital, but can choose to work at the hospice when their hospital schedule allows and the hospice is understaffed. The national hourly pay is £7.33 for a HCA and £13.32 - 23.31 for a nurse.

There are two managers, one responsible for the healthcare team and another responsible for the administrative team, who both report to the board of six volunteer trustees. In addition, there are domestic staff who maintain the hospice and five fundraisers who work hard to collect donations to sustain the charity's £1,200,000 yearly budget.

Role of Health Care Assistants

The following extract from my field notes on my first visit to the hospice serves as a reflective introduction to this article:

> All HCAs have their designated child and are playing with them whilst the nurses fill out any related paperwork, prepare medications and talk to management about children coming in the following day and sorting out shifts.

All care is provided on a one-to-one basis by a specially trained HCA who works under the guidance of a nurse. The HCAs' responsibilities include washing and dressing the children, helping with feeds, helping the children move around, or playing with them – especially using stimulating sensory toys – alongside monitoring patients' conditions by taking temperatures, pulse, respirations and weight. During the day, the HCAs take pictures and make detailed notes of the children's activities in a "My Day at [hospice name]" worksheet, which will be kept in a 'Memory Box' dedicated to each individual child that will be given to the child's family as a gesture of support when the child leaves the hospice or passes away. The HCAs are usually the ones who greet parents upon arrival and tell them how well the child has been during his or her visit when parents come to collect them.

Role of Nurses

The children have very specific health needs and their families are viewed as partners in the care offered so each child is assigned to a Registered Children's Nurse who updates the child's care plan monthly, incorporating

caregivers' requests where appropriate. This reflects the organisation's belief that every child is unique and that each care plan should be tailored to the needs of the child. If any problems arise during the child's stay, a nurse must call the parents. There are always at least two nurses on shift, as well as one care assistant per child. This level of hands-on support ensures that all children receive the attention and care that their conditions require. All members of the management team have a background in care work themselves, which fosters a better understanding of what the children and staff need.

Methods

I collected data for this paper alongside an assignment set by the university at which I am studying medicine, which requires all medical students to take a year-long placement in the local community. The purpose of the placement is to help medical students acquire a broader socio-cultural understanding and experience of health and illness. By placing students in healthcare environments outside the formal, government-funded health system, the community placement also enables students to see how the wider informal healthcare system operates. Students are required to submit an assessed report on our experiences that takes the form of an ethnographic project. This approach encourages the development of qualitative research practice as well as a formal intellectual foundation for understanding what health means and how it is experienced by members of the local community.

Ethnographic studies seek to provide a comprehensive understanding not only into the actions of an individual, team, or organization, but also into the interactions and perceptions intertwined with them. To obtain a more holistic view and to try and enrich my understanding, I used several research methods, combining information from various sources in order to achieve data triangulation. The methods were participant observation, informal unstructured and semi-structured interviews, analysis of textual data and questionnaires. Confidentiality, anonymity and the right to withdraw were explained to all participants prior to their involvement, and questioning only began once consent had been

given. In this article, pseudonyms are used for participants to preserve their rights to confidentiality and anonymity.

Participant observation allowed me to immerse myself in various ongoing activities at the hospice which, as an investigator, gave me the opportunity to interact with other people in events and situations as they developed. It enabled me to understand an experience from the point of view of a participant, as opposed to a mere observer (Shaw 2016). However, one limitation is the 'Hawthorne effect', which describes a behaviour-modifying reaction by an individual in response to their awareness of being observed (McCambridge et al 2014). Thus, my presence as a researcher could have potentially influenced situations. To mitigate this, I only wrote up fieldnotes after I left the hospice, to try to prevent individuals from feeling they were under surveillance. This delay, however, could have resulted in recall bias. However, it has been argued that establishing a close relationship with participants can "reveal profound truths about social and/or cultural phenomena...even if staged for or influenced by the observer" (Monahan and Fisher 2010). I found this to be very true – when comparing responses obtained from interviews and those from questionnaires, the questionnaire responses were very brief, with no rich data.

In-depth *unstructured and semi-structured interviews* conducted with staff, especially after establishing rapport, enabled the collection of much more detailed data. These explored the thoughts and emotions experienced by staff who were involved in the clinical, operational and financial aspects of palliative care at the hospice. I also interviewed parents and siblings to enrich the data collected and provide users' perspectives on the organisation. Unfortunately, due to their health conditions, the children themselves are unable to communicate. Questionnaires were utilised as a research method after a considerable number of hours had been spent on placement, allowing more time to become familiar with the staff and parents. This increased the likelihood of obtaining engagement with, and understanding of, and therefore confidence in the survey. The main purpose of the survey was to cross-reference and supplement the data collected from the hospice staff by other

means. For example, there was no private space to conduct interviews so interviewees could easily be overheard by other staff members. By using a self-reported paper questionnaire, I was able to gain more private answers to certain questions. I included both open and closed questions to easily compare responses with interview data and strengthen the reliability of findings.

Shaw (2016) states that the potential ways in which the researcher's involvement influences research should be monitored through *reflexivity*. After writing fieldnotes, I reflected upon that period of fieldwork, identifying areas where it was possible that perceptions of my role or interest were influencing either what I saw or heard or my interpretation of it. It has been shown that continual reflection can have a positive impact on a researcher's approach to their study (Claxton-Oldfield and Claxton-Oldfield 2012).

Findings: The Rewards of Emotional Labour

It is well-documented that in nursing, as in any occupation, employee satisfaction depends heavily on the opportunities for career progression (Hayes et al. 2006). In the hospice, the management team encourages career development from HCA to nursing status because nurses can be more involved in the clinical care of the children. There is a need for more nurses on the staff rota, which is why the hospice has to resort to the bank nurses. To support progression from HCA to nursing, the hospice allows for a fully flexible work schedule to incorporate study leave, and some financial help is available. For this reason, it was surprising to see that many HCAs had no interest in this career progression.

In order to understand the decision to pursue career advancement and progression from HCA to nurse, it is important to find out how the individual came to work in palliative care, a mentally and emotionally demanding job. I will explore the individual perceptions of each HCA, and then summarise a continuous theme within their ideas.

Susan is 34 and a HCA who, at every opportunity, will volunteer for vocational training courses to become a more competent

professional. This has earned her the reputation of holding the most vocational qualifications of all HCAs employed at the hospice. When I asked her how she started her career in this sector, she explained that she previously worked in an adult hospice for several years, so she had the work experience necessary for the position she currently holds. A few minutes into the interview, she disclosed that a family member used to come to the hospice as a patient and that's how she heard about the place. When I asked Susan why she didn't want to progress to become a nurse, she simply said:

> I want to spend the most time I can with the children, I want to play with them, but I also want to be able to give them the best care, that's why I make sure my skills are up-to-date, and my current job allows me to do that. They keep asking me to do my nurse's training, and I keep telling them no, it's not for me.

Susan said that she had been through a lot of personal bereavement and therefore is "immune to the pain" of upsetting situations encountered at the hospice, as pain is something "you just get used to," adding that she can easily detach from all that's going on.

Gerow et al. (2010) conducted interviews with nurses and found they create a 'curtain of protection' to ease the grieving process, which allows them to continue to provide care for other patients, which may well be what Susan does. However, she is adamant she doesn't want to be a nurse because she perceives that it will reduce her capacity to care for the children.

Susan said she could never go back to working with adults now, because it is more challenging: "Adults are very upset, especially in a hospice, and sometimes you don't feel good or like you're helping, but with the children, I feel like I'm making a difference."

This comparison between children and adults in palliative care allowed me to reflect on the environment. I had completed a week's work experience at an outpatients' ward in a local adult hospice previously, and recalled that the adults tended to dwell on their illnesses and talk about their regrets or unfulfilled dreams, which can be mentally strenuous for the listener. Family members of the patients would occasionally complain about the lack of care provided and financial hardships in providing full-time care. In contrast, every day at the children's hospice was carefully planned with the intention of filling it with joyous moments. For example, photographs were constantly taken to put in each child's 'Memory Box'. I noticed that the parents of the children were also a lot more optimistic and talkative than adult hospice patients' family members. They would regularly spend 15-30 minutes chatting with staff, constantly maintaining a positive mental attitude, even though they led very busy lives, mostly spent in the hospital for their child. Parents regularly supported each other through the hospice's social media pages and some even set up charities to support other sufferers of particular illnesses. This was a stark difference in the approach to care when compared to adult hospices and made me question why these differences in the approach to care exist.

Beasley et al (2015) articulate many of the concepts displayed in this conversation with Susan. They confirm that (adult) patients approaching end of life display traits such as hopelessness, helplessness and depressive moods, which contribute to making this period very difficult for all involved in their care. This study also comments on why people can find it rewarding yet difficult to volunteer in palliative care: "their involvement contributed to their own personal development, and was personally rewarding… [yet] encounters with family members were sometimes challenging. While some were appreciative, others became overly reliant … [family] were sometimes offended, hurt, and angered" (Beasley et al. 2015, 1419). This echoes Susan's reason for leaving the adult hospice setting and her sense of making a positive difference, the main motivator to stay in her role, at the children's hospice, where parents were continuously appreciative of the care she provided.

Beasley et al.'s work (2015) also highlights differences in family members' attitudes towards palliative centres, with families of adults in hospices tending to take a scrutinizing stance toward healthcare professionals,

whereas the family members of children tend to display gratitude. It is possible that this is influenced by the pro-life stance of the hospice – the parents feel supported in their decision to care for their child no matter what. However, it is also possible that adults residing in hospices, who are presumed to have been fit and healthy as young adults, have had to go through a transformation in identity, including surrendering their independence due to their palliative care needs. Their struggle to come to terms with their change in lifestyle, in which HCAs become their main point of contact, can put an emotional strain on family members as well as carers. Beasley et al. (2015) thus stress the importance and benefits of providing ongoing support for volunteers in these circumstances, as it can ease the difficulties experienced when caring for someone in their end-of-life period. This is reflected in Susan's direct comparison to the adult hospice she previously worked in.

Fran is 42 and started her career at 16 through an apprenticeship at a residential care home before coming to work as a full-time HCA at the hospice. She explained:

> Working with the elderly is different to working with children – I witnessed many people passing away but I haven't experienced a loss at the hospice in all the time I've worked here - I only just hear a child has passed at hospital, but that's after their sixth birthday, when they've left the hospice, and although unexpected, it is easier to deal with.

I asked Fran what she thought of the hospice end-of-life care support, where staff work closely with a palliative care consultant. She said it's a great service for families, but involves the nurses more than the HCAs as "you can't really play with the children or anything, they are here to pass away peacefully so I don't think I'll be involved much in their care, but the nurses will." When I asked Fran whether she would ever progress onto nursing, she said no, because it's not financially viable and the paperwork side of nursing is unappealing. This shows there are many factors that HCAs need

to consider before they begin work toward a promotion.

Fran mentioned twice that she found death easier to deal with when it did not happen in her direct presence, in comparison to her experience at the residential care home. This suggests that she may be apprehensive about entering an environment where death is the norm again, which may be another reason why she is reluctant to progress her career. It has been documented that nurses caring for patients who are painfully suffering or dying may experience a wide array of negative emotions including trust issues, loss of self, neglect of self and inability to maintain intimate relationships (Figley, 1995), anxiety, anger, and irritability (Lerias and Byrne 2003), and Fran may be trying to avoid such emotions resurfacing. Fran also mentioned that she values 'play' as a key aspect of her current role, which does not feature much in children's end-of-life care, another factor potentially hindering her career progression.

Marina, 37, always wanted to work with children, originally as a teacher, so to gain experience working with children, she went for an interview at the hospice and has been here for ten years. She gave up on teaching because she realised that in a school environment, she wouldn't have the same kind of individual interaction with the children:

> Here [at the hospice], I can base my day around that child, get that one-to-one effect which gives me the feeling that I've done more that day. You can notice improvements and changes in the child and to be able to tell the family how much of a good day they've had and how emotional and alert they've been – some families feel guilty about using the service, so to reassure them is great.

Marina said she has not ever considered nursing, and explained her reasons as follows:

> The nurses don't do one-to-one with the kids – they do the more paperwork and phone calls side of things – I just want the one-to-one

interaction, you get so much more out of it because certain kids have different needs and you get to cater to these differences in your own way. I don't like hospitals, I spent a lot of time in hospitals growing up and I don't want it – this is a relaxed setting like a 'home from home' for the children where they can be comfortable, but the atmosphere at the hospital isn't nice – there, a child comes in ill and either leaves or dies. Here, I get emotional when I find out a child has passed away but because I've had a relationship with them, I can play back the good memories - it's harder to move on in the hospital because you have nothing to help you answer why they died, and you'll feel that way with every person that passes.

Shorter and Stayt (2009) explored nurses' experiences of grief when their patients died, which was reported as being less traumatic if the death was perceived to be a 'good death', an expected death before which they had provided a high standard of nursing care, and if they had formed an attachment with the patient and relatives, which could help in obtaining closure after their death. This finding is significant in the present context because the relationships that HCAs develop with patients and families may help to normalise the death.

As medical students, we are always taught to 'act in a professional manner' and not form relationships with our patients, but I am beginning to realise that I will not be able to provide a high level of empathetic care to my patients without being a compassionate practitioner. For this I need to establish some form of relationship with my patient. Marina has helped me realise that attachment to a child, or in my case, a patient, isn't necessarily a bad thing, and in fact helps with coming to terms with loss and bereavement, something with which many young doctors struggle.

This insight could also explain why the staff feel they rarely experience burnout. Staff know that their mental health is important to being able to provide a high quality of care to the children and are very aware of the signs and symptoms

to look out for within themselves and each other. The staff I interviewed were unanimous in reporting that the hospice was "a close family" and "very supportive."

Again, the recurring theme emerges of the importance to HCAs of being able to spend quality time with the children to engage and strengthen the emotional bond between child and HCA. Tailoring the day around the child leads to positive emotions within oneself and feelings of making a helpful impact on the lives of a child and their family.

Natasha, 27, explained her route into palliative care:

My mum is a primary school teacher, and after some experience in a school, I saw how much paperwork there is and didn't want to do it. I started a health and social care course and qualified. I worked as a nanny and in a day nursery. My sister used to work here as a nurse, she mentioned I should apply to work as a nursery nurse (an activity and play leader) but I always thought I couldn't handle the job; it's a baby hospice, I thought I wouldn't be strong enough to do the job! But after some time, my sister convinced me to do it and I got here and it wasn't like anything I expected, it was so nice, and I got the job. After a while I got asked to change to the role of a HCA so I did and I've been here for seven years. I get asked to be a nurse but I always say no – I'm 27 with two kids – university is not an option – I wouldn't say never, but not now.

I asked Natasha to compare her previous role as a nursery nurse to her current role as a HCA:

I like the job I do as a HCA – working as a nursery nurse, I wasn't caring for the kids, I really felt I wasn't getting anything back, now, as a HCA, I can see how much I'm helping, not only the children, but also their families, and I feel good about the positive work I'm doing.

I then wanted to explore why Natasha kept refusing the company's proposal for her to progress to nurse status:

> Looking at the nurses here, you can see they just become 'medicine flushers' [i.e. the nurse's only interaction with a child is administering medication] and they're rushed off their feet – they don't have time for cuddles with the kids and this does worry me if I was ever to consider becoming a nurse.

Natasha's passion for helping people, which possibly motivated her to enter the healthcare sector in the first place, is evident from her preference to work as a HCA rather than a nursery nurse, but it comes with heavy consequences. Her comments suggest that what she values most about her job is the emotional attachment with the children, which, from her observations, will be taken away from her if she progresses onto nursing.

As we kept talking, Natasha started to tell me about more sensitive issues relating to her personal experiences, which have also had an impact on her perceptions. For example:

> My niece passed away a few years ago. She was supposed to come here, but didn't make it. I do love my job, but I never thought I'd be here because I remember my niece. I've thought about leaving and going to work in McDonald's again or Tesco (a UK-wide supermarket chain) but I'm supported by the team and told my talents would be wasted in such places. If I become a nurse, I would want to work here or somewhere like here. I feel stronger and better able to support the parents after experiencing a personal loss, as the other losses don't affect me as much.

Natasha's fortitude in her role thus seems to come from personal experience, rather than formal training: since HCA is a role that is not subject to mandatory training, HCAs do not get the opportunity to develop their 'emotion skills' explicitly. In contrast, medical students at Durham University are trained in self-reflection to help recognise and demonstrate an empathetic approach to patients within clinical settings. Students actively monitor the way they treat patients, which should lead to more mindful practice. Being able to maintain an empathetic approach correlates strongly to medical students' mental health and general wellbeing. Lacking access to such self-reflection and mindfulness training, HCAs are potentially at risk of burnout, which can impact all areas of their lives, personal and professional.

Burks and Kobus (2012) examined the relation between altruism in healthcare and feelings of emotional and career burnout, cynicism, decreased helpfulness and decreased patient-centeredness in care. They report that "altruistic ideals and qualities of empathy appear to decrease …[when] facing increasingly heavy workloads, deal with strenuous demands…[and] increase the likelihood of emotional suppression, detachment from patients, burnout and other negative consequences… as a means of self-preservation" (Burks and Kobus 2012, 319). Although Natasha knows that her mental health is important, especially as a worker in the healthcare sector, the stigma still attached to talking about emotional problems may prevent her from seeking help if needed. This was demonstrated by her stating she was feeling well during her interview, but on the questionnaire, stating she was stressed.

Ella, 22, was looking for a job after finishing her degree in early years and disability studies when her cousin working at the hospice as a nurse recommended a job as a HCA. I asked Ella if this was her original plan, and she revealed that during her degree she had thought about applying for a teaching qualification, but very quickly realised it wasn't for her. Nevertheless, she wanted to work with children, and was attracted to the notion of going into children's nursing, but needed some work experience in the healthcare sector to do so. This led to her applying for a job at the hospice. Also, Ella wanted "to see if I could handle this type of environment." At the time of my fieldwork, Ella was waiting to be interviewed for a job as a nursery nurse in another hospice. When I asked her why she was going for a different role, she said "I wanted to do this instead of HCA because you get to lead play

and activities, it has much less clinical aspects but still involves some care"

Ella thought that in the future, she will pursue further study in either nursing or social care:

> I want to give myself a couple more years and research around it and know within myself what I want to do. As a nurse, I'll want to work in the community, like here. If social care, I'd want to be a social worker for disabled children and introduce the families to services that will benefit them, this role is a lot more communication based, which is what I enjoy, rather than clinical skills, which is why I'm apprehensive about nursing, but I think I'd really enjoy putting together care plans for the children, which is a huge part of nursing. Finances are not really an issue, so I will do it, I just don't know which yet.

As we were talking, Ella was getting a child ready for bed which involved putting the child in a 'second skin' body suit to prevent scoliosis: "She [the child] has a high threshold for pain, the 'second skin bodysuit' is very painful but she doesn't cry! I actually wish she would cry because I know it's painful and this not crying actually hurts me even more!" This casual, offhand comment reflects many of the themes I picked out during our conversation. Ella appeared to be a very compassionate and empathetic individual. While these characteristics probably influence her career choices, they also mean she gets emotionally attached to the children she cares for, which can be difficult to handle. Research on the implications of delivering compassionate care reveals that compassion and wellbeing among staff are connected (Grant et al. 2013). Compassion benefits both service users and healthcare professionals. Patients rate compassionate staff as more competent and are more likely to comply with their advice, while staff experience personal growth and feelings of fulfilment from the job that help prevent burnout (Grant et al. 2013). As Claxton-Oldfield's (2014) research on volunteer caregivers found, there can be a mutually beneficial relationship between terminally ill patients, their families and palliative caregivers. In such relationships, patients can receive access to support and care-needs such as emotional support, companionship, and practical assistance, while families benefit from respite, and caregivers can fulfil their professional identity.

Nina, 41, is in her second year of nursing. She currently works part time as a HCA to support her through university. She has worked for four years as a HCA, and eight months at the hospice.

> I've worked with elderly in care homes before, but I like working with children more as you feel like you make more of a difference with kids. My main drive going into nursing was my mum who passed away three years ago. I've been interested in nursing for many years and with mum passing away, I said if I don't do it now, I never will.

When I asked whether she preferred working in a hospice setting or the hospital, her opinions made me question whether the interaction between staff and patients in hospitals are hindering recovery rather than enabling it.

> Healthcare professionals in the hospital are resilient and stone-faced – I worry about becoming like this and that's why I'd want to work in the community. If I found myself becoming like that, I'd know it's time to leave. Care provided in the community is more real and effective. The ward is very complacent and patients feel like a hindrance for being there, for example if you go in because you have a temperature, the nurses don't think it's a big deal and tell you to go home, it's a very dismissive style of treatment. In the community, you build more relationships with the families, but in the hospital, they're in and out by your next shift, you don't even know what happened to them most the time and when you ask, people don't care enough to know.

I've never experienced bereavement here – in the hospital on placement, a new-born baby passed away. I was there for the birth and everything from that moment was traumatic, I still can't comprehend it. With the elderly, you know they've had a good long life, but this was a new-born. A death here would affect me more than [on] the ward because you know the families, but the team are all so supportive so it would be so much better. You might not get that on the ward – here you always work with the same girls, the ward is all shift work and you may never be with the same people. I didn't get much support for the neonatal death I experienced. Here, there are relationships with families and colleagues, and you look out for each other – there's room for adaptation here, you can tailor-make things for each child and situation, and you're more in control. Here it's centred around the child but the hospital just doesn't provide this type of care.

It has been found that a supportive environment, alongside an understanding of how to recognise and manage bereavement, can help avoid burnout (Dorz et al. 2003) and compassion fatigue (Abendroth and Flannery 2006), ultimately leading to greater resiliency. This support system has been effectively put into place at the hospice. The same is not reported for the National Health Service (NHS), however, where rates of suicide amongst healthcare professionals are continuously increasing.

Again, it appears that believing in a 'good death' and feeling that you, as a healthcare professional, delivered the best possible care are critical for gaining closure on the event. This seems to be important for good mental health and morale among staff, which in turn helps them continue to provide high quality care for patients. This idea is illustrated by Nina's sense that she would leave the profession if she felt she were becoming "resilient and stone-faced".

Isabelle is 23 and, although the hospice does not accept students on work experience placements any more, this is how she originally became a HCA. She will start a nursing degree in September:

> Working here has encouraged me to take this next step as I feel there is only a limited amount of care I can get involved with, being a HCA; I want to help the children as much as I can. I think I will do child nursing too. The company supports my decision and I can take time off work to go to university and placements – this applies to all staff.

It is interesting to see that some HCAs find their work more rewarding by providing emotional support to the child, whereas others see this as 'limited' to only emotional support. Alongside this, some do not want the added responsibility of being accountable for the care of the patient whereas others see this as the definition of providing care.

Putting it all together: my analysis

During interviews, most staff disclosed that the reason they work in palliative care was due to experiencing someone close to them pass away and wanting to give back some form of the support they received. They all reported feeling better working in palliative care because they felt like they were making a difference, but this was mostly recognised as being specifically linked to working in children's palliative care.

A study among hospice palliative care volunteers by Claxton-Oldfield and Claxton-Oldfield (2012, 525) found that "feeling appreciated by the patients/families they support gave [volunteers] great satisfaction.... They continue because it makes a difference/helps others/meets a need in other people's lives." This echoes the reasoning I heard in the hospice. All the HCAs agreed that making a difference through their work was the most important factor of their job. However, some HCAs saw their crucial work as being the emotional bond formed with the children, whilst others saw it as the clinical care the hospice was providing – and this seems to be the determining factor for career progression. If

a HCA fears that their emotional attachment and interactions with the children would be jeopardised if they became a nurse, they are more likely to decline opportunities for promotion, expressing that it is in fact this emotional attachment that keeps them strong and motivated to continue to work in the hospice. However, if the HCA values the clinical side of care relative to the emotional side, they are more likely to seek promotion to become a nurse.

This finding ties in with Hochschild's "appreciative starvation" theory (2003), which states that emotional labour is often unrewarded and unrecognised. HCAs are declining promotion in the belief that what they find so personally rewarding in their current position – the emotional labour – will be overshadowed by an overwhelmingly high number of other responsibilities as a nurse.

At times, it almost seemed to me that nurses see patients, whereas HCAs see people, an impression that resonates with previous research (McCance et al., 1999; Perry et al. 2003). Motivations to pursue promotion include better pay, good working hours and realistic responsibilities. Yet no HCA mentioned more money as a reason to seek promotion, even though they could be earning up to three times their current wages. Their responses suggest that they all prioritised job satisfaction and kept in mind what they valued most in their current role: the quality time spent with the children.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank all the participants in this study. They shared some extremely personal stories which sometimes left them feeling vulnerable. Without their kindness and willingness to contribute to this research, I wouldn't have been able to grow within myself, learning how to become a more mindful, compassionate and confident practitioner, whilst writing this article.

I would also like to thank my supervisors, Dr Paul Stronge and Professor Simon Forrest, for their ongoing guidance throughout the process of writing this article; I very much appreciate the support and kindness they have shown me throughout this time.

References

Abendroth, Maryann, and Jeanne Flannery. 2006. "Predicting the Risk of Compassion Fatigue." *Journal of Hospice & Palliative Nursing* 8 (6): 346-356.

Beasley, Elizabeth, Joanne Brooker, Narelle Warren, Jane Fletcher, Christopher Boyle, Adriana Ventura, and Susan Burney. 2015. "The Lived Experience of Volunteering in a Palliative Care Biography Service." *Palliative and Supportive Care* 13(05): 1417-1425.

Burks Derek, and Amy Kobus. 2012. "The Legacy of Altruism in Health Care: The Promotion of Empathy, Prosociality and Humanism." *Medical Education* 46: 317–325.

Claxton-Oldfield, Stephen, and Jane Claxton-Oldfield. 2012. "Should I Stay or Should I Go: A Study of Hospice Palliative Care Volunteer Satisfaction and Retention." *American Journal of Hospice and Palliative Medicine* 29(7): 525-530.

Claxton-Oldfield, Stephen. 2014. "Hospice Palliative Care Volunteers: The Benefits for Patients, Family Caregivers, and the Volunteers." *Palliative and Supportive Care* 13(03): 809-813.

Dorz, Stella, Caterina Novara, Claudio Sica, and Ezio Sanavio. 2003. "Predicting Burnout Among HIV/AIDS And Oncology Health Care Workers." *Psychology & Health* 18(5): 677-684.

Figley , Charles R. 1995. "Compassion fatigue: Towards a new understanding of the costs of Caring." In B. H. Stamm (Ed.), *Secondary traumatic stress: Self-care issues for clinicians, researchers and educators*, 3-27. Lutherville, MD: Sidran Press

Gerow, Lisa, Patricia Conejo, Amanda Alonzo, Nancy Davis, Susan Rodgers, and Elaine Williams Domian. 2010. "Creating A Curtain Of Protection: Nurses' Experiences Of Grief Following Patient Death." *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 42(2): 122-129.

Grant, Louise and Gail Kinman. 2013. "'Bouncing Back?' Personal Representations Of Resilience Of Student And Experienced Social Workers." *Practice* 25(5): 349-366.

Hayes, Laureen J, Linda O'Brien-Pallas, Christine Duffield, Judith Shamian, James Buchan, Frances Hughes, Heather K. Spence Laschinger, Nicola North, and Patricia W Stone. 2006. "Nurse turnover: a literature review." *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 43(2): 237-263.

Henderson, Angela. 2001. Emotional Labor and Nursing: An Under-Appreciated Aspect of Caring Work. *Nursing Inquiry* 8(2): 130-138.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 2003. "Behind Every Great Care Giver: The Emotional Labour in Healthcare." In *Emotional and Interpersonal Dimensions and Healthcare Services: Enriching the Art of Care with the Science of Care*, edited by Laurette Dubé, Guylaine Ferland and Debbie S Moskowitz, 67-72. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 2012. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. London: University of California Press.

Together For Short Lives. 2016. "Information About Together For Short Lives." *Togetherforshortlives.Org.Uk.* Accessed January 10, 2018. http://www.togetherforshortlives.org.uk/about/who_we_are.

Lerias, Doukessa and Mitchell K. Byrne. 2003. "Vicarious Traumatization: Symptoms and Predictors." *Stress and Health* 19 (3): 129-138.

Lutz, Catherine and Lila Abu-Lughod. 1990. *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mann, Sandi. 2005. "A Health-Care Model of Emotional Labour: An Evaluation of the Literature and Development of a Model." *Journal of Health Organization and Management* 19(4/5): 304-317.

McCance, Tanya V, Hugh P McKenna, and Jennifer RP Boore. 1999. "Caring: Theoretical Perspectives of Relevance to Nursing." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 30(6): 1388-1395.

McCambridge, Jim, John Witton, and Diana R. Elbourne. 2014. "Systematic Review of the Hawthorne Effect: New Concepts are Needed to Study Research Participation Effects." *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 67(3): 267-277.

Monahan, Torin, and Jill A. Fisher. 2010. "Benefits of 'Observer Effects': Lessons from the Field". *Qualitative Research* 10 (3): 357-376.

NICE. 2011. "End Of Life Care for Adults | Quality-Statement-5-Holistic-Support-Social-Practical-And-Emotional | Guidance and Guidelines | NICE". *Nice.Org.Uk.* Accessed January 10, 2018. http://www.nice.org.uk/guidance/QS13/chapter/Quality-

statement-5-Holistic-support-social-practical-and-emotional.

Perry, M., I. Carpenter, D. Challis, and K. Hope. 2003. "Understanding the Roles of Registered General Nurses and Care Assistants in UK Nursing Homes." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 42(5): 497-505.

Rosaldo, Michelle Z. (1984) "Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling." In *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*, edited by Richard A. Shweder and Robert. A. LeVine, 137–157. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shaw, James A. 2016. "Reflexivity and the "Acting Subject": Conceptualizing the Unit of Analysis in Qualitative Health Research". *Qualitative Health Research* 26(13): 1735-1744.

Shorter, Melanie, and Louise Caroline Stayt. 2009. "Critical Care Nurses' Experiences of Grief in an Adult Intensive Care Unit." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 66(1): 159-167.

Staden, Helen. 1998. "Alertness to the Needs of Others: A Study of the Emotional Labour of Caring." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 27 (1): 147-156.

Williams Simon, and Gillian Bendelow. 1998. *Emotions in Social Life: Critical Themes and Contemporary Issues*. London: Routledge.

"Today is a Four": How Students Talk About their Chronic Pain

Kate Pashby

American University, pashby.kate@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

According to critical embodiment theory, people notice the acts and functions of their bodies only when their bodies are not normalized, which causes them to perceive a difference between normalized bodies and their own. People with chronic pain likewise perceive a disconnect between themselves and people without chronic pain. This study examines, through semi-structured interviews with university students who have chronic pain, how participants conceive of their pain in different ways. This study confirms that participants considered themselves different from those without chronic pain, although nearly all participants identified one or more individual out-group "allies." Further, participants conceived of their pain differently, as evidenced by the various established and unestablished frameworks they used to communicate their pain. Because these concepts of pain are grounded in bodily experiences, it is impossible to fully "translate" pain to others.

When I asked one of my participants, Joshua, if he was in pain at that very moment, he immediately responded, "Well, today is a four." Stunned, I repeated, "Today is a four?" I asked all my participants the same question, after asking them their average high and average low pain, but none had spontaneously answered using the 1-10 pain scale. Most began by saying that they were surprised that their pain was not as bad as it could be before going on to describe the nature and location of their pains. Instead, Joshua explained, "Basically, the hill from my house to here wasn't fun, and every time I stand up it isn't too fun, but like… Let me put it this way, if you told me right now, 'Walk around campus a couple of times,' I could do it, but if you told me like, 'Hey, run a mile,' I'd be like, 'That's not happening.'" He was the only one of my participants to describe their chronic pain in such stark terms.

The International Association for the Study of Pain notes vaguely that chronic pain "persists past the normal time of healing," which may manifest as "less than one month, or more often, more than six months" (Merskey and Bogduk 1994, xi). In fact, after onset it may last for decades or even the rest of a person's life. Chronic pain is frequently a product of chronic illness, though the two do not necessarily go together. Moving beyond clinical definitions, people with chronic pain and illnesses face

> coming to grips with the mundaneness of worries over whether one can negotiate a curb, tolerate flowers without wheezing, make it to a bathroom quickly enough, eat breakfast without vomiting, keep the level of back pain low enough to get through the workday, sleep through the night, attempt sexual intercourse, make plans for a vacation, or just plain face up to the myriad of difficulties

that make life feel burdened, uncomfortable, and all too often desperate. (Kleinman 1988, 44)

In short, chronic pain goes beyond a mere physical burden. The ways in which people from the same culture relate to chronic pain may be understood as based in a shared worldview (Hall 1997, Miles 2010). In many Western cultures, chronic pain is at once stigmatized and marginalizing, as those with chronic pain feel a divide between themselves and their family, friends, and colleagues without chronic pain (Kleinman 1988).

Much empirical scientific evidence, considered so valid in Western world systems (Jordan 1993, Prakash 1999), argues against the validity of the mind-body dualism. Despite this, according to Johnson (2007, 2), the concept persists:

> We postulate a 'higher' self (the rational part) that must seek to control the 'lower' self (body, desire, emotion). We assume that each of us has an inner core (a 'true self' or a 'soul') that transcends our bodily, situated self. We buy into the notion of thinking as a pure, conceptual, body-transcending activity, even if we realize that no thinking occurs without a brain.

People believe in mind-body dualism because when the body senses something external, the brain typically focuses on the external experience rather than the body's act of experiencing. For instance, a driver who focused on how the image of another moving vehicle traveled through the rods and cones of her eyes, through the optic nerve, and into the brain would, of course, be unable to focus on driving safely.

It is not until the body undergoes trauma, disrupting this body schema by preventing sensation from occurring as it should, that a person becomes aware of this bodily processing (Johnson 2007, 5-6). For example, most people are not consciously aware of the functions of their internal organs after they eat lunch, and they can immediately return to work without thinking about their intestines. Yet someone with Crohn's Disease or Irritable

Bowel Syndrome is intimately familiar with their digestive processes, and may continue to think about these processes for the rest of the afternoon. Merleau-Ponty (2002) similarly posited that bodies are "habitual" when they perform actions without drawing attention to the performance of those actions. A person who walks with an apparently unhindered gait into an elevator will not draw the same amount of attention as a person in a wheelchair entering the elevator. Furthermore, a stranger already in that elevator will not perceive the event in the same way as the wheelchair user, who repeats this situation on a regular basis. And if the apparently able-bodied individual has chronic pain, they might be consciously aware of every step they take, while the stranger might immediately forget the event.

In other words, both internal and external characteristics can draw one's own and others' attention to the body in different ways. Ahmed (2007) studied this using the external characteristic of race, or more specifically, whiteness. She explained, "White bodies are habitual insofar as they 'trail behind' actions: they do not get 'stressed' in their encounters with objects or others, as their whiteness 'goes unnoticed'" (156). In contrast, a Black person walking into a predominantly white space will immediately notice and be noticed. As a result, white people are more easily able to dismiss the impact of race on a situation than Black people. Both whiteness and ability remain normalized through institutionalized inequality and social prejudice. The disabled or pained body draws the attention of the body's owner and others who are able to detect the impairment. Because of the disabled or pained person's hyperawareness of their body and the differences between their body and the normalized body, the disabled or pained person is more likely to perceive a corresponding social divide between the owners of different bodies than the owner of a normalized body would be.

Mainstream medical anthropologists and sociologists tend to study communities from an outsider's perspective, which can disempower the communities being studied when researchers treat participants as strange or irrational through the lens of Western medicine (McRuer 2006). Some scholars, such as Das

(1997), Jordan (1993), and Kleinman (1988), have tried to address this by incorporating different subjectivities into their narrative accounts of the people they study. These researchers try to better understand participants' thoughts and behavior by not only examining participants' worldviews but also interrogating their own. The growing field of critical embodiment studies, which includes scholars like Ahmed (2007), Johnson (2015), and Merleau-Ponty (2002), crucially takes into account both researcher and participant subjectivities.

I analyze chronic pain through critical embodiment theory rather than mainstream medical anthropology. Specifically, I have used the lens of linguistic anthropology to analyze participants' embodied understandings of their own bodies. This paper examines how students with chronic pain conceived of a difference between themselves and people with normalized bodies, and how they expressed that perceived difference through speech acts. It then delves into the ways participants conceived of their own pain through established and unestablished frameworks.

Methods

In line with critical embodiment theory, this study depends on reflexivity, in that my status as someone with chronic pain caused by rheumatoid arthritis (RA), an autoimmune disease, was a crucial factor in shaping the access I had to participants. In fact, Patricia explicitly told me as much: "But the reason I felt comfortable talking to you about it—and originally, even though we're not very close, is because I know you have RA. And I know you get it." An outsider might have designed this study differently, and might not have even asked the same two research questions. Yet being an insider poses its own challenges. To avoid imposing my personal values and perceptions upon participants' experiences, I employed member-checking throughout my interviews by verifying my interpretations of what they told me. I continually questioned my own assumptions about which concepts, values, and practices are shared and which are not.

For this study, I recruited five students among my acquaintances and their

acquaintances who self-identified as having chronic pain. After obtaining informed consent, which included disclosing to them that I experience chronic pain, I conducted a one-hour semi-structured interview with each participant in order to discuss participants' experiences and perceptions of chronic pain. I then conducted two group conversations using the same participants so that I could see firsthand how people with chronic pain interacted with each other in discussing both their pain and how they related to people without chronic pain. Because my research focused on the disconnect between people with chronic pain and those without it, I wanted to give my participants the option of connecting with other people who had chronic pain so that they might derive additional benefit from my research. I invited my participants to select one or both scheduled group conversations based on their availability rather than specifying which participants should be in each group.

While I emphasized that the group conversation was entirely optional, all five participants expressed interest and selected at least one session. The first focus group went as planned, with myself and three of the people I had interviewed responding to "I" statement prompts about our pain and then discussing our answers. However, two participants were unable to attend the second focus group at the last minute, leaving two of the participants from the first focus group. Rather than rehash old responses, I encouraged the two participants to have an unguided conversation about topics relating to the themes in my project, and I provided limited contributions to the conversation. With participants' permission, I audio recorded every interview from both stages of the study to conduct linguistic analyses on participants' exact words.

I have represented participants' speech as accurately as possible and preserved every "um" and "like," following the conventions of linguistic anthropology. Yet I have broken with convention by representing these quotes ethnographically, in their conversational context, rather than with line-by-line numbering. My representation of quotes thus seeks to ground the reader's experience of them in the ethnographic moment by inviting

the reader to delve deeper into the quote-as-text, including focusing on participants' readiness or hesitation to disclose their thoughts to me, and to recognize participants' speech patterns as unique traits that distinguish individuals from each other. At times, I have also made myself present in these accounts, both because of my position as a member of the community and because of my active role in these ethnographic moments.

Disclosing pain

The identification of sameness and difference are fundamental in building identity, as they enable individuals to imagine themselves as members of a group distinct from others (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). The boundaries between "us" and "them" need not be reciprocally agreed upon, and the members of a given group may not even agree exactly where those boundaries lie. Furthermore, as Anderson (1991) famously wrote, members of a group do not have to see and know each other to believe in the existence of the group, or "imagined community." People typically consider themselves to be members of multiple types of groups, although one group may supersede the others to be the focal point of identity construction (Derrida 1998, Bhabha 2004).

Individuals are socialized through language into new roles and identities throughout their lives, even after childhood (Ahearn 2011, 60-64). In this way, Krummel described how her doctors' use of technical jargon in letters referring her to other doctors socialized her into an identity of having multiple sclerosis:

> I consider this letter my first notification of MS because the correspondence marks the beginning of my new and very different life. I am now receiving (or acquiring, as the case may be) letters that introduce the MS language to me: demyelination [...] and diplopia [...]. Doctors write to each other about me and use the words "multiple sclerosis." I am not particularly disturbed by being referred to in the third person; I realize that I have internalized

Miriamne Ara Krummel as "patient." (Krummel 2001, 67)

Through medicalized encounters, those with chronic pain or chronic illness come to understand their current state of being or diagnosed condition. This understanding, combined with the awareness of their own bodily functions and acts, is followed by a sense of difference from their own past bodies or from the normalized bodies.

All five participants described feeling a divide between themselves and people without chronic pain, such as their colleagues, friends, family members, and medical practitioners. Participants often conflated these groups into a vague, anonymous "they" with statements such as, "They don't understand." At times, participants explicitly referred to "those who get it" versus "those who don't," and the participants in the focus group validated each other's understandings of this divide. For example, Carol said,

> I had a lot of friends beforehand, before I really got sick, who hadn't really gone through anything serious? So when I was going, you know, I had six months of recovery, and when I was telling them these things, they just didn't get it. One of my—former roommates—um. I was having a lot of blood clot issues, and so I was on blood thinners, and I'd get my blood levels checked two to three times a week, and they were never consistent, and that was very dangerous, and I'd be crying to her on the phone, going like, "my blood levels aren't where they're going to be, holy crap—what's gonna happen?" and she would just be like, "that sucks," but then she would tell me her miscellaneous problems of like, she spilled coffee on her shorts that day and it ruined her day, and I'm just thinking like, "blood clot could be going to my lungs."

Marge responded to her, "Sometimes I like listening to it as like, a watching TV thing. Like 'oh, look at all these people's problems, it's so nice.'"

Carol, who had begun experiencing chronic pain more recently than the other participants, reacted differently to this disparity compared to Marge, who from a young age had dealt with health complications unrelated to her current pain. However, both agreed on the existence and nature of the divide: people who encounter potentially life-threatening problems on a regular basis, and can understand each other's plights, versus people who do not encounter these problems regularly and prioritize seemingly unimportant ones and are unable to understand or be understood by the former. Nonetheless, friendships and romantic relationships were not impossible with "those who don't" because participants' identities as individuals with chronic pain had not superseded all of their other identities.

In fact, four of the five participants also identified one or more allies, or individuals without chronic pain to whom participants reported confiding their pain. These allies were typically roommates or significant others and directly witnessed participants' pain more than other people because of their relative proximity. In some cases, participants claimed that these allies were especially sympathetic because they had their own mental health conditions or had witnessed a family member's chronic pain or illness. However, witnessing did not equate to understanding, because allies could not truly grasp the experience of living with chronic pain. For instance, Marge was very close with her roommate and sometimes confided in her, especially because the two dealt with mental health conditions. However, Marge also claimed that her roommate could only understand her up to a certain point:

> You know, when my roommate comes home, this was mostly last semester, and she was like... "I can't do this, I have a concussion!" Like— she had a concussion, had a very serious one, and she was sleeping all the time, and she was like, "I can't, I can't not do this, I have to do all these things, the—these things, dot dot dot dot," and I was like, 'You literal—your body can't. I hate to be the one to break it to you? But like." This is what I discovered, that like, no able-bodied person, like—this is

temporary. She's had her share of mental health issues, but like. But like, the concussion was the one thing that was like. Physically limiting for her. For the first time, and I was like… "You're gonna hate me for this, but congrats, you literally cannot. That's it. Period. Done. There are things you cannot do." And no one likes to hear that.

While allies could provide valuable emotional support, they were still only allies. Marge, like other participants, at times explicitly linked allies to "those who don't get it," or in this case, able-bodied people. Marge and Carol both struggled to relate to these "others." Even though both had experienced similar difficulties as their roommate or friend had, respectively, Marge and Carol considered some difficulties trivial, to the point of being normalized or even, in Marge's case, entertaining, since Marge had already come to terms with what her body could not do.

Participants all claimed that their bodies "decided" when participants needed to disclose pain to others, especially casual acquaintances and colleagues. Participants avoided disclosing their chronic pain when they did not feel it was necessary, but during moments of crisis, they either had to explain to companions what was happening to them or had to request a rest in order to prevent future pain. However, participants did not perceive a significant overall loss of agency because they still felt in control of how and to what extent they explained their chronic pain to their companions. In fact, two participants, Carol and Oletta, described feeling empowered by this disclosure. Carol explained:

> I always feel like they're gonna judge me very quickly, and so yeah, I am pretty cautious about telling new people… You know, 'I can't keep up with you' and stuff. But… I think I'm becoming a little bit indifferent about it now, and I'm more of looking out for myself, so if I have to tell, just a new acquaintance I'm hanging out with, like, "we need to slow down." I feel… Um. I guess less embarrassed by it and more looking out for myself— cuz I used to really try to keep up with people, and uh, it was only backfiring.

Oletta and Carol both claimed that at the beginning of their experience with chronic pain, they had tried to keep up with other people and, as a result, had pushed their bodies past their physical limits. Both also told me that they now realized their limits and respected them by telling companions that they needed to rest "now," before they breached their limits. Oletta and Carol were not only accustomed to disclosing pain, they were also proud of their ability to do so because it meant to them that they valued personal physical comfort over social conformity.

During interviews, participants reported being acutely aware of the difference between themselves, as people with chronic pain, and people with normalized bodies (although it is difficult to know how often or in what circumstances this awareness comes to the surface in their everyday lives). Because people with normalized bodies seldom noticed the acts and functions of their own bodies, they conversely did not perceive this difference to the same extent. Participants, however, were socialized into identities of chronic pain, and in some cases disability, through medicalized language. The acceptance of these identities only crystalized the perceived difference in embodied experience. However, as participants came to accept these identities, they also became more accustomed to or even empowered by disclosing their pain to people with normalized bodies. Thus the identities of chronic pain and disability did not necessarily disempower participants, even though the physical conditions of pain and disability restricted them.

Conceptualizing pain through established frameworks

If the mind is embodied, then meaning is grounded in bodily experiences—even reason and imagination are tied to the body (Johnson 2007, 11-13). Thus the ways in which people conceive of pain are grounded in bodily experiences of pain. There can be no one-size-fits-all pain assessment because individuals'

experiences are so different. Nevertheless, health practitioners, loved ones, and online communities of people with chronic pain demand standard ways of relating pain. How does one translate the untranslatable? According to Das (1997), pain "is not that inexpressible something that destroys communication or marks an exit from one's existence in language. Instead, it makes a claim asking for acknowledgement, which may be given or denied" (70). Pain is an internal, personal experience, but it is possible to "touch" someone else's pain by recognizing it.

Once a person has conceptualized their own pain, seeking to make meaning of their experiences, they may choose to share that pain with others. Two people with chronic pain might not necessarily relate to one another's exact sensation of pain, but they could share the general experiences of living with pain. In contrast, two of my participants claimed that when talking to people who did not have chronic pain, they could only translate their pain through the framework of ability. These two participants claimed that such people do not know or care what chronic pain feels like, and only want to know how it impacts them personally: will the other person be able to go to the party with them, or help them build a bookshelf, for example. This difference—

between the individual and those with chronic pain versus those without chronic pain—can best be described as the difference between experiencing, empathizing, and sympathizing.

During the individual interviews, I investigated how participants related to three established frameworks of pain, the 1-10 pain scale (see Figure 1), the McGill pain questionnaire (Melzac 1975, 1987), and the Spoon Theory (ButYouDontLookSick.com 2016). The 1-10 pain scale is frequently employed in clinical settings, including the emergency room, and all participants were familiar with it. I asked participants if they used the 1-10 scale to describe their pain, then asked them to respond to two different representations of the 1-10 pain scale. The first 1-10 pain scale included an activity tolerance scale, and the second included examples or equivalents of pain relevant to each level. Both scales featured the facial grimace scale, which uses icons of faces with different expressions from happy to agonized, although only the second scale used a green-yellow-red color scheme coordinated to the faces' levels of pain. Participants generally responded negatively to these faces. For example, Joshua remarked, "Can I even remember being the green guy?" Marge scoffed, "Freakin' happy faces. Just feels like super inadequate," and Patricia laughed and
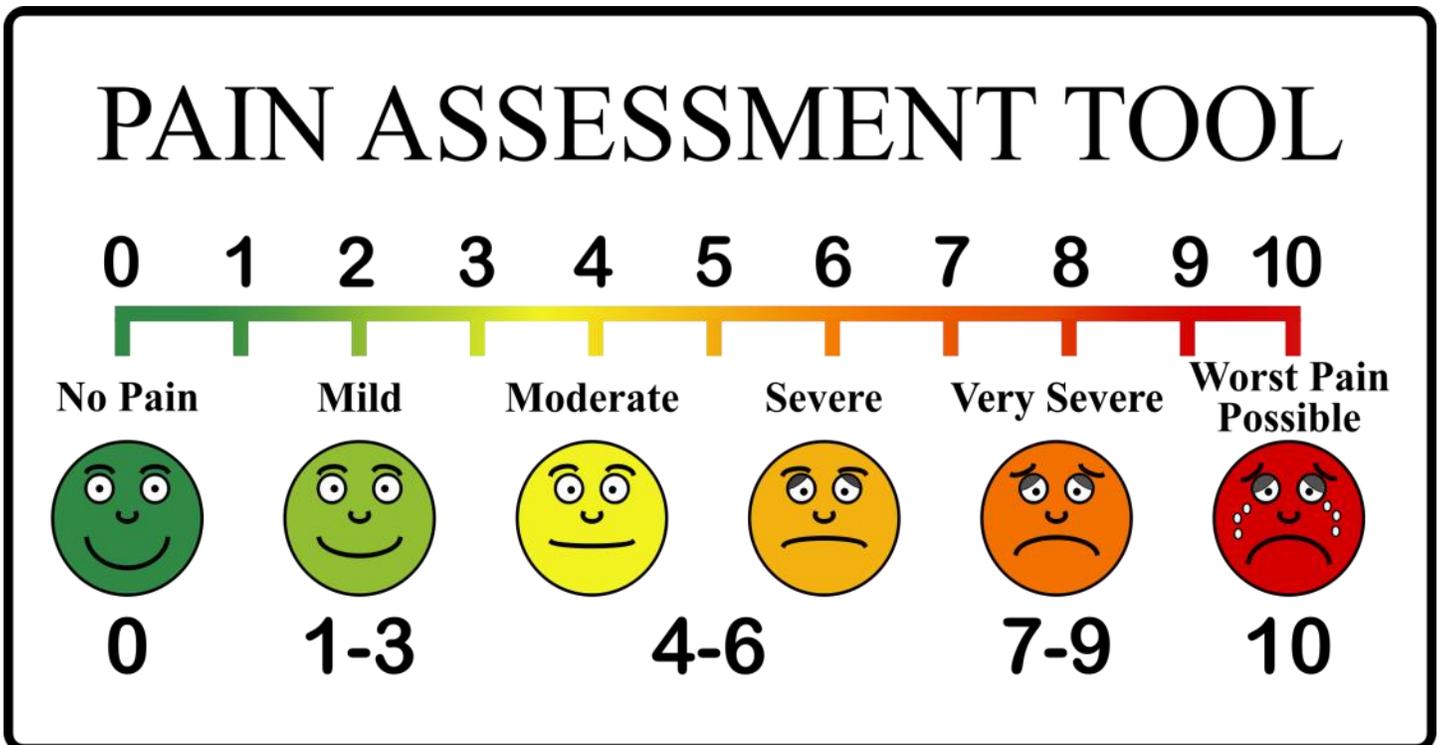

Figure 1: A typical 1-10 pain scale. Source: https://openclipart.org/detail/238112/pain-scale-fixed

admitted, "I think the faces are infantilizing."

I next asked participants for their thoughts on the first representation's activity tolerance scale, which participants viewed more favorably than the facial grimace scale alone. For example, Oletta was generally receptive to the activity tolerance scale, and most of her comments were positive. However, she had a few objections; at one point, she laughed and said, "Bedrest required, LOL. If we're being honest, if I don't wanna like, hate myself for the rest of the week, I need bedrest around here," and pointed to a lower number on the activity tolerance scale. Oletta thus conceived of this part of the activity tolerance scale in a preventative manner, even if she considered most of the other levels accurate to her own experience. Patricia, on the other hand, appreciated the scale the most. She told me, "I also like the one, the activity tolerance scale? Um... Because that—that's something that I've used to describe my pain to people who don't experience chronic pain, because then they don't have to actually understand my pain, they just have to understand what I can do at that moment with them. Um... So that's useful to me." Patricia directly related to the activity tolerance scale because, as both she and Joshua explained, people without chronic pain do not understand or care about the pain itself. Patricia and Joshua claimed that such people only want to know what Patricia and Joshua can and cannot do at any given moment.

I then showed participants the second 1-10 pain scale, which ranked pain levels by giving examples or equivalents of pain for each number and accompanying facial expression. When Oletta began to read the examples on the second scale, she initially accepted them, but soon objected. She read aloud:

> Hurts just a little bit, broken fingers—broken fingers hurts just a little bit? I've never had a broken finger, but that freaks me out. [...] Whoa, that does not sound right. This is honestly—if someone showed me this scale of pain, I'd be super confused. Natural childbirth is only 7 to 8? Okay, once again. Okay, cracked head open—okay that makes sense. Knocked

unconscious—but if you're unconscious, how can you feel it?

To Oletta, the examples were senseless or disturbing at best and misleading at worst. She clearly did not relate to this scale at all. Patricia, however, was the opposite. She said,

> I like the bottom one? Where it talks about [Kate: broken bones?] Yeah, where it talks about broken bones. And it's like yeah, like I agree, like. A broken finger is like a 2. Like, it sucks but I'm gonna forget about it. Um... And yeah, I would agree, like a 7 or an 8 is...like natural childbirth. Like that's how I described my broken femur. Um. I have cracked my head open though and I don't think it's as bad as a 9 or 10. I think the femur was the worst thing. Um, but I feel like that particular pain scale, the one on the bottom? Is, um...a lot more realistic to people with chronic pain...than a lot of other pain scales. Like I like seeing that.

Patricia, unlike Oletta, had broken multiple bones multiple times. As a result, describing pain in terms of the bones broken made sense to her. Patricia's and Oletta's bodily experiences of pain directly impacted how they were able to relate to the second 1-10 pain scale.

I also asked my participants to respond to a version of the McGill pain assessment, which asks users to select adjectives, with pre-assigned numeric values, to describe their current pain (for instance, throbbing, pricking, gnawing, searing, aching, or radiating). The physician is then able to add the values together to determine the "total" value of the person's pain. Three participants had not encountered the McGill before. Participants who responded positively to the McGill were generally those who had responded negatively to the 1-10 pain scale, and vice versa. For example, Marge initially said, "Oh, brightness, dullness, that's interesting. That's a lot more comprehensive. This looks like it was made by someone who actually like, understands what that means." She concluded that she would like to use the assessment herself but reflected that

the results would probably be depressing because of her high level of pain. Oletta had seen a different version of the McGill and told me that she appreciated the other version, which included a diagram of the body that allowed her to circle the different parts where she experienced pain for different reasons. (Marge said that a doctor had once given her a body diagram and she circled the entire body, demanding, "Well, what did you expect?")

But while she and Oletta linked the McGill questionnaire to a better understanding of pain, Joshua and Carol rejected it as being too time- and labor-intensive for someone with high amounts of pain. Joshua, for instance, said,

> This is something that I distinctly remember, actually. Because I remember not being able to figure it out. And, um, now I'll just say, I mean. No offense to the lovely people at McGill, but how do you expect someone in pain to do all of this? The face thing is better because you can just point, it doesn't take long. [...] It almost seems a little too complicated, this seems like a very, give you a very accurate idea? Of how someone's feeling. Like almost definitely. But. I just don't understand how you could expect someone who has...a lot of pain going on...to...answer this.

To Patricia, Carol, and Joshua, the quantitative immediacy of the 1-10 pain scale made it more useful than the qualitative descriptiveness of the McGill that Oletta and Marge preferred. While Joshua allowed that the McGill could provide a more accurate description of pain, he and Carol considered it highly inaccessible to the very people whose pain it sought to describe. And while Patricia found the descriptive adjectives useful to her personally, she said that only people with chronic pain would be able to make sense of them, meaning that the McGill would be inadequate as a standardized way of conveying pain.

I also asked participants about the Spoon Theory. The Spoon Theory is widely used in online chronic pain and chronic illness communities. Created by Christine Miserandino (ButYouDontLookSick.com 2016), the Spoon Theory has become a popular way to describe chronic pain and chronic illness, specifically to healthy and abled individuals. On her website, Miserandino recounted an explanation to her best friend of her own experience with lupus. Miserandino picked up several spoons from a table, saying that she began every day with a set number of metaphorical spoons. Every activity, from getting dressed to cooking to cleaning, cost one spoon, until she reached a point where she had no more spoons and could either choose to end her day without completing all her desired tasks or take from tomorrow's reserve of spoons. People who use the Spoon Theory will often refer to "running out of spoons" or tell others that they "send spoons" rather than saying "get well."

Four participants knew of the Spoon Theory, and again, those who related to the McGill also related to the Spoon Theory, and those who related to the 1-10 scale did not relate to the Spoon Theory. Even though Oletta disliked the quantification of the 1-10 scale, she claimed to like the Spoon Theory's means of quantifying the depletion of her body's energy and stamina:

> I would say it's useful for me because I know that I have so many things coinciding inside like, my body? So it's like—it's easier than like, I think if I had one, like one thing that was causing issues, I wouldn't necessarily have to like. Use like a qua—something to quantify it, like a spoon. But since I have so many different things, like it takes into account my mental health, my physical health...

Oletta found the Spoon Theory helpful because of its inclusiveness. She and Marge also enjoyed the social aspect of the Spoon Theory, which allowed them to be immediately understood by "those who get it" and created a sense of community among fellow users. Oletta, for example, explained that she includes #spoonie in some tweets so that people within the community, even if they do not know her well, understand her while "those who do not get it" miss the reference.

On the other hand, Patricia and Joshua disdained the Spoon Theory, calling it frivolous. For example, Patricia said:

> I…I've heard of it. I know what it is. I'm glad that people feel empowered to use it, and that they like it, I think it's stupid. Um… And I think it's because…I'm just a stubborn asshole, like it's not anything wrong with the theory, I just…I either like, need to lay in a bed and die, or I will do something, I will figure out a way to do it.

While Patricia recognized the community value of the Spoon Theory, because she experienced pain in a binary manner, she did not conceptualize pain as a quantity of spoons that allowed her to complete certain activities but not others. Yet she liked the activity tolerance scale on the 1-10 pain scale, which served much the same purpose. Patricia's claim to be a "stubborn asshole" may have pushed her to disavow the popularly-used Spoon Theory even if she liked being able to tell people the activities she could or could not complete so that they would not need to try to understand her pain. Joshua was similarly blunt in his disregard of the Spoon Theory, even though he too conceptualized pain in terms of what he was and was not able to do.

Carol, with her relatively recent advent of chronic pain, admitted that she did not know many others with chronic pain and thus did not feel like part of a chronic pain community. She was the only participant who had not heard of the Spoon Theory. When I first described it to her, she told me that it felt extremely limiting, and as a student of economics, "Now I'm just thinking of like, really definitely cost-benefit things that I can get." She sounded almost horrified at such a concept of pain involving weighing the risk of pain with the reward of the activity. However, when she saw how Oletta and Marge used the Spoon Theory to both describe their pain and situate themselves within a chronic pain community, she said that she had not understood the Spoon Theory from how I explained it, and she now liked it.

Of the three major established frameworks of pain, no one framework resonated with all participants, nor did all participants come to a consensus about any one framework. Participants judged each framework on how useful it was to them, based on how their bodily experiences of pain shaped their concepts of pain, and how readily it conveyed pain to others. In a few cases, participants found a framework to be personally useful but interpersonally useless. While all frameworks included similar elements, participants nevertheless responded very differently to the context in which each framework employed those elements. Participants' embodied concepts of pain, and in some cases, their personality, impacted the ways in which they related to these contextually-situated elements. The 1-10 pain scale, McGill pain questionnaire, and Spoon Theory were each described as quantitative at times, but the McGill and Spoon Theory were perceived to be more qualitative than the 1-10 scale, and all participants preferred one perceived group over the other.

Conceptualizing pain through unestablished frameworks

In addition to the established frameworks of pain that participants used, they also conceived of their pain in other, non-standardized ways. For example, Joshua and Patricia conceived of their pain in terms of activities they could and could not do, ostensibly because people without chronic pain only cared about physical ability in the moment. Likewise, Oletta told me that she sometimes framed her pain in terms of what she needed, claiming that she tells her doctor that she needs a medication or that she tells her friends that she needs to sit down. To uncover how participants conceived of their pain outside of established frameworks, I asked them during their individual interviews if they could describe their current pain to me and if they imagined anything while in pain. Many of my focus group prompts also targeted how participants conceived of their pain, such as "My chronic pain is a lack/surplus of…" and "If I were a superhero, my power would be…/my name would be…" Participants' answers revealed the wide variety of ways in which they conceptualized their pain.

Multiple participants claimed to imagine pain as the color red, and explicitly cited medication advertisements that represent pain as red spots on the body to be the reason for this visual conceptualization. Oletta, Patricia, and Joshua also visualized pain relief. Oletta was very embarrassed about her visualization, telling me multiple times that it was "weird" before saying that "sometimes my back muscles are like in a lot of pain, I'll like just imagine myself, like—this is so gross, but like, just like, cutting like my muscles out. It's a really gross like, depicter, but like, I'll imagine like that, just for some reason in my mind, it like, thinks that that's a solution, even though I know, like that would obviously be super painful." She returned to this visualization several more times, once adding that she imagines being able to scrape "junk" off of her back muscles, reminding me of the surgical removal of cancer.

Joshua was less abashed when he told me, "I always imagined that I could just, like. Pull something out, ya know? Like maybe… It's a little centipede in there, that's causing all the pain, and if I just reached in hard enough, I could just grab it and just pull it right out, ya know?" He then modified his description, adopting Oletta's ashamed tone:

> Do you know what it is, and this is really embarrassing, but ya know what, everyone in their—ya know. When they come home, they're. In the privacy of their own home, you know, sometimes you got a booger, and you pull it out, right? You know you got a really, really really big one, it's making it hard for you to breathe? And like you can feel it, and so you just go into the bathroom, and just—pull the sucker out, and wash your hands, you know, it's all good. And that's such a satisfying feeling, right? Same thing. I just imagine, I'm just gonna grab it, and I'm just gonna pu-u-l-l-l it out, it's gonna feel so nice when it's outta there, it's gonna be great.

Both he and Oletta seemed to derive much satisfaction from these visualizations, even though both qualified that the visualizations were "weird," "gross," and "embarrassing." Even though Oletta prioritized physical comfort over social conformity when she told friends that she was in pain, her pain visualization still operated within a framework of what was and was not normal and socially acceptable. Additionally, Oletta and Joshua imagined pain as a tangible and unpleasant thing—cancer-like "junk," a centipede, or a booger. By visualizing pain as something physical and bounded, they could better imagine removing it from their bodies. As Oletta pointed out, even though such visualizations could never become reality—pain cannot simply be cut from the body when the entire body is chronically in pain—imagining such scenes is a form of relief in and of itself.

Patricia's visualization was heavily grounded in her own long experience as a ballet dancer, a childhood activity that she knew she and I shared. She said that for her, visualization was "a big part of. How you think about your posture, and your. Um… Your stretching? When you're doing ballet? So, when I'm trying to stretch out my back, I'll think of like a rubber band. Or the thing that my teacher drilled into me when I was little, which was like, 'Imagine that there is a string, connecting your head to the top of the ceiling, bluh bluh bluh bluh bluh.'" However, as she pointed out, she did not visualize pain itself, but merely the relief of it. Since her visualization did not involve the removal of a tangible and unpleasant thing, she did not derive any satisfaction from the visualization itself. Instead, she used it as a tool to help her decrease pain, as dancers use such visualizations as tools to improve their posture or flexibility. Patricia also pointed out that, as a ballet dancer, she had been taught that pain is beauty because dancers must push themselves to the breaking point to create art. As a result, she dealt with her chronic pain in the same way, as a constructive pain that resulted from necessarily pushing herself. She told me that the absence of a tangible imagined pain said more about the way she emotionally processed pain than anything else, and she confessed to me that pain is the one thing she believes she does not process.

For the focus group, I included the prompt, "If I were a superhero, my power would be…/my name would be…" because I had hoped to

encourage participants to think of their pain in a more empowering lens, framing what they had been able to overcome as superpowers. Yet after I read the prompt aloud and gave my own personal example, the next speaker, Oletta, interpreted the prompt as superpowers we would like to have in order to overcome our pain. Carol and Marge followed her example and answered the question in the same way. Rather than try to "correct" participants' answers by guiding them to answer within my intended parameters, I allowed them to continue with the answers apparently more relevant to them. As an anthropologist, my ideas of agency and empowerment did not always align with participants' interpretations of their own experiences, demonstrating the importance of member checking.

Because of the inadequacy of established frameworks of pain such as the 1-10 pain scale, McGill questionnaire, and Spoon Theory in capturing and conveying pain, participants conceived of their pain in other ways. These conceptualizations were also grounded in participants' bodily experiences including but not limited to pain. While visualizing pain as a tangible thing that could be removed from the body provided minor relief to some participants, they also felt ashamed at what they described as "weird" and "gross" visualizations that broke with social conventions of polite conversation. Other past experiences, such as being a dancer, also influenced how participants perceived and responded to their pain. The imposition of any one framework, whether one newly created by the researcher or one previously established and widely used, is not necessarily useful to participants if it does not resonate with their embodied experiences of pain.

Conclusion

When I showed Patricia the second 1-10 pain scale with its examples, we found that we were at an impasse. Having broken multiple bones at multiple times, she affirmed that the scale's classifications of bone breaks made sense to her. I admitted that I had never broken a bone—earning myself a look of jealousy—and therefore could not relate to the examples. The only example that I had personally experienced,

"Rheumatoid Arthritis hands swollen 2-3x normal size," seemed grossly understated to me, which I told Patricia. She reflected, "I don't understand…like how RA feels. And like you don't—like it's different kinds of pain. So even though we can both sit down and say like, 'I'm in pain, all the time, it sucks.' Like… I don't—like— is it more or less than what's described on there? I don't know, you know?" Embodied pain is specific to every individual.

Different sources of pain can cause it to be throbbing, pricking, gnawing, searing, aching, radiating, or any of the dozens of other words provided by the McGill pain questionnaire. Pricking pain cannot be translated to aching pain; they are two fundamentally different experiences. Those in pain struggle to relate their pain to others, and it is only the mere presence of pain that they can share:

> Where is my pain—in touching you to point out the location of that pain—has my pointing finger— there it is—found your body, which my pain (our pain) can inhabit, at least for that moment when I close my eyes and touch your hand? And if the language for the inexpressibility of pain is always falling short of my need for its plentitude, then is this not the sense of disappointment that human beings have with themselves and the language that is given to them? (Das 1997, 70)

People can witness each other's pain but can never fully understand it. Yet this untranslatability lies not in the words that do or do not exist to describe pain. Instead, it lies in the irreconcilability of the different ways in which people conceive of pain based on their bodily experiences. Pain originates in the body and is perceived by the mind, but because the mind is so grounded in the body, pain cannot be understood outside of this embodied context.

People with normalized bodies are by definition not hyperaware of the acts and functions of their bodies, and therefore have comparatively limited concepts of pain compared to people who have chronic pain.

The group of "those who do not get it" thus encompasses those who do not understand the physical and emotional toll of chronic pain. While allies can comfort people with chronic pain, the latter know that allies cannot understand this physical and emotional toll. And although others with chronic pain may generally empathize with the constant presence of pain, they do not experience that pain within their own bodies.

Even for those who have chronic pain, the 1-10 pain scale without an activity tolerance scale may not be commensurate between two people—one person's "four" may not be the same as another person's "four." An individual's conception of where and why one level ends and another begins resides solely in their mind. It is not unreasonable to expect that these conceptions can change over time within an individual, as most people with chronic pain were once those without. Despite any names or numbers that we may assign to it, pain cannot be adequately conveyed outside of the body, as an individual's pain is relative only to itself. Ultimately, I suggest that it is the shared understanding of the physical and emotional toll, rather than a shared embodied concept of pain, that people with chronic pain seek in communities and support networks of chronic pain and illness.

References

Ahearn, Laura. 2011. *Living Language: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Ahmed, Sara. 2007. "A Phenomenology of Whiteness." *Feminist Theory* 8(2):149-168.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso.

Bhabha, Homi. 2004. "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation." In *The Location of Culture*, 199-244, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. 2005. "Language and Identity." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Allesandro Duranti, 369-94. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

ButYouDontLookSick.com. 2016. "The Spoon Theory written by Christine Miserandino." Accessed September 19. http://www.butyoudontlooksick.com/articles/written-by-christine/the-spoon-theory/

Das, Veena. "Language and Body: Transactions in the Construction of Pain." In *Social Suffering*, edited by Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock, 67-91. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1998. *Monolingualism of the Other: Or, the Prosthesis of Origin*. Trans. Patrick Mensah. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hall, Stuart. 1997. "The Work of Representation." In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 15-62. London: Sage Publications.

Johnson, Mark. 2007. *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, Rae. 2015. "Grasping and Transforming the Embodied Experience of Oppression." *International Body Psychotherapy Journal: The Art and Science of Somatic Praxis* 14(1): 80-95.

Jordan, Brigitte. 1993. *Birth in Four Cultures: A Crosscultural Investigation of Childbirth in Yucatán, Holland, Sweden, and the United States, 4th ed*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1988. *The Illness Narratives: Suffering, Healing, and the Human Condition*. New York: Basic Books.

Krummel, Miriamne Ara. 2001. "Am I MS?" In *Embodied Rhetorics: Disability in Language and Culture*, edited by James C. Wilson and Cynthia Lewiecki-Wilson, 61-77. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

McRuer, Robert, ed. 2006. *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability*. New York: NYU Press.

Melzack, Ronald. 1975. "The McGill Pain Questionnaire: Major Properties and Scoring Methods," *Pain* 1:277-99.

Melzack, Ronald. 1987. "The Short-Form McGill Pain Questionnaire," *Pain* 30:191-197.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 2002. *The Phenomenology of Perception*. Trans. Colin Smith. London: Routledge.

Merskey, Harold and Nikolai Bogduk, eds. 1994. *Classification of Chronic Pain: Descriptions of Chronic Pain Syndromes and Definitions of Pain Terms, 2nd ed*. Seattle: IASP Press.

Miles, Ann. 2010. "Ecuadorian Women's Narratives of Lupus, Suffering, and Vulnerability." In *Chronic Conditions, Fluid States: Chronicity and the Anthropology of Illness*, edited by Lenore Manderson, Carolyn Smith-Morris, 113-30. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Prakash, Gyan. 1999. *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mules for Cartels: Survival and Clandestine Migration in the Sonoran Desert

Bill De La Rosa

Bowdoin College, delarosa.bill1@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Since the early 1990s, United States border strategies have relied on hazardous natural environments to deter clandestine migration. American lawmakers believed that by securing urban entryways and making clandestine migration difficult, migrants would be discouraged from illegally crossing the United States-Mexico border. Instead, however, these policies inhumanely funneled migration flows toward the forbidding Arizona desert. Consequently, for more than two decades, migrants have been enduring dangerous environments while sharing transitory space with human smugglers and, more recently, drug traffickers, who rely on the same paths into the United States. Using a framework of structural violence, this paper explores how migrants navigate clandestine migration in the Sonoran Desert, particularly as they become beholden to drug cartels, which, in exchange for assistance in crossing the border, insist that migrants transport illicit drugs. Drawing on two summers of ethnographic research at a migrant shelter in Nogales, Mexico, I argue that migrants are not only victims but also agents who employ specific forms of capital to survive highly violent situations during this process. This research reveals the intricacies of today's clandestine migration across the Arizona-Sonora border and further illustrates the nuances of structural violence.

Keywords: Structural violence; clandestine migration; social capital; U.S.-Mexico Border

Francisco was a sight. His eyes were bloodshot and his face weathered like sandpaper. Recently deported from the United States (U.S.) after the Border Patrol found him disoriented and severely dehydrated in the Sonoran Desert, he took off his hat and stared at the floor as he recalled his rugged trek through the fierce summer heat that can reach up to 115 degrees. "Your skin begins to burn, your shoes start to melt; you grow desperate. I stripped naked, rolled in the dirt, and began to shout as loud as I could, but no one heard me," he related. Out of desperation his sanity wavered: "I then took out a lighter and lit a mesquite tree on fire." Igniting a tree on fire alerted authorities nearby, which saved his life. Francisco was one of thousands of migrants fleeing from personal, political, and economic insecurities in Mexico and Central America, and one of several migrants I interviewed at a migrant shelter in Nogales, Mexico, during the summers of 2014 and 2015.

For over two decades, people like Francisco have risked their lives crossing the Sonoran Desert to clandestinely enter the U.S. In the early 1990's, U.S. border controls changed to emphasize preventative measures to discourage unlawful entries (Cornelius 2001; Cornelius 2005). The change was based on a 1993 study commissioned by the U.S. and conducted by Sandia National Laboratories, a national security research institution, which concluded that it was more cost effective for the U.S. Border Patrol to deter migrants at the border rather than trying to apprehend them once they were already in the U.S. (Cornelius 2001, 662). Subsequently, a series of strategies incorporating preventative logics were implemented along the U.S.-Mexico border. The first strategy was Operation Hold-the-Line in El Paso, Texas in 1993, followed by Operation

Figure 1: a Border Patrol vehicle patrolling the U.S.-Mexico border near the outskirts of Sasabe, Arizona. Photo: Bill De La Rosa, 2016.

Gatekeeper in Southern California and Operation Safeguard in Southern Arizona in 1994. All of these strategies augmented the Border Patrol's presence on major border towns through the deployment of helicopters, vehicles, video remote surveillance systems, and thousands of agents. Then, in July 1994, the U.S. Immigration Naturalization Services (INS) mandated the national implementation of Prevention Through Deterrence (PTD), which permanently prioritized prevention efforts, heavily relying on the Arizona desert as the solution for stopping clandestine migration. Border Patrol vehicles regularly patrol the U.S.-Mexico border near the outskirts of Sasabe, Arizona to deter border crossings (see Figure 1). In the *Land of Open Graves*, De León (2015) thoroughly describes the systematic construction of PTD, its cynical purpose, and its deadly consequences.

The shift in enforcement efforts catastrophically influenced migration patterns. According to the United States General Accounting Office (1997), the policy has two key

objectives: "(1) close off the routes most frequently used by smugglers and illegal aliens (generally through urban areas) and (2) shift traffic through the ports of entry or over areas that were more remote and difficult to cross illegally, where INS had the tactical advantage" (64). In other words, the logic underlying PTD concluded that people would be discouraged from crossing the desert if the risks became drastic (Inda 2006; Rubio-Goldsmith et al. 2006; Andreas 2009; De León 2012; De León 2015). However, instead of deterring clandestine migration, the strategy played a fundamental role in channeling migrants through treacherous areas of southern Arizona. Consequently, thousands of men, women, and children have perished as a result of this social process. As of January 2018, more than 3,000 human remains have been found in the Sonoran Desert; according to estimates from the American Civil Liberties Union, the total death count exceeds 5,000 people (Jimenez 2009).
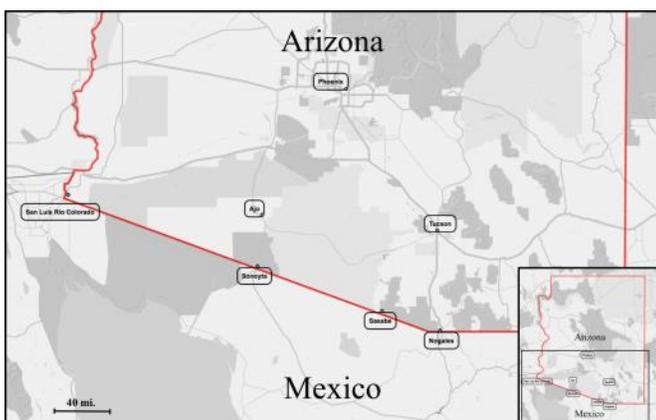

Figure 2: Map of southern Arizona showing the towns mentioned in this article. Source: Bill De La Rosa, 2017.

The interviews and stories I gathered during my fieldwork inform the purpose of this article, which is to examine how migrants navigate violent situations as they risk their lives crossing the Sonoran Desert. Because of the violent nature of clandestine migration, migrants have historically relied on the human-trafficking industry for assistance. Today, however, clandestine border crossings in southern Arizona (see map in Figure 2) are evolving due to the presence of drug cartels along the Arizona-Sonora border. As my ethnographic material reveals, migrants are becoming

beholden to drug cartels, which, in exchange for assistance in crossing the border, insist that migrants also transport illicit drugs. I argue that during this process, migrants are victims and, more importantly, agents employing specific forms of capital in order to survive under violent situations. Their experiences reveal the evolving complexities of clandestine migration and contribute to our understanding of structural violence, in addition to the human consequences of heightened U.S. border enforcement policies.

Structural Violence and Social Capital in Clandestine Migration

Clandestine migration across the U.S.-Mexico border is a multifaceted, well-structured process that encompasses multiple social actors (Singer and Massey 1998). To understand this process today and the precarious decisions migrants make, my literature review draws on the notions of structural violence and social capital, particularly as they relate to the migratory process across the Arizona-Sonora border, and covers recent scholarship on clandestine border crossings.

Galtung (1969) first defined structural violence as a form of violence that is discreet, indirect, and unattributable to an individual actor. According to Galtung, structural violence is "built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life changes" (1969, 171). For him, social structures play an integral role in creating violence through enforced marginalization and systemic inequalities. On the other hand, "personal violence represents change and dynamism," he says, "not only ripples on waves, but waves on otherwise tranquil waters. Structural violence is silent, it does not show—it is essentially static, it is the tranquil waves" (1969, 173).

How, then, may structural violence manifest itself across the Arizona-Sonora border? In the context of clandestine migration, Nevins explains how structural violence "emerges out of a complex web of social relations that involves individual acts, structures and processes, as well as discourse, or expressions

of communication" (2005, 16), which often casts blame upon migrants who find themselves in dangerous situations for engaging in surreptitious activities. For him, the funneling effect of border strategies contributes to people's marginalization and suffering in the Sonoran Desert. In this respect, Nevins declares, "the principal perpetrators of this violence are the state actors who, under the rubric of the law, construct the boundaries and illegalize the unauthorized immigrants, thus making such deaths inevitable" (2005, 17). Simply put, while one migrant death in a desert could be portrayed as an isolated tragedy, when more than 3,000 cadavers have been recovered (see Figure 3), then there are external structures, such as U.S. border policy, that must be examined.

Slack and Whiteford (2011) claim that current conceptions of structural violence often overshadow the individual autonomy people employ while navigating stringent conditions. They propose the term "post-structural violence" to understand and describe the "way people react within the confines of a situation precipitated by structural violence" (Slack and Whiteford 2011, 13). During the migratory process, according to Slack and Whiteford, post-structural violence "requires people to navigate a series of difficult decisions" and "[take] roles that increase their chances of death, while decreasing their vulnerability to structural violence" (2011, 13). I agree with this assertion, and would also add that this process is highly nuanced, because as my ethnographic examples illustrate, migrants are carefully calculating the risks and benefits of their situation to avoid death and survive in the Sonoran Desert, even when reluctantly operating as mules for cartels.

1999 - 2016 RECORDED MIGRANT DEATHS AND WATER STATIONS
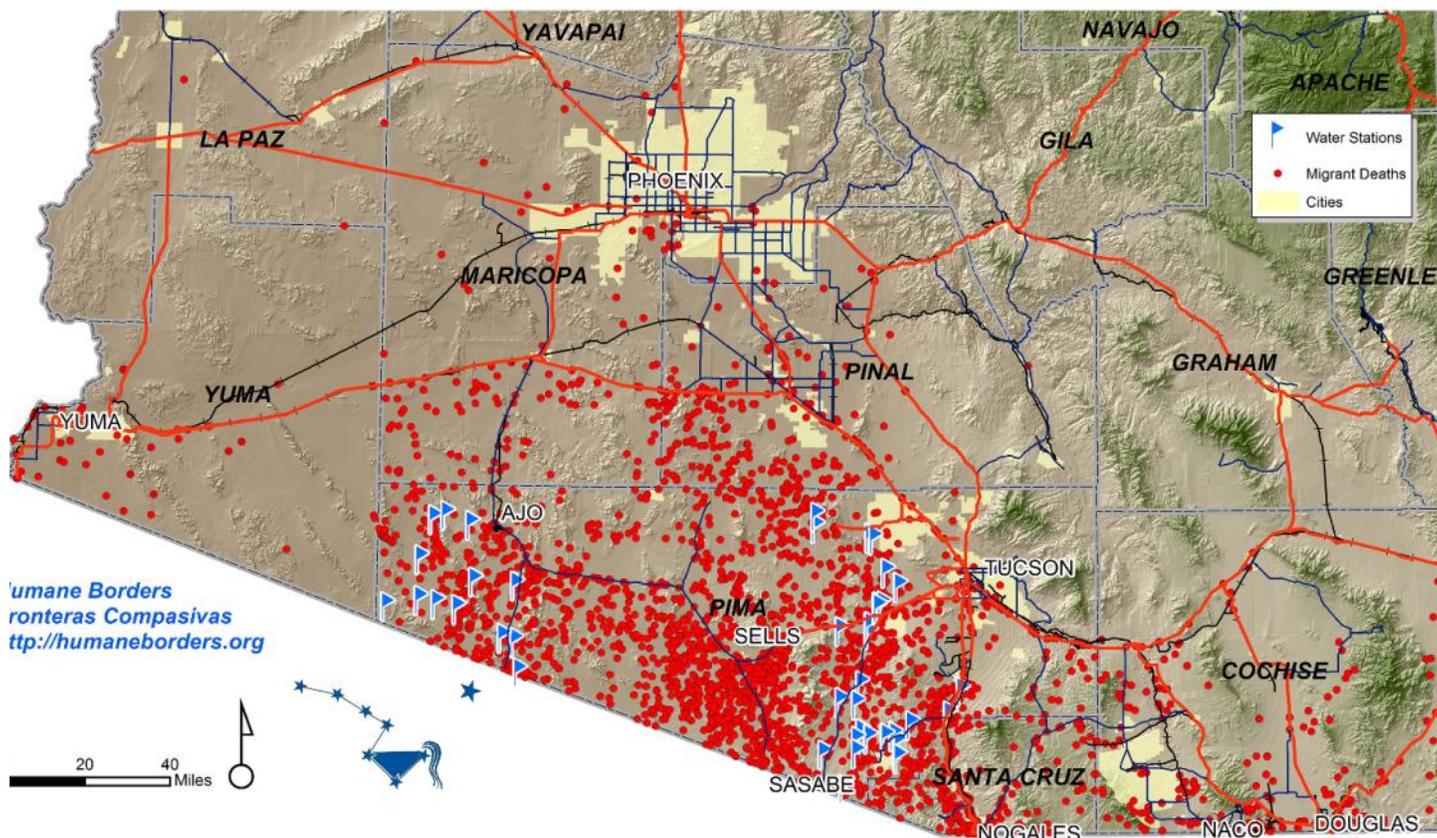
Red dots on the map show locations of the 3,087 migrant deaths documented by Humane Borders. The deaths occurred in southern Arizona between October 1, 1999 December 31, 2016. In an effort to reduce the deaths, Humane Borders has equipped more than 80 water stations in remote, strategic locations on both sides of the international border.

Figure 3: map of 3,087 migrant deaths in the Sonoran Desert documented by Humane Borders, a nongovernmental organization in Arizona. Source: humaneborders.org, accessed 30 July 2017.

One way of understanding how migrants fight for survival is to draw on the knowledge that has been produced and shared from previous clandestine border crossings. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu (1977) refers to this production of knowledge as "social capital" – a process which explains how individuals accumulate resources from social relationships. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1977), through the concept of "habitus," explains how people's learned perspectives constitute both past and present perceptions, actions, and dispositions. His notion of habitus, particularly as it relates to the accumulation of social capital from each border crossing, is important for understanding the social process of clandestine migration in the Sonoran Desert.

For instance, Singer and Massey (1998) found that more than two decades ago, migrants tended to rely on family members and *coyotes* [human smugglers] to cross the border in their first attempt. They coin the term "migration-specific capital" to conceptualize how clandestine migrants, who were once dependent on others, subsequently crossed the border alone, as they accumulated valuable knowledge from each crossing (for example, what items to bring, the length of time it would take to cross, etc.) (Singer and Massey 1998, 569). Consequently, generations of clandestine migration from Mexico to the U.S. have produced what Spener calls "migration-specific habitus," an idea that explains how migrants make sense of their social world, and particularly, the border crossing process and relationship with *coyotes* as they attempt to evade border security (Spener 2009, 226-229).

Indeed, to comprehend the dangerous landscape migrants navigate, clandestine border crossings must be studied as a well-structured social process (Singer and Massey 1998). Spener (2009) suggests this dynamic process should include the participation of U.S. Border Patrol agents and *coyotes*, specifically because as the border is militarized, it is nearly impossible to successfully cross without the assistance of professional smugglers (Cornelius 2005; Donato et al. 2008; Andreas 2009; De León 2012). De León (2012), through his ethnographic and archeological fieldwork,

found that a "border crossing industry" has emerged in response to PTD. According to De León, "this industry and its associated goods are constantly evolving as migrants, smugglers, and vendors attempt to adjust to changes in enforcement practices and surveillance technology" (2012, 482). Over the years, the border crossing industry has profited from hopeful migrants, exploited them, and made them more vulnerable throughout this process (Slack and Whiteford 2011; De León 2012).

Today, however, the presence of drug cartels along the Arizona-Sonora border is unprecedented and must be examined as a key factor within this process. In their research, Slack and Whiteford (2011) acknowledge that border militarization has produced a violent overlap in areas where coyotes cross migrants and drug cartels traffic drugs. The militarization of the border, coupled with the drug trade, has given rise to what Spener calls "*narco-coyotaje*" – the intersection of clandestine migration and drug trafficking (2009, 155). While Spener (2009) acknowledges the contemporary phenomenon of *narco-coyotaje*, he excludes it from his analysis because it was not prevalent in south Texas during his fieldwork. Slack and Whiteford (2011) are among the first scholars to place greater emphasis on as a manifestation on the Arizona-Sonora border. Although scholars have done exemplary work identifying important social actors that influence clandestine migration through the Sonoran Desert, more research is required to explain how migrants engage and interact with *narco-coyotaje*, how this process differs from previous experiences, and what methods migrants employ to survive. In this regard, ethnographic research in lieu of quantitative studies can be useful in order to unravel the intricacies shadowing today's forms of clandestine migration across the U.S.-Mexico border.

Uncharted Terrains: Fieldwork in a Clandestine Context

During the summers of 2014 and 2015, I conducted fieldwork at a migrant shelter *Albergue Para Inmigrantes San Juan Bosco* in Nogales, a Mexican town bordering Nogales, Arizona and located at the headwaters of the

Figure 4: San Juan Bosco migrant shelter. Photo: Bill De La Rosa, 2014.

Sonoran Desert. When Mexican and Central American migrants arrive in Nogales, most have no money, no food, and no place to sleep. For over 30 years, San Juan Bosco has provided temporary sanctuary for individuals deported from the U.S., as well as migrants who would otherwise be exposed to the violence of drug traffickers, bandits, and *coyotes*. According to the *Arizona Daily Star*, nearly one million migrants have passed through San Juan Bosco since it first opened (Trevizo 2013). As a research site, this migrant shelter provided a space to interview and engage migrants who were passing through this transitory space and preparing to cross the brutal Sonoran Desert to get to the U.S. (see figure 4).

My ethnographic research included semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and informal conversations with migrants who were about to cross the Sonoran Desert or had already been through this experience. Due to the dynamic nature of border crossings, I believe qualitative methods are well-suited for investigating clandestine migration since they enable participants to share-in depth and nuanced experiences. Moreover, by spending time and building rapport with migrants, ethnographic methods allowed me to better capture their everyday lives in a hyper-violent and transitory space. Because I was also a volunteer at the shelter, my position helped me build trust among my participants, allowing them to feel more comfortable sharing their experiences.

My semi-structured interviews focused on the entire migratory process—from the moment individuals left their homes to when they arrived at San Juan Bosco. I asked my participants to explain the reasons they were migrating, their experiences travelling through Mexico, and whether they were planning on crossing the Sonoran Desert, or if they had already crossed it but were apprehended and deported from the U.S. I often heard first-hand accounts of how drug trafficking has become inextricably linked to the human smuggling industry. After a couple of interviews, I used snowball sampling to locate more participants who had encountered drug traffickers in order to further comprehend this evolving process.

Besides semi-structured interviews, I also conducted participant observation and shadowed migrants throughout Nogales, Mexico. At the crack of dawn, migrants are transferred from San Juan Bosco to another shelter where they are provided breakfast, lunch, and medical treatment (Figure 5). From there, a number of them find work while others head to *Grupos Beta*, a migrant relief center funded by Mexico's National Institute of Migration, until they are finally taken back to San Juan Bosco in the evening to sleep (see figure 6). I began shadowing migrants when two of them, who became great friends with me, invited me to witness this cycle for myself. From sunrise to sunset, I observed on several occasions how migrants lived an everyday life filled with violence and tragedy, yet were simultaneously driven by hope and meaning.

Figure 5: Two migrants on their way to the migrant shelter to eat breakfast in Nogales, Sonora, Mexico. Photo: Bill De La Rosa, 2015.

Throughout my fieldwork, I reflected on my positionality as a researcher within these spaces. I identify as Mexican-American because both of my parents are from Mexico, but I was born in the U.S. However, I lived in Nogales, Mexico, for the first seven years of my childhood, and have continued to return ever since my mother moved back to Nogales in 2009. Because of my familiarity with the area and fluency in Spanish, I believe I built a deeper trust with my participants. That said, I still felt that I embodied what Black feminist scholar Patricia Collins (1986) calls the "outsider within." As a researcher, I often felt like I was deemed an outsider; even though I personally felt a part of the community. On one hand, I could relate to migrant experiences because I had spent several years studying the migratory process in southern Arizona. On the other, I have never attempted to cross the Sonoran Desert and will never know what that experience is like because I am an American citizen. I managed to

easily cross the Arizona-Sonora border in my vehicle by showing U.S. Customs and Border Patrol agents my passport while migrants faced death in a brutal desert.

The insights I present in this article are based primarily on sixteen semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and hundreds of conversations that took place over the course of two summers. My interviews ranged in length from 34 minutes to nearly two hours; they were all audio-recorded, transcribed, translated, and password-encrypted to protect people's confidentiality. I assigned all my participants pseudonyms. Although my participant observation consisted of conversations with men and women, all of the interviews were intentionally with men. According to the Migration Policy Institute, nearly 47% of migrants from Mexico and Central America are women (Ruiz, Zong, and Batalova 2015). While the numbers of men and women migrating to the U.S. are fairly equal,

their experiences are different, primarily because women are likely to be sexually assaulted. Conscious of this, I purposely only interviewed men because I personally felt unprepared to carry out a conversation with a person who had been a victim of sexual abuse.

Out of the sixteen migrants I interviewed, nine were from Mexico, four from Honduras, two from Guatemala, and one from El Salvador. Furthermore, twelve of them had either been recently deported or deported at some point in their lives and were hoping to return to the U.S. Four of them were planning to cross the Sonoran Desert for the first time. While I did not intend to interview drug mules or human smugglers, a number of my participants happened to have partaken in these processes and trusted me with their stories. Four men were mules for cartels while two had been *coyotes* and smuggled migrants in the past. Just as Slack and Whiteford (2011) were amazed in their fieldwork, I was also surprised by my participants' honesty, especially because migrant shelters typically do not welcome drug mules or *coyotes*. Their insights shed light on the evolving process of today's clandestine border crossings and how migrants navigate violent situations.

In the midst of layers of structural violence, migrants are agents drawing on prior migration -specific knowledge, assessing their conditions, and attempting to gain control of their situation. To best illustrate this claim, I first discuss how migrants accumulate social capital during the migratory process; I then explain how migrants are becoming beholden to drug cartels, and finally, I illuminate how clandestine migration unfolds in the Sonoran Desert, where migrants make difficult decisions in order to survive.

Places of Refuge as Spaces of Social Capital

Decades of migration from Latin America to the U.S. have sustained the production of migration -specific knowledge. For over 30 years, Mexican and Central American migrants have travelled for weeks or months on foot and aboard dangerous freight trains to reach American soil. The social capital that they accumulate from

Figure 6: The minibus belonging to Grupos Beta, a Mexican migrant relief organization. Photo: Bill De La Rosa, 2015.

these experiences is then distributed to prospective migrants in their respective communities. As a result, these cyclical patterns of migration have established a well-structured process, one in which migrants learn how to reduce their costs while maximizing their survival through Mexico.

To safely reach the U.S.-Mexico border, humanitarian aid has become a crucial and well -known resource. In response to the perilous migration journey, numerous shelters have emerged throughout Mexico to protect vulnerable migrants from harmful actors. For example, according to *Red Derechos Humanos Migrantes*, a Mexican nongovernmental organization, there are about 80 shelters in Mexico providing migrants with temporary relief services. Twelve of my research participants whom I interviewed said they relied

heavily on migrant shelters to make it safely to Nogales. One of them was Melvin, a Guatemalan migrant who stayed at five different shelters prior to arriving at San Juan Bosco:

> We ran to Tapachula and then after to Tuxtla Gutiérrez. In Mexico we finished our Q10,000 quetzals, which were about $20,000 pesos [$1119.7 dollars]. They were spent on the entire family. We arrived at a migrant shelter in Mexico City. They really helped us, and they also gave me work. After making and saving a little money, we then came to Coahuila, where we stayed with Father Pantoja. He's a good priest who advocates for migrants. He's very well known here in Mexico. We stayed there for two months. The Father and Sister there also helped me find a small job, so I could have an opportunity to earn money. I raised almost $8,000 pesos [$448 dollars]. Then we came to Ímuris where we met Father Ricardo. He was very nice. We have encountered great people here in Mexico who are trying to save our lives and everything we have. I'm talking to you about six months of travel throughout this course. Father Ricardo then called Father Samuel of the Comedor, and he was told to bring us to Grupos Beta. Afterwards, they brought us over here with all of you at San Juan Bosco.

Melvin migrated with his entire family from Guatemala after gangs murdered two of his sons. Migrant shelters were not only cost-free; they were critical to his family's survival. Although he had no experience migrating, he was aware of humanitarian organizations that offered refuge to families, and as he moved from one place to another, he accumulated knowledge about other shelters. Like him, others also depended heavily on humanitarian efforts during their passage through Mexico.

Humanitarian aid not only protects vulnerable migrants; more importantly, I argue, it plays a profound role in facilitating the production of migration-specific knowledge to successfully cross the U.S.-Mexico border, including the Sonoran Desert. Although unintentionally, San Juan Bosco functioned as a space where migrants had the opportunity to form a network and learn from one another. While there, I consistently observed the distribution of information about clandestine migration and the growing presence of drug cartels.

For instance, migrants shared with each other what objects they should carry to cross the Sonoran Desert. On a warm summer evening, while I spoke with migrants inside the shelter, a Honduran migrant looked down at my tennis shoes and asked if I could sell them to him. Before I could respond, a Guatemalan migrant, who crossed the Sonoran Desert in 2005, immediately answered "That's a bad idea – the desert's heat melts the rubber from tennis shoes, and both rocks and thorns will puncture your feet." He said this while pointing at his rugged boots and encouraging the Honduran migrant to find a pair at a local swap meet. Similarly, other migrants with no border crossing knowledge engaged with others who did have experience. Out of the participants whom I interviewed, four of them attributed the items they purchased in preparation to cross the Sonoran Desert – water, powdered electrolytes, canned food with high-salt content, and dark clothing – to information they gathered in migrant shelters.

The development of social relationships in San Juan Bosco enabled the exchange of social capital, and in this case, migration-specific capital. Besides objects, migrants also counseled each other on techniques for avoiding border security. One evening in June, for example, I sat outside on the front steps of the shelter's entrance and listened to a conversation two men and women were having. One of the men was from Honduras and crossed the Sonoran Desert in 2010. "You have to have a plan," he confidently declared to the others as he made the sign of the cross, "I have a plan and I will use it to get to the U.S. because my children depend on me." He talked about the importance of silence to avoid sound detectors, and thus, apprehension. "People get caught because they're too loud. The Border

Patrol has special equipment that helps them listen to almost everything." He also recommended avoiding smoking cigarettes at night because a burning ember could be spotted from miles away. Several similar conversations took place on a daily basis. Indeed, San Juan Bosco provided a space for migrants to exchange knowledge and aid one another in their collective struggle to cross the U.S.-Mexico border.

Likewise, humanitarian and governmental organizations that visited San Juan Bosco also circulated important migration-specific knowledge about surviving in the Sonoran Desert. For example, the Mexican Consulate in Nogales, Arizona, and the Human Rights Commission of Sonora stopped by twice a week to inform migrants about their human rights. In addition, they often advised migrants to only engage with human smugglers that they knew personally due to their untrustworthiness and exploitation of people (Spener 2009; Slack and Whiteford 2011). On several occasions, a consular representative suggested that migrants look out for a distinctive, giant peak called Baboquivari, and always keep it on their left, so that they would not become disoriented in the desert. In other instances, he instructed migrants to bring a lighter with them. "Worst comes to the worst," the government official would note as he reached in his pocket for his lighter, "you get your lighter and you light a tree on fire to be rescued."

The same organizations also warned migrants to stay away from the *mafia* [drug cartels]. They often told horrendous stories to make their point. During my fieldwork, migrants rarely discussed their experiences with drug cartels in public. However, as I interviewed migrants, it became clear how inextricably linked the drug trafficking and human smuggling industries had become. Yet, because this was a relatively new phenomenon, there was no useful knowledge on how to navigate drug cartels. Migrants had to improvise, draw on prior forms of migration-specific knowledge, and make difficult decisions under strenuous circumstances to survive. I discuss this further in the next two sections.

Mules for Cartels

Today, migrants are becoming drug mules for cartels in exchange for assistance in crossing the Sonoran Desert. First, it is extremely difficult to cross alone and it is expensive to hire a human smuggler. Researchers (Cornelius 2005; Andreas 2009; Spender 2009; De León 2012; De León 2015) have extensively examined how costly crossing the Sonoran Desert has become as border security increases and migrants become reliant on human smugglers. All of my research participants, including those whom I informally spoke to, spent between $6,000 and $9,000 on a coyote's services. Second, migrants who cross without cartels have to pay extra charges. Slack and Whiteford (2011) have documented the hierarchical relationship between drug cartels, *coyotes*, and migrants. Since drug cartels claim that *coyotes* and migrants interfere with their business, migrants must pay a quota, which ranges from $40 to $900, to drug cartels in order to pass the Arizona-Sonora border. Those who choose to cross the Sonoran Desert without paying their quota risk their lives if caught.

As I stated earlier, four of my research participants were coincidentally mules for cartels, while two of them had worked as *coyotes*. Their insights offer a glimpse of how violent clandestine border crossings have become. In the following two sections, I focus on the nexus between the drug trafficking and human smuggling industries, or what scholars (Spener 2009, Slack and Whiteford 2011) call "*narco-coyotaje*." I particularly concentrate on one story to illuminate how migrants become beholden to drug cartels and attempt to draw on migration-specific knowledge in order to gain control and survive in the Sonoran Desert.

Jorge had no idea what he was getting himself into when he went to Sonoyta, a town bordering Lukeville, Arizona. He went there only after he realized there was too much border security in Nogales. Sonoyta is about 120 miles west of Sasabe, and is at the heart of the Sonoran Desert. As we spoke, he took long pauses and deep breaths to remember everything he had experienced in the past two weeks. He wore a forest-patterned camouflage cap, thin hoodie, and sweatpants (see figure 7).

"When I arrived in Sonoyta, everything became complicated," Jorge said. He went there after he heard he could find a coyote for a modest price; instead, he was deceived and sold to the Sinaloa Cartel. "I saw a woman and I asked her if she could help me find a coyote to cross the desert." The woman agreed to help. "She took me to a man in a safe house, and the man paid her $20. The man told me that I had to carry a bag if I wanted to cross into the U.S. He told me he was a coyote, and he offered me food – he went to the store and bought me food, cigarettes, the outfit and these shoes I'm wearing." Jorge said everything in that moment was happening so quickly that he was having trouble processing what he heard, saw, and felt:

> Before I could decide whether I wanted to do it, seven armed men arrived at the safe house with eleven more mules, and at that point I realized I couldn't do anything [long pause]. They locked us in that place for a few hours. Then two trucks arrived and they divided us . . . They told us that we were going to smuggle marijuana, get it to Phoenix, and they'd pay us $1,800 – but it was false because we made it [takes a deep breath]. A regular coyote charges $10,000 pesos [$560.3 dollars] to cross people, so that wasn't an option. With $1,800, I thought, I can take that amount and send it to my family [long pause]. They took us to the very end of the border about 40 kilometers from Sonoyta, and that's where the drugs were waiting for us. We picked up the drugs and went into the desert immediately.

Jorge had only been in Sonoyta for a few hours before he found himself in the Sonoran Desert with ten kilos of marijuana strapped to his back following two drug cartel guides. He only received four gallons of water, a few cans of tuna, and dried meat. Although most of what Jorge was told turned out false, his thought process at the moment reveals a certain calculus he employed under highly stressful conditions. First, smuggling drugs would not only provide him a ticket to the U.S., it would be cheaper than hiring a *coyote*. Second, with the money he was promised, he thought about helping his family in Mexico – the people he migrated for in the first place.

Figure 7: Camouflage clothing. Photo: Bill De La Rosa, 2015.

The experiences of the other three migrants who smuggled drugs were harshly similar. Two of them were abducted and taken to a safe house in Sasabe, a Mexican town bordering Sasabe, Arizona, 30 miles east of Nogales. One of them was given a camouflage outfit, 25 kilos of marijuana, three gallons of water, canned food, and powdered electrolytes. The second migrant said he received "a burlap bag with 20 kilos of marijuana, a camouflaged outfit like the color of the desert [. . .], dried meat, canned food, and powdered milk." Lastly, the third migrant was taken to the outskirts of San Luis Río Colorado, a town bordering San Luis, Arizona. Similarly, he received "20 kilos of marijuana, camouflaged pants and sweater [. . .] a gallon of water and powdered electrolytes," in addition to a pair of carpet-like slippers that are worn over shoes to avoid leaving footprints.

The violent experiences that my research participants and other migrants encounter before entering the Sonoran Desert represent an aspect of structural violence. They stem from specific structural and political underpinnings, such as widespread poverty in Latin America, U.S. border policy, and American drug demands, which have marginalized migrants and rendered them victims. However, the discourse surrounding structural violence tends to overshadow migrants' individual autonomy, which discredits their resilience and determination to assert control (Slack and Whiteford 2011). I suggest that structural violence resulting from clandestine migration in the Sonoran Desert is highly nuanced. Similar to how migrants prepare to cross the Sonoran Desert, in such a desolate and forbidding space, migrants employ a careful calculus to optimize their survival, especially when drug cartels deliberately reduce their humanity.

Surviving the Sonoran Desert

Crossing the Sonoran Desert is a dangerous practice. According to the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner, an average of 163 corpses per year have been found in the Sonoran Desert since 1999 (Martínez et al. 2014). Yet, regardless of how deadly the desert is, thousands of migrants will risk their lives every year due to personal, political, and economic insecurities back home. Numerous scholars (Singer and Massey 1998; Andreas 2009; Spener 2009; De León 2015) have researched successful tactics migrants use to avoid security and survive when crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. However, there is hardly any research examining how migrants experience clandestine migration in the Sonoran Desert while smuggling drugs for cartels.

Immediately after Jorge and the other eleven drug mules began trekking through the Sonoran Desert, he grew increasingly worried. "When I had the bag on," he said, "I felt scared because if they caught me, I was going to get more prison time." In addition to the legal consequences, death weighed on his mind. "What scared me the most," he continued, "was when people began to fall along the journey. There was a 60-year-old man, who became dehydrated, dropped, and died. From twelve, only ten of us made it to the very end." I asked

him to recall some of these events. Jorge recounted aloud what happened each day to help him remember:

> I felt desperate on the first day. I felt very tense because of the weight. I wasn't ready for it. The next day my load felt heavier. On the third day, I felt worse and that's when it got scarier because that's when the first body dropped. I had to carry ten extra kilos and someone else had to carry ten kilos. The man got a heat stroke and the guides forced us to carry his weight. The guides were in a hurry. They told us, "If he's dead, he's dead. He stays there. Now both of you divide the weight." I saw when he got his stroke. When he collapsed, I hit him on his chest and back. The guides didn't want to stay there. They didn't want to call the paramedics or light a fire. The guides were also armed – so we couldn't do much.

To the drug cartel, migrants were anything but humans. Migrants became mules, working and hauling heavy loads until their bodies could not continue anymore. For migrants, this process was traumatizing. "I felt more scared," Jorge told me when he saw the first man die. "I didn't want to die in a desert and stay there. [The guides] told us, 'whoever can't last, he stays here. What matters to us are the bags and not you.'"

Although Jorge was under dire structural constraints, his comments offer a window into how he assessed the moment the 60-year-old man fell to the ground. His first instinct was to help by resuscitating him. Then, although he did not explicitly mention it, he or others proposed to light a fire – a survival technique that most likely was accumulated during the migratory process – to alert the Border Patrol and save the person's life. In the moment, he was not thinking about the legal consequences of getting caught with drugs. And, if it was not for the weapons the drug cartel members carried, the outcome might have been different. However, for Jorge and others, they assessed the situation and concluded that it was in their best interest to follow instructions to live another day.

Figure 8: The vast, mountainous landscape of the Sonora Desert. Photo: Bill De La Rosa, 2016

Jorge and the rest of the migrants were out in the Sonoran Desert for eight days total. Figure 8 portrays the vast, mountainous landscape of the Sonoran Desert. In the distance, one can see Baboquivari Peak, which migrants keep to their left in order to avoid disorientation. At the pace that the drug cartel had Jorge and the rest going, the entire journey was anything but a simple hike in the desert. It was a full-on death march. No one talked when they were on the move; everyone faced the ground and watched every step:

> We would rest like three or four hours during the night. We walked in the evening, and after 4 p.m., everyone was quiet. We also walked in the night, which made it more dangerous – not the light – it's the fact that you're on the mountains. So some of us would fumble or fall. The guides didn't have any respect for the dignity of anybody. If your bag fell, you picked it up and kept going.

As he told me about how gruesome this process was, I wondered how the drug cartel members were navigating their surroundings. I asked Jorge how they knew where they were headed. He said the drug cartel members had names for specific places in the desert. "There's *el cerro de la muela, el cerro del papalote, la brecha del narco, el cerro de la cuna,* and *el dau*." The names translate to the hill of the tooth, the hill of the kite, the gap of the narco, and the hill of the cradle. Both Jorge and I could not discern what the fifth name represented. He became aware of these names because the drug guides kept mentioning them over their radios as they reported their location to the scouts in the mountains. According to Jorge, the drug cartel members also had specific codes. "40," for instance, meant the path was clean, while "60" meant that the Border Patrol was near. These details demonstrate how elaborate the drug trafficking industry has become and depict its dependence on migrants to haul drugs across the desert for its success.

A second man collapsed on the fifth day in the Sonoran Desert. The day before, Jorge remembered observing this particular person not feeling well. "[The man] was heat-ridden," he said. Jorge offered a few electrolyte tablets he had brought along, and a third person helped the man cool down. On the eve of the fifth day, Jorge recalled the young man looked worse. The cartels instructed them to leave him there. However, before they abandoned him, Jorge offered the young man advice:

> I told him to start a fire once we left because, if the guides saw him, they would've killed him. When we left, from a distance – we were at a point called el cerro del papalote [the hill of the kite] about 30 kilometers away on top of a mountain – I saw a fire from the direction we came from. A helicopter could be seen in the distance. I saw him start a fire, and the guides were angry . . . they shouted at us. Everyone became tenser; the guides became more agitated.

In this example, Jorge clearly drew from his migration-specific knowledge to save the young man's life. And, telling the young man to light a fire once they were gone, spared his and the others' lives. More importantly, all of this calculation was taking place on the fifth day in the scorching Sonoran Desert under intense desperation and violent circumstances. Moreover, the fact that he can recall the name of the place of where they were offers an added level of precision.

Although the young man was evacuated, there were ten migrants left including Jorge who were fighting to survive. On the seventh day they almost ran out of water. "We had three bags of beans and one of dry meat for all ten of us," he remembered. "The guides were very smart. In one of those water jugs, they'd put both beans and dry meat, and this would make our food last longer. We'd take sips from the jug." Under these conditions, Jorge eventually grew more desperate and confident that he, too, was going to die. I was prompted to ask Jorge whether he ever thought about escaping. He looked up at me, surprised, and said, "I wanted to abandon my group but I didn't want to leave the others behind. There were *chavalos* [kids] the age of my children in that group. They'd tell me, '*no señor* [no sir], don't leave

us.'" While the social structures and the drug cartels systematically reduced his humanity, as one of the oldest migrants, Jorge had grown to feel partly responsible for everyone else. When I heard this, I was taken aback given the strenuous circumstances. Reduced to a mule, throughout this process, Jorge drew strength and a sense of purpose from others.

On the eighth and final day, Jorge and everyone else made it to the drop-off point. It was not Phoenix; it was near Ajo, Arizona, which is about 30 miles from the U.S.-Mexico border. According to Jorge, the final day was the hardest for him:

> When we got there, there were men armed with weapons. We turned in the bags, and the deal was that they were going to pay us, and from there, they were going to take us to Phoenix. They wouldn't pay us. They threatened us that they were going to take us to the Border Patrol . . . They threatened us with their weapons. They told us to run to the desert. So, I, along with everyone else, started to run towards the highway. I ran onto the road and waived a truck down. Luckily, it was the Border Patrol. I tried to stop him and he kept going but then he made a U-turn. He didn't turn on his siren. He just made a U-turn, stopped, and got out with a weapon. When I saw this, I got on my knees and put my head down waiting to get shot. He told me I shouldn't be scared because he was the Border Patrol. I said to myself, blessed be God, and cried.

My other three participants who became drug mules shared starkly similar experiences. All of them are just as vivid as Jorge's story. They illuminate the nuances of clandestine migration in the Sonoran Desert, particularly when the presence of drug cartels is factored into the equation. By drawing on prior forms of migration-specific knowledge and carefully assessing their situations, migrants attempt to obtain control of structurally violent conditions. Such perspectives, I hope, contribute to the literature of structural violence, which tends to victimize those who fall outside the margins of power.

Conclusion

Clandestine migration from Latin America to the U.S. is a pressing issue. President Donald Trump made the politics of immigration the center of his political campaign, and so far, his presidency as well. He relentlessly promises that he will increase U.S. border security to prevent unauthorized border crossings. These claims are not new and have not worked in the past.

Historically, increased border security has had devastating human consequences. One of the principal reasons migrants risk their lives crossing Sonoran Desert is because security strategies that focus on preventing clandestine entries – rather than addressing the multifaceted causes of human migration – have intentionally channeled migration through dangerous corridors. The research is abundantly clear, and the 3,000 plus people that have perished in southern Arizona are testament to the failure of present day U.S. border policy.

More importantly, clandestine migration is a social process. As long as widespread violence, poverty, and desperate spaces of survival exist in Latin America, migrants will continue to adapt to the changes of border security in the search for peace, security, and prosperity, even if it means crossing the Sonoran Desert or acting as mules for cartels.

The purpose of this article was to present a counter-narrative to the common discourse surrounding the literature of structural violence. Such literature has tended to oversimplify people's unique and everyday experiences by ignoring the role of agency. While migrants are indeed victims of vast structural and political inequalities, they are also agents producing meaning, resisting, and fighting for a better tomorrow.

In the context of clandestine migration in the Sonoran Desert, my ethnographic research reveals how migrants are now becoming beholden to drug cartels, and how, in the midst of dire and uncertain circumstances, they

actively draw on prior forms of migration-specific knowledge to assert control over their situation. The social capital they accumulate during the migratory process, particularly within migrant shelters, serves as a vital resource for navigating contemporary, hardly-known clandestine forms of migration. In this respect, migrant shelters are not just humanitarian service providers; they are important actors within clandestine migration frameworks.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, had I not met Dr. Jason De León and joined his Undocumented Migration Project in the summer of 2013, I would have never been inspired to do this research. His work exposed me to the harsh reality of U.S. border policy. More importantly, this article would not have been possible without the support of my mentor and friend, Dr. Marcos López. His guidance has made me the scholar I am today. Additionally, I would also like to thank the following people: Dr. Krista Van Vleet, Dr. Nancy Riley, Dr. Allen Wells, Dr. Janice Jaffe, Dr. Monica Brannon, and Lisa Flanagan. They all provided insightful feedback and challenged my ideas through the course of my research. Second, conducting ethnographic research is a privilege and my experience would have never happened had it not been for the generous funding I received from Bowdoin College and the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship. Third, I would like to give special acknowledgements to Francisco and Gilda Loureiro, the founders of San Juan Bosco, for the opportunity to conduct fieldwork in their shelter. Fourth, I am thankful for my mother. She is a Mexican immigrant who has also faced the inhumane consequences of U.S. immigration policy. Lastly, to my research participants and the men, women, and children who die trying, this article is dedicated to you.

References

Andreas, Peter. 2009. *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide.* 2nd ed. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology; 16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Collins, Patricia H. 1986. "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought." *Social Problems* 33 (6): S14–32. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.1986.33.6.03a00020.

Cornelius, Wayne A. 2001. "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy." *Population and Development Review* 27 (4): 661–85.

Cornelius, Wayne A. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993—2004." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (4): 775–94. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500110017.

De León, Jason. 2012. "'Better to Be Hot than Caught': Excavating the Conflicting Roles of Migrant Material Culture." *American Anthropologist* 114 (3): 477–495. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1433.2012.01447.x.

De León, Jason. 2015. *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail* [Electronic Resource]. California Series in Public Anthropology; 36. Oakland, California: University of California Press. https://ezproxy prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/login?url=http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.actio?docID=2025610.

Donato, Katherine M., Brandon Wagner, and Evelyn Patterson. 2008. "The Cat and Mouse Game at the Mexico-U.S. Border: Gendered Patterns and Recent Shifts on JSTOR." *The International Migration Review* 42 (2): 330–59.

Galtung, Johan. 1969. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research on JSTOR." *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (3): 167–91. 2018.

"Humane Borders Water Stations." *Humane Borders*. 2018. https://www.humaneborders.org/wp-content/uploads/posterpdf/deathpostercumulative_16_eoy_poster.pdf.

Inda, Jonathan Xavier. 2006. *Targeting Immigrants: Government, Technology, and Ethics*. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub.

Jimenez, Maria. 2009. "Humanitarian Crisis: Migrant Deaths at the U.S.-Mexico Border." San Diego: American Civil Liberties Union. https://www.aclu.org/files/pdfs/immigrants/humanitariancrisisreport.pdf.

Martínez, Daniel E., Robin C. Reineke, Raquel Rubio-Goldsmith, and Bruce O. Parks. 2014. "Structural Violence and Migrant Deaths in Southern Arizona: Data from the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner, 1990-2013." *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 2 (4): 257–86. https://doi.org/10.14240/jmhs.v2i4.35.

Nevins, Joseph. 2006. "A Beating Worse Than Death: Imagining and Contesting Violence in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands." *AmeriQuests* 2 (1): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.15695/amqst.v2i1.64.

Rubio-Goldsmith, Raquel, Melissa McCormick, Daniel Martinez, and Inez Duarte. 2006. "The 'Funnel Effect' & Recovered Bodies of Unauthorized Migrants Processed by the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner, 1990-2005." SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 3040107. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3040107.

Ruiz, Ariel G., Jie Zong, and Jeanne Batalova. 2015. "Immigrant Women in the United States." Migrationpolicy.Org. March 19, 2015. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigrant-women-united-states.

Singer, Audrey, and Douglas S. Massey. 1998. "The Social Process of Undocumented Border Crossing among Mexican Migrants." *International Migration Review* 32 (3): 561–92.

Slack, Jeremy, and Scott Whiteford. 2011. "Violence and Migration on the Arizona-Sonora Border." *Human Organization* 70 (1): 11–21.

Spener, David. 2009. *Clandestine Crossings: Migrants and Coyotes on the Texas-Mexico Border*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Trevizo, Perla. 2013. "Labor of Love Keeps Immigrant Shelter Open 31 Years." *Arizona Daily Star*, February 2, 2013. http://tucson.com/news/local/border/labor-of-love-keeps immigrant-shelter-open-years/article_e736f0da-55ee-5d2b-9934-d8c0f38374ad.html.