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“Everybody belongs here, because they want to” Geopolitics and the imagined geographies of emotion among young migrants in New York City

GEO 620 Master’s Thesis

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Abstract

The United States, and within it specifically the city of New York, have long held the reputations of being host to large numbers of transnational migrants. However, in 2016 the United States elected a President, Donald Trump, who is openly hostile toward migrants; this event had ignited an upswing in anti-migrant discourse within US society. The aim of this study is to investigate how these political changes in the United States have influenced the lives of individual migrant young adults living in contemporary New York City. Specifically, this research study seeks to shed light on the emotions and affects of young migrants in New York, as well as their subjective spatial perceptions of the city they live in, and the everyday practices associated with those perceptions. It also seeks to see how these practices and perceptions have changed over the course of the past year (the period during which Donald Trump was elected President), and these geopolitical events are connected with the aforementioned practices and emotions.

This study takes as its theoretical starting point a conception of space as a zone of social contestation. It then investigates this social contestation from four interconnected theoretical standpoints: the theoretical traditions of emotional geographies and of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, and the idea of banal geopolitics and imagined geographies. In terms of method, this study involved four types of data collection. These were semi-structured verbal interviews with participants, participatory mapping tasks, photo submission tasks, and secondary data collection of demographic statistics about areas participants identified as being emotionally salient. These four types of data were then integrated and triangulated together.

In total, fifteen migrants between the ages of 18 and 26 took part in this study, recruited for the most part through universities. These migrants had very diverse backgrounds in terms of race, ethnicity, and national origin. Over the course of the study, they discussed which areas of New York City they considered to be safe, which they considered to be dangerous, and which they considered to be locations in which they felt belonging, as well was what factors influenced those emotions. They also discussed their daily routines and practices of movement throughout the city, as well as how these practices and emotions have changed over time.

Through these methods, it was found that participants had strong connections and feelings of belonging toward specific places and things: their homes, their families and friends, and the educational institutions they attended. Participants also reported a particular preference for spaces that are highly diverse and multicultural. Yet overall, participants reported feeling as if they would be able to feel safe anywhere in the entirety of New York City, and did not report feeling in danger very often in their daily lives. Furthermore, participants also often constructed imagined geographies of places they had never been, especially places outside of the United States, as locations of danger and not-belonging. Finally, in terms of practices around space, participants enjoyed spending time in large, popular public spaces. I theorize that these emotions, affects, and practices constitute the formation of a habitus specific to young migrants of the kind studied in this thesis; furthermore, I also theorize that this habitus serves as a means of political resistance against anti-migrant forces and discourses.

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1. Introduction

The quote that makes up the title of this thesis comes from one of the research participants, Putri, a young migrant from Indonesia living in New York City. In her interview, she described being told that she did not belong in the United States, and this quote—in full, "everybody belongs here because they wanted to, they made the choice to belong here"—is her rejoinder. This quote sums up something fundamental about the reality of being a young migrant in the contemporary United States.

The United States is often referred to as a "nation of immigrants" (Quinsaat, 2014), and within the US the city of New York has a reputation for being the center of immigration throughout history (Anbinder, 2016). Yet, as much as some people may present a utopian imaged of the US as a haven for the dispossessed of all nations, there have also been powerful anti-migration sentiments and political movements throughout the country's history. One of these political movements seems to be happening currently. Donald Trump—a New Yorker, descended from German immigrants (Kranish and Fisher, 2016)—ran for president in 2016 on a hardline anti-immigrant platform; at the beginning of his campaign, one of his first statements to gain mass publicity involved referring to Mexican immigrants as "rapists" (Ross, 2016). His surprise victory in that election, and his subsequent presidential administration, have served to embolden anti-immigrant actors within US society, and to create the sense that there has been a turn in US politics and culture away from inclusion and towards isolationism.

Putri's response to these political forces—the forces that tell her that she does not belong in the United States—is interesting, because it foregrounds the individual and the subjective. In the face of actors within a social field who presume to tell her whether she belongs in that field, she responds by locating belonging instead as a personal, subjective choice that she is empowered to make for herself. This, in turn, gives her the power to place herself in any social situation she should choose to, and in so doing gives her political power to reject discourses and policies of exclusion.

Belonging, as well, is an emotion; furthermore, it also a concept which is related to space, since a person who belongs must necessarily belong somewhere. It is the interaction of these various concepts—emotion, space, and politics—and how they relate to the lives of young migrants that is the focus of this thesis. Specifically, I look at how young migrants in New York City relate to the space around them through emotion and through practice, and how these emotions and practice are both influenced by politics and offer possibilities of political action. In so doing, I hope both to gain a deeper understanding of the migrant experience and the contemporary political landscape in the United States, and to aid in the project of political empowerment for young migrants by giving voice to their knowledges of the world around them.

1.1. Historical context of migration in New York City

Any study of migrants living in New York City must be situated within the context of the city's rich migrant history. For this thesis, I have drawn this history from Tyler Anbinder's 2016 book *City of Dreams*, one of the first comprehensive chronicles of New York's migrant history in a single volume. This work draws mainly primary source documents, such as contemporary

newspaper reports and diaries and letters from migrants, as well as historical demographic data. As such, it provides a strong historical overview of New York's immigrant history, integrating together a diverse range of sources of and perspectives on this history.

New York's migrant history began with its European colonization, initially by the Dutch (Anbinder, 2016, p. 4) and later by the English (Anbinder, 2016, p. 34). New York's migrants at that time were largely settler colonialists from these two powers; many of these colonialists came as indentured laborers. It also is notable that New York's first African-descended population arrived during this period as slaves (Anbinder, 2016, p. 26-31). After the United States successfully declared independence from Great Britain, however, this sort of immigration slowed.

The next major wave of immigration began in the 1840s, and stretched through the American Civil War to the latter part of the 19th Century. It was characterized by high volumes of migrants from Ireland and from the states which would later become Germany. Most of these migrants were fleeing the famine, caused by a blight on the potato crop, which destroyed the economies of Ireland and much of Germany (Anbinder, 2016, p. 129); as well, many also came to the United States for political reasons, as they had been involved in failed revolutionary movements back in Europe (Anbinder, 2016, p. 172). As there was at this time no formalized immigration system in place in the USA, these immigrants were allowed to enter the country unimpeded. Upon arriving, they mostly became day laborers, small-scale manufacturers, and (in the case of female migrants) domestic servants, and in many cases suffered severe poverty (although those with backgrounds in skilled trades were often able to continue these trades in their new environment, and some migrants managed to find success as merchants) (Anbinder, 2016, p. 158-71). It was during this period that New York's migrant population was proportionally the largest, with over half of the population born outside the United States (Anbinder, 2016, p. 127). It was also during this time that one of the first waves of anti-migrant sentiment hit the country, in the form of the nativist "Know Nothing" political party, which achieved some success in the 1850s before losing popular support and eventually disbanding (Anbinder, 2016, p. 197). Furthermore, this period also features one of the earliest large-scale events of migrant-led political unrest in the city's history, as in 1863 a large group of predominately Irish immigrants rioted against the military draft during the Civil War, and lynched several African-American New Yorkers (Anbinder, 2016, p. 242).

The second era of immigration in New York City stretched from the late 19th century until the early 1920s. This era of immigration was dominated by two different ethnic groups: Italians, and Eastern European Jews. Italian migrants came to the United States to escape the rampant poverty they had experienced in the Italian countryside; notably, they were one of the first migrant groups to practice cyclical migration, as many returned to Italy for the winters, or when they had made enough money in the United States (Anbinder, 2016, p. 315). However, enough Italians stayed permanently to become a major ethnic group within the city. Eastern European Jewish migrants, in contrast, migrated partially for economic reasons, but for the most part in order to escape the violent pogroms and anti-Jewish laws that had dominated their lives back in what was then the Russian Empire (Anbinder, 2016, p. 304). These two migrant groups tended to work in day labor, manufacturing (especially garment manufacturing), peddling, and domestic service jobs, since these had been vacated as Irish and German migrants moved to

better-paying jobs; as such, these new Italian and Jewish migrants once again faced crushing poverty (Anbinder, 2016, p. 366).

It is during this era that the first legal limits on immigration were imposed. Immigration into the United States had been totally open until 1875, when a law was passed banning the immigration of Chinese contract laborers and sex workers; a law banning all Chinese immigration was later passed in 1882 (Anbinder, 2016, p. 330). Further limitations on immigration were passed throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, banning the entrance of criminals, those carrying communicable diseases, "lunatics", and "those likely to become a public charge"; these regulations were enforced at the iconic Ellis Island immigrant processing center, which opened in 1892 . Nonetheless, these regulations resulted in a little over 1% of all immigrants arriving in New York each year being deported (Anbinder, 2016, p. 340). However, in 1924 a law known as the Johnson-Reed act drastically curtailed legal immigration into the United States, by putting a cap on immigration from most countries in the world at 2% of the current population of their nationals living in the US per year, and banning all immigration from Asia and the Middle East. This law served to limit Italian and Eastern European immigration dramatically. The law put no limit on migration from countries in the continents of North and South America; therefore, large numbers of Latin Americans, for the most part Mexicans, continued to migrate to the United States. However, these migrants mainly stayed in the southwestern part of the US near the Mexican border, and as such had little influence on the migrant makeup of New York (Anbinder, 2016, p. 467-70).

As a result of this law, the next era of migration in New York City was characterized by internal migration from different parts of the United States, rather than transnational migration. Specifically, two main groups from other parts of the US moved to and settled in New York: Puerto Ricans, and African-Americans from the southern US states. Puerto Rico had at that time become a US territory and its residents had been made US citizens, yet the island remained impoverished, making migration to New York City economically attractive (Anbinder, 2016, p. 481). African-Americans came to New York during this time as part of a general trend of movement of Black people from rural areas in the south to large industrial city centers in the north known as the Great Migration; this was as well due to economic issues, and also in part a response to an upswing in racist violence due to the passage of Jim Crow laws and the reformation of the Ku Klux Klan (Anbinder, 2016, p. 479). In terms of transnational migration, the most significant group of immigrants in the US during this period came from Caribbean islands such as the Bahamas and Jamaica; these people were allowed to legally migrate because, being from British colonies, they were considered British subjects by the US immigration authorities and could therefore enjoy Britain's relatively high immigration quota. These immigrants were almost all Black, and settled in communities with African-Americans born in the United States (Anbinder, 2016, p. 540). Once again, these new migrant groups tended to work in low-status jobs such as day labor, and suffered from extreme poverty.

The Johnson-Reed Act was overturned in 1965 and replaced with a law known as the Hart-Celler Act, which ushered in a new era in US immigration history. This law removed the national-origin-based quota system that had existed previously; instead, a set number of immigration slots would be allocated per year, regardless of the nationality of the migrant. It also made it easier for family members of immigrants to rejoin their relatives in the US. Perhaps

most crucially, it removed the ban on immigration from Asia and the Middle East, while for the first time capping immigration from the Americas (Anbinder, 2016, p. 514-17).

The Hart-Celler Act served to dramatically increase the amount of immigration into the US overall, while also changing its demographic character. As such, while in the past most immigrants in New York City had come from Europe, now the main sources of migrants in the city became Asia and Latin America. Specifically, the major sources of immigration in New York in recent years have been China and the Dominican Republic, with large populations coming from South Asia (especially India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan), Latin America (especially Mexico, Colombia, and Ecuador), and in recent years West Africa (especially Ghana and Nigeria). This change in immigration policy also changed the political nature of immigration in the United States, as instituting an entrance cap on migrants from the American continents criminalized many migration practices that until that time had been common; this served to increase the rate of undocumented immigration, thus making it a political issue for the first time (Anbinder, 2016, p. 513-17). Furthermore, recent terrorist attacks such as those of September 11, 2001 have caused an increase in public sentiment against immigration, especially that of Muslim immigrants (Anbinder, 2016, p. 551-54).

From New York's immigrant history, a few trends can be noted with regards to the daily lives and spatial practices of migrants. One is, as previously mentioned, that recent migrants tend to take low-paying and low-status jobs. This happens, in many cases, regardless of the migrant's previous qualifications and background, so someone who was a member of the professional class in their home country could become a day laborer upon coming to the United States. Furthermore, different migrant groups tend to dominate particular industries in New York. For example, the garment manufacturing industry in late 19th and early 20th century New York was almost entirely staffed by Eastern European Jews (Anbinder, 2016, p. 367); currently, New York's taxi drivers are mainly from South Asia (Anbinder, 2016, p. 550).

Another recurring characteristic of New York's migrant history is that immigrants in New York City have tended to congregate in specific ethnic enclaves. These enclaves, which were known as "colonies" in the 19th century and are now referred to as "neighborhoods", tended to have clearly defined boundaries and to be completely dominated by one immigrant group. Within these enclaves, immigrants preserved the culture and language of their home country; furthermore, many immigrants only rarely found it necessary to leave these enclaves, to the point at which there was little incentive for immigrants to learn English, and leaving the enclave was referred to as "going to America" (Anbinder, 2016, p. 382). Examples of such enclaves include the Irish Five Points neighborhood during the early 19th century, the Jewish Lower East Side during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the Puerto Rican East Harlem neighborhood during the mid 20th century (Anbinder, 2016, p. 355).

Finally, a third trend has been the recurring demonization and marginalization of migrant groups in popular and political discourse throughout US history. There have been three main marginalizing discourses aimed at migrants that have recurred. The first has been based around attacks on the moral character of migrants; for example, Italian immigrants were often figured as "lazy" and "shiftless" (Anbinder, 2016, p. 414). The second has been based on the idea that migrant groups either are unable to assimilate into American society, or that they do not want to; this discourse frequently targeted Puerto Ricans in New York, despite the fact that they were

technically not migrants at all, but American citizens in their own right (Anbinder, 2016, p. 445-48). The third has been based around the idea that migrants carry with them from their home countries some sort of threat to social and political order; for example, Irish Catholic migrants were thought to bring with them the threat of Papal influence in the United States (Anbinder, 2016, p. 288), Eastern European Jewish migrants brought with them the threat of socialist and anarchist revolution (Anbinder, 2016, p. 461-63), Italian migrants were associated with the Mafia and organized crime (Anbinder, 2016, p. 316), and Muslim migrants from the Middle East and South Asia are currently discursively associated with terrorist violence (Anbinder, 2016, p. 551-54).

1.2. Contemporary context

It is from these historical events and processes that the contemporary state of migrant life in New York—and migrant life in the United States as a whole—emerges. This is the environment in which I conducted my research; therefore, it is important to give an overview of the current situation of migrants in New York and in the United States at large, in order to put my research in context. Specifically, I will describe three different aspects of contemporary migrant life that form a backdrop for my research: the demographics of migrants currently living in New York City, in terms of their country of origin, areas of dwelling, and socio-economic status; the current legal and governmental attitudes towards migrants, from both local and national governments; and the political and popular discourses surrounding migration in the United States today. The last of these is particularly relevant, since my thesis deals with how such political discourses and influence migrants' daily lives.

1.2.1. Demographics of migrants in New York City

In order to get a sense of the situation of migrants in contemporary New York City—and a sense of contemporary New York City in its capacity as a home for migrants—one must look at the demographic data concerning migrants in New York. For this thesis, I am using as my main source *The Newest New Yorkers: Characteristics of the City's Foreign-Born Population*, a 2013 report published by the City of New York's Department of City Planning and its Office of Immigrant Affairs. This report uses data from the American Community Survey (ACS) and data from Neighborhood Tabulation Areas (NTAs) to detail the countries of origin of the city's immigrants, where in the city they tend to settle, and the socio-economic statuses of different immigrant groups. As such, the report only includes information on documented migrants; the demographics of undocumented migrants will be discussed later, in Section 1.2.2. As well, this report is part of a series that is only released every five to ten years; therefore, I will be supplementing the data from this report with more recent data from other sources. These sources include *A Portrait of Immigrants in New York*, a 2016 report published by Thomas DiNapoli and the New York State Comptroller's Office, and *Immigrants in New York*, a 2015 report published by the American Immigration Council; however, since both of these reports provide data for New York State as a whole as opposed to New York City, their content is not as directly relevant

to this thesis. As well, demographic data can also be found using the New York City Department of City Planning (NYC DCP) Census Fact Finder.

New York, currently, is the city in the United States with the largest population of immigrants, with 37.2% of its population born outside the country as of 2011, and this percentage staying steady up through 2014 (DiNapoli, 2016). Of this foreign-born population, the largest group comes from the Dominican Republic; Dominicans comprise 12.4% of New York's total foreign-born population. The second largest group comes from China, comprising 11.4% of the city's foreign-born population. This is followed by Mexico (6.1%), Jamaica (5.5%), and Guyana (4.6%). It is also of note that certain countries have experienced a dramatic growth in migration to New York City over the period from 2000 to 2011. These countries include Mexico, whose population within the city increased by 52%, and Bangladesh, whose population within the city increased by 74.2%.

The Newest New Yorkers also divides New York's immigrant population based on global region of as well as country of origin. The report defines these regions as Asia (the entire Asian continent, including the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent but excluding Russia), Latin America (the Spanish-speaking world, as well as Brazil, but excluding Spain), the Non-Hispanic Caribbean (the non-Spanish-speaking islands of the Caribbean, as well as Guyana, Suriname, and Belize), Europe (the European continent, including all of Russia), Africa (the African continent), and "All Others" (mainly Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). As of 2011, by region, the largest immigrant group in New York City was Latin Americans, comprising almost one third of the city's migrant population; they were followed by Asians, who comprised over a quarter, and then by Non-Hispanic Caribbeans, who comprised almost a fifth. Europeans formed just over 15% of the city's migrant stock, while Africans formed just over 4% of it, and those from "All Others" made up less than 1% of it. Notably, the percentages of New York's migrant stock from Asia, Europe, Africa, and "All Others" was roughly similar to those of the total migrant stock of the United States as a whole; however, New York had a much higher proportion of migrants from the Non-Hispanic Caribbean, and a much lower proportion of migrants from Latin America. This can be seen in Figure 1.

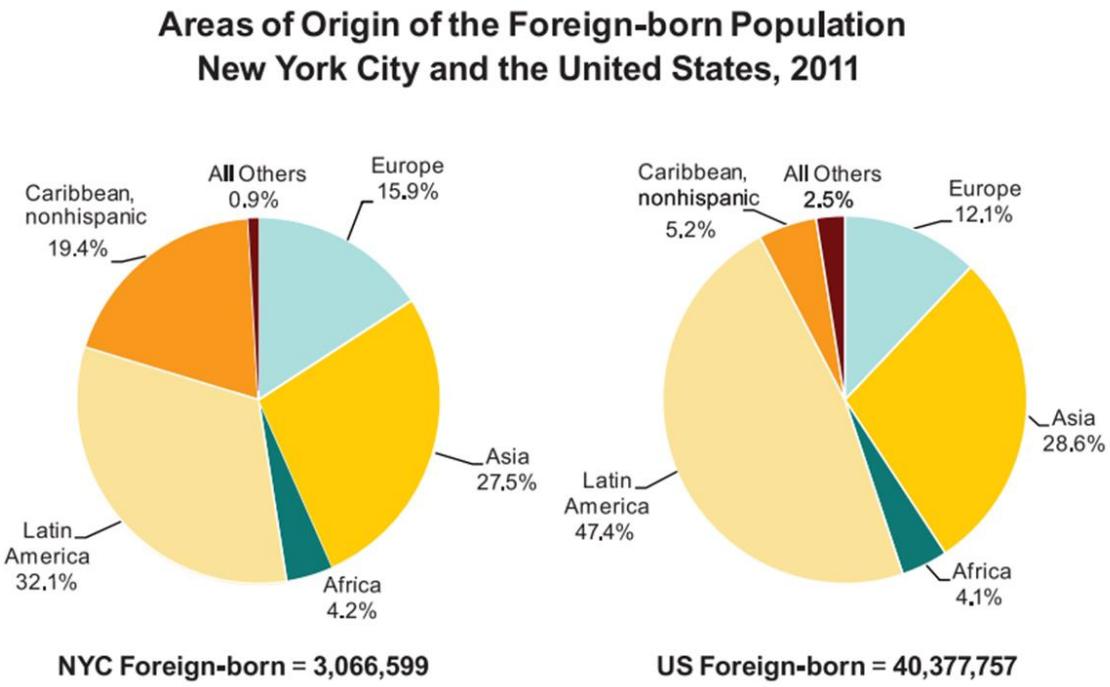


Figure 1: Areas of origin for migrants in NYC and the US as a whole. Source: The Newest New Yorkers, 2013.

However, the newer data presented by DiNapoli (2016) appears to show that, by 2014, the proportion of New York's immigrant stock from Latin America had increased to around 50%; however, this report defines different geographic regions than *The Newest New Yorkers* does, most notably in that it does not define the Non-Hispanic Caribbean as a separate region. Therefore, comparing its findings with those found in *The Newest New Yorkers* is not applicable in this instance.

In terms of other demographic data, *The Newest New Yorkers* also gives information on the age, gender makeup, language proficiency, and educational attainment of the city's migrants. The average age for foreign-born New Yorkers is much higher than that of native-born New Yorkers; this is because most people tend to migrate as adults, meaning that as of 2011 there were relatively few foreign-born New Yorkers under the age of 18. Proportionally, there tend to be more female migrants in New York City than male ones; however, some migrant groups, such as Mexicans, Ecuadorans, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis, are exceptions to this, with more male migrants than females. English proficiency tends to vary with country of origin: migrants from English-speaking countries such as Jamaica, or countries that places a high emphasis on English-language education such as India, tend to be proficient in English, while migrants from countries without these features, such as Mexico and China, tend to have low English proficiency. Notably, the time a migrant has spent in the US since migration is not generally linked with their proficiency in English, since many migrants live in ethnic enclaves in which English proficiency is not required. Finally, educational attainment also varies widely across different migrant groups, with some groups such as Mexicans and Salvadorans being very unlikely to have a university education, while other groups such as Indians and Filipinos being highly likely to have such an education. DiNapoli's 2016 report also provides information about when migrants entered the US: as of 2014, around 40% of New York City's migrants entered the US before the

1990s, around 25% entered during the 1990s, and around 25% entered during the 2000s, with the rest entering after 2010. My sample contains no migrants who entered before 1990 due to its age range, but features a mix of participants from the other periods of entry.

In terms of where New York's immigrants settle, the borough with the highest foreign-born population is Queens, with 48.5% of its population born outside of the US as of 2011. This is followed by Brooklyn, with 37.4% of its population born outside the US; then the Bronx (33.8%), Manhattan (28.8%), and finally Staten Island (20.9%). This settlement pattern is different from how immigrants have previously settled in the city; previously, newly-arrived migrants would settle in the central, densely-populated areas of Manhattan and only move to the outer boroughs when they had accumulated some wealth and been able to move up the social hierarchy (Anbinder, 2016). Now, however, migrants are more likely to settle in the outer boroughs first. However, one trend from New York's migrant history holds true: migrants tend to settle in enclaves with other individuals who share their countries of origin, ethnicities, languages, and migration experiences. As such, *The Newest New Yorkers* details which neighborhoods of the city are most predominately settled by which different groups of migrants; additionally, more detailed and recent information on this topic can also be found using the NYC DCP Census Fact Finder. The demographic characters of those neighborhoods which are mentioned by my research participants will be discussed in their relevant contexts.

In terms of economic status, the average income per year for migrant households was $43,628 in 2011, which was much less than the average income per year of $54,679 that non-migrant households enjoyed. However, only 19.8% of migrant households were in poverty, as opposed to 21.3% of non-migrant households—poverty, in this case, being determined as having a household income below the United States' Federal Poverty Line (Sibelius, 2016). Furthermore, income and levels of poverty also varied between different migrant groups. Indian migrant households had the highest average income, and a relatively low rate of poverty; Dominican migrant households had the lowest average income, as well as the highest rate of poverty. Some groups had more complex economic profiles, however: Pakistani migrant households had both a relatively high average income and a relatively high rate of poverty, while Ukrainian migrant households had low average income, but a rate of poverty comparable to that of the city's migrants as a whole. The economic profiles of other specific groups will be discussed in more detail in my Results and Methods sections when it is relevant.

In terms of employment, 75.1% of migrant men and 57.4% of migrant women are in the labor force as of 2011. For both men and women, around 80% of those migrants employed work for private companies, while around 10% work in the public sector and 10% are self-employed (although men are more likely to be self-employed than women). What type of job migrants take once again varies between different migrant groups; the different job types and their representations among different populations of migrants will be discussed for relevant groups in my Results section. There were also variations in job type between men and women; for example, women were far more likely to be employed in the service industry, and far less likely to be employed in construction, extraction, and maintenance, than men.

1.2.2. Legal and governmental attitudes towards migrants in the United States

After having detailed the demographics of migrants currently living in New York, it is now important to focus on the United States government's policies toward those migrants and towards migration as a whole. This will provide a necessary context for examining the lives and subjectivities of those migrants, as the act of migration is mediated by government policy (and, in cases of undocumented migration, criminalized by that same policy). Furthermore, once migrants have arrived in a host country, they are exposed to unique forms of governance centered on their status as migrants. This overview of governmental attitudes towards migrants will begin with a brief discussion of current US migration law and a description of the legal paths to migration in the US. It will also touch on undocumented migration into the US, specifically in the cases of undocumented migration in New York, and the ways in which US borders are currently enforced in New York. It will also provide a demographic description of how migrants currently in New York have entered the US.

As previously mentioned in Section 1.1, current US immigration law is based on the Hart-Celler Act of 1965, which ended the system of quotas for immigration based on national origin (Anbinder, 2016). The largest change to immigration law since then has been the passage of the Immigration Act of 1990, which increased the availability of US immigrant visas for highly skilled professionals; it also introduced the Diversity Visa program, in which individuals could apply for entry to the United States by lottery (Leiden and Neal, 1990). Thus, there are now currently four legal pathways to migration into the United States. Visas are available for relatives of US citizens and permanent residents, the aforementioned highly skilled professionals (with "highly skilled" being defined on case-by-case basis by the US government [Leiden and Neal, 1990]), winning entrants in the Diversity Visa lottery, and refugees and asylum-seekers (*The Newest New Yorkers*, 2013).

In terms of how many migrants in New York City enter using these different methods, the most popular method is through family relations, with 69.6% of immigrants entering between 2002 and 2011 entering this way. However, this is a notable decrease from the 1982-1991 rates, when a full 81.5% of immigrants entered this way. In contrast, from 2002 to 2011, 9.3% of immigrants entered as skilled workers, 7% entered as part of the Diversity Visa program, and 12.8% entered as refugees or asylum-seekers. These rates are all increases from the rates of previous decades (*The Newest New Yorkers*, 2013).

Of course, there is another path to entry into the United States: undocumented, or so-called "illegal" migration. As previously mentioned in Section 1.1, the Hart-Celler Act criminalized many migration patterns which had previously been common in the United States, such as seasonal labor migration by Mexican farm workers. Furthermore, the legal pathways to immigration have narrowed even more in the years since, with both the Clinton administration in the 1990s and the Bush administration in the 2000s passing laws and regulations that served limit immigration and increase the deportation of undocumented migrants (Chacon, 2016; Hagan and Phillips, 2008). De Giorgi (2010) places this further criminalization of migration in the context of the rise of neoliberalism. Under this framework, an increasingly globalized economy encourages transnational migration, but restrictive border controls and severe punitive measures against those found violating immigration law in developing countries serve to marginalize migrants and render their livelihoods precarious. Thus, migrants become an easily-exploitable labor force, with little recourse for organization or making their demands known.

The clandestine nature of undocumented migration makes it difficult to know its demographic profile. As of January 2012, there were an estimated 11.4 million undocumented immigrants in the US; this is part of a total US foreign-born population estimated at 34 million (Baker and Rytina, 2013). As such, roughly a third of the foreign-born population in the US were undocumented immigrants. Furthermore, this number has stayed roughly the same, declining slightly in the years since 2012; this has been linked the downturn of the United States' economy (Passel and Cohn, 2016)

In terms of national origin, according to the 2012 data the majority of undocumented migrants in the US are Mexican, with 59% coming from that country. In distant second is El Salvador, which accounts for the origins of 6% of the US undocumented population; the countries with the next two highest proportions, Guatemala and Honduras, are also Central American. Of non-Latin-American countries, the Philippines, China, India, Korea, and Vietnam also form notable portions of the US's stock of undocumented migrants, each contributing two or three percent of the total. Because of this preponderance of Mexican immigration, most undocumented migrants settle in the southern and western US states of California, Texas, and Florida; however, 5% of undocumented migrants do end up settling in New York State (Baker and Rytina, 2013).

What, then, is the undocumented population of New York City? A 2007 estimate by the Fiscal Policy Institute puts it at 535,000 people, or 18% of the city's immigrant population. Furthermore, *Immigrants in New York* (2015) estimates the 2014 undocumented population of the entirety of New York state at 775,000 people, or 17% of the state's immigrant population. It is worth noting that the undocumented population of New York City has a much different makeup in terms of national origin than the undocumented population of the rest of the country. Only 27% of undocumented migrants in New York City come from Mexico and Central America, as opposed to the more than 73% of the national total that comes from that region. In contrast, New York City's undocumented migrants are 23% Asian, 22% Caribbean, 13% South American, and 8% European, all much larger proportions than those regions have in the national total (Baker and Rytina, 2013; Passel and Cohn, 2014).

How the undocumented migrants of New York enter the country is another question which is hard to ascertain the answer to due to the secrecy of such an activity. It is thought that many undocumented migrants enter by overstaying tourist or student visas (Jasso et al., 2008), or by using immigrant smugglers (known as "*coyotes*" among Mexican migrants [Spener, 2004] and "snakeheads" among Chinese migrants [Anbinder, 2016]). What is clear, however, is that in contemporary New York there is a large-scale border control regime in place by the US government aimed at finding and deporting undocumented migrants.

Both documented and undocumented migrants in New York City have to deal with regimes of border control and regulation, which have strengthened over recent years (Hagan and Phillips, 2008). While documented migrants have to deal with the (often complex) process of visa applications, undocumented migrants have the much more difficult task of evading the United States Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), a large, nationwide law-enforcement agency tasked with preventing undocumented immigration and deporting unlawful immigrants. The ICE was formed as part of the restructuring of the United States' border controls that occurred after September 11, 2001, and operates by tracking down undocumented

migrants through such means and employment and criminal records. The ICE has faced criticism from human rights activists due to its sometimes indefinite detainment and incarceration of migrants, and its lack of public transparency. Furthermore, it should be noted that the ICE often mistakenly documented as well as undocumented migrants, and subjects them to the same detainment procedures; this has been attributed to racial profiling on the part of the ICE (Aptekar, 2012). The ICE has been active in New York City in recent years, with news stories from 2017 documenting "raids" in which large numbers of undocumented migrants were captured and detained (Annese, 2017; Fox News, 2017).

Although such federal law enforcement regimes make things difficult for migrants living in New York City, the attitudes of local government can be quite different. Since 1989, New York has been a member of the Sanctuary Cities movement (Koch, 1989). This is a movement of local governments throughout the United States and Europe, all of whom pledge to limit cooperation between local law enforcement agencies and border control agencies, and to not participate in or contribute resources to law enforcement efforts that lead to the detention and deportation of undocumented migrants (Ridgley, 2013). It is notable that the Sanctuary Cities movement has faced recent rhetorical opposition from President Donald Trump, who has threatened to rescind federal funding from cities who declare themselves Sanctuary Cities (Wells, 2017).

Another example of a pro-migrant local policy in New York is the IDNYC program. New York's local government has operated the IDNYC program since 2015; this program provides a form of photo identification to all New Yorkers, regardless of citizenship or immigration status, that allows them access to local-level public services they otherwise would be denied due to lack of US identification (Torres, 2017). As can be seen from these programs, although the attitudes of federal law enforcement can serve to marginalize and create discrimination against immigrants, local government in New York City promotes more immigrant-friendly policies.

1.2.3. Political and popular discourse on immigration in the United States

A third dimension of the contemporary migrant experience in New York, and in the United States as whole, is that of the political and popular discourses around migration. Migrants are faced with, and are part of, these discourses; furthermore, these discourses are important parts of how migrants are perceived and how they are treated in US culture as whole. Thus, understanding these discourses is important for contextualizing the lives and subjectivities of migrants in the US today.

As previously mentioned, some aspects of migration have been progressively criminalized in the United States since the 1960s. This is true legally, in the sense that border enforcement has increased, but it is also true discursively, in the sense that undocumented migrants have increasingly been figured as a security threat by the United States government (Larsen et al., 2009). In particular, after the events of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration used the justification of combating terrorism to restructure and strengthen the United States' border enforcement apparatus, thus implicitly figuring migrants as possible terrorist threats. The following presidential administration, that of Barack Obama, campaigned

partly on a pro-migrant platform; however, due to a combination of factors (the 2008 financial crisis taking priority away from migration issues, a lack of support from legislators in Congress, and a desire to not appear "soft" on national security), Obama allowed Bush-era migration policies to stay in effect. In fact, Obama presided over more deportations per year than any previous president (Chacon, 2016). As such, the political discourse of immigrants as national security threats, and border protection as necessary for combating terrorism, became regarded as a norm in US politics.

The rhetorics and discourses employed by current US president Donald Trump, although they have been framed in the media as wild deviations from politics as usual, in fact follow in this same discursive frameworks established by previous conservative US political speakers and politicians, including hostility towards immigrants (Anderson, 2016). However, Trump makes explicit many aspects of this discourse which were previously implicit, and adds his own twists to the discourse based on his own ideology. For example, Obama justified his own immigration policies using a discursive framework of "good" undocumented immigrants versus "bad" undocumented immigrants, the former of whom should be offered some degree of legal protection and that latter of whom should be penalized and deported. Trump follows this same framework, but explicitly racializes it: during his campaign, he referred to undocumented immigrants as "bad hombres", and his executive orders banning travel from specific parts of the world almost immediately became known as the "Muslim Bans" due to which countries he attempted to ban travel from (Chacon, 2016). In this way, Trump links migration, which is already discursively associated with criminality and terrorism in US politics, with specific marginalized racial and religious groups, in this case Latinos and Muslims.

Many of Trump's restrictive immigration policies have not come into effect on a legal level: his "Muslim Ban" executive orders faced have faced continual legal challenges (although the Supreme Court has allowed their enforcement while these challenges take place [McCarthy and Laughland, 2017]), and no plans have been made for the construction of the border wall which Trump continually promised (or more accurately threatened) during his campaign. Nonetheless, Chacon (2016) points out that, regardless of any of Trump's actual lawmaking decisions, his rhetoric and the discourses it is part of have a concrete influence on the lives of migrants currently in the US. This influence is to make migrants afraid, to make them feel that ICE agents and deportation wait for them around every corner and that they have no legal recourse or access to social services due to their migrant status. It is this aspect of the contemporary US discourse on immigration that is particularly relevant to my research, since this thesis deals with the emotional lives of migrants, and specifically with migrants' feelings of fear.

Since this thesis research focuses on young migrants, it is useful as well to look at how current political discourse under Trump influences these young people. During his campaign, Trump promised to enact several legislative changes that would increase the vulnerability of young migrants. These included the repeal of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), an Obama-era program that allowed a limited form of amnesty and a right to work and attend university for undocumented migrants who came as children; over 30,000 people in New York State benefitted from DACA as of 2016 (*Immigrants in New York*, 2015). Another such promise was the end of birthright citizenship, the legal policy which allows all children born on US soil to claim US citizenship regardless of the nationality of their parents (Wells, 2017). Some of these

promised policy changes were more possible than others: Trump did attempt to repeal DACA by executive order in 2017 (Siegel, 2017) only to be blocked in court (Gambino, 2018), but the repeal of birthright citizenship would require a constitutional amendment and as such would be almost impossible to enact (Wells, 2017). Nevertheless, regardless of any policy changes, this is another example of Trump using discursive techniques to create an atmosphere of fear in migrant communities, this time specifically among young migrants.

Another discourse which Trump has used throughout his campaign and his presidency, and which is related to his discourses related specifically and explicitly to migration, is that of ethno-nationalism. Ethno-nationalism is a discourse and an ideology which predicates belonging to and within a particular nation on having a certain identity; this identity is, in turn, based on a mythical sense of common ethnicity and genetic ancestry (Walker, 2015). Trump has employed the discourses and rhetorics of ethno-nationalism, through his repeated targeting with prejudicial scorn of ethnic groups other than that of white Americans. These rhetorical attacks are directed against Mexicans (Ross, 2016), as well as people from Muslim countries, the Caribbean, and Africa (Shear and Davis, 2017). Perhaps more fundamentally, Trump's rhetorical strategy often employs the phrase "America first" (Rothwell and Diego-Rosell, 2016), and is in many ways based around this concept, which has its origins as an ethno-nationalist slogan, having originally been the name of an organization based around an anti-Semitic conception of American identity (Cole, 1953). This is connected to his attacks on migration and migrants, but goes deeper than that, since it is not based on place of birth or national origin, but rather on ethnicity, and as such targets people who were born in the United States but who are of non-white ethnic groups as well as migrants. Nonetheless, it creates a discursive atmosphere which is unwelcoming to migrants, since it creates a discourse in which belonging within American society is based on ethnicity and ancestry. Furthermore, this conception of national identity also tends to co-occur with anti-migrant sentiment (Heath and Tilley, 2005).

Of course, there are other discourses in the contemporary US surrounding migrants that are not explicitly political, and are not connected to the current presidential administration. Larsen et al. (2009) describe how immigrants are discursively framed as both economic threats and threats to national identity in the United States. Immigrants are framed as economic threats in the US under what Larsen et al. call the "labor competition model": the idea that immigrants, both documented and undocumented, take jobs away from US citizens and drive down wages. Despite the fact that immigration has a negligible (or at times even beneficial) influence on host-country economies (National Academies of Sciences, 2016), this labor competition model continues to persist.

Larsen et al. (2009) point to immigrants being perceived as threats to US national identity as well. The framing of immigrants as threats to national identity occurs through the leveraging of three different factors in defining national identity: language, ethnicity, and civic participation. These are all elements of identity which can be used to construe immigrants as "others", outside of the conventional definition of what it means to be American. As a result, Larsen et al. argue that immigrants become threats to this sort of American identity simply be existing in the United States and participating in US society. If immigrants can live in the United States without being part of these categories of identity, it calls into question the meaning of and American identity

that is based on these categories; therefore, immigrants threaten the self-perceptions of those who strongly identify with these three categories of identity.

In terms of language, Larsen et al. (2009) point out that for many people English language skills are seen as an integral part of American identity. This idea has been leveraged against immigrants in a series of propositions (state-level popular referenda common in the United States) aimed at making English the sole language of instruction in schools. Larsen et al. also discuss how immigrants, many of whom are non-white, are figured as threats to an American ethnic national identity that centers on whiteness. Finally, they also discuss how undocumented immigrants specifically are figured as threats to American civic national identity, which is based on citizenship and participation in US civic duties. In terms of national and civic identity, they cite research by Heath and Tilley (2005) done on perceptions of immigrants in the UK, which found that people who base their ideas of national identity solely on ethnic identity, and people who base their ideas of national identity on ethnic and civic identity, tend to have negative perceptions of immigrants, while those whose national identities are based solely on civic identity tend to be more open to immigrants. What can be seen overall is that there is a powerful discourse in US culture that construes immigrants as threats. Such a discourse can encourage hostility toward immigrants, which can in turn threaten immigrants' livelihoods and create the atmosphere of fear described earlier.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these discourses of threat are the only large-scale popular discourses on immigration in the United States today, and that US attitudes toward immigration are entirely negative. On the contrary, as Gilligan (2015) points out, it is not possible to simply assume that the general public is always in favor of stricter controls on immigration, nor is it possible to assume that political actors who introduce these stricter controls are acting as a response to public pressure. Furthermore, public discourses on migration can often focus on more positive representations of immigration and immigrants, rather than negative ones.

An example of this can be found in the work of Patler and Gonzales (2015), who analyze media coverage of anti-deportation activism by undocumented immigrants in the US. They find that this media coverage tends to promote pro-immigration viewpoints through the use of quotes by activists and other pro-migrant advocates much more than it promotes anti-immigrant viewpoint. Crucially, however, these pro-immigrant viewpoints also rest on a number of discursive constructions of immigrants that can be limiting in different contexts. Specifically, the main discourse at work here is that immigrants become "deserving" of human rights by acquiring citizenship in their host country. Patler and Gonzales go on to describe three ways this citizenship can be "earned": through assimilation in American society, through civic participation, and as recompense for victimhood. The first two of these discourses implicate other immigrants who do not culturally assimilate into or civically participate in American society, while the last puts forth a limiting picture of the immigrants as a victim. Nonetheless, limiting as they are, these ways of framing immigrants and immigration in popular discourse do show an alternative from the model of the immigrant as a threat.

How do these different discourses—of threat, citizenship, ethnicity, culture, and victimhood—interact with one another in the greater discursive landscape of the United States? Quinsaat (2014), through her analysis of the framing of the debates over two anti-immigrant

legislative initiatives in the news media, provides some insight. Quinsaat identifies several different ways immigration and immigrants were framed in the media (specifically for her study, the major newspapers *The New York Times* and *USA Today*) during this debate. Some of these discursive frameworks have been previously discussed here, such as those of immigrants as security threats, immigrants as labor competition, immigrants as threats to American national identity, and immigrant citizenship being contingent on cultural assimilation. However, Quinsaat also identifies one new and very powerful discursive framework used in the media: the idea of the United States as a "nation of immigrants", which is used by pro-immigrant actors to remind Americans of their own immigrant family backgrounds and thus engender a feeling of commonality and solidarity with newly-arrived immigrants.

Ultimately, Quinsaat (2014) highlights how, although these different discourses represent both pro- and anti-immigrant viewpoints, they all contain certain unspoken assumptions that serve to perpetuate hegemonic power structures that exercise control over the lives of immigrants. All of these discourses serve to simplify and essentialize the complexities of migration and the myriad varieties of the migrant experience. Furthermore, by not addressing and challenging them, all of these discourses uphold certain key concepts, such as the importance of the nation-state and national identity, the hierarchical nature of society based on cultural and economic status, and the organization of people into categories of the self and the other. I hope to elucidate the great varieties in migrant experiences and subjectivities that are ignored and misrepresented in these discourses in my research, and in so doing contribute to a greater understanding of migrant issues outside these hegemonic discourses.

1.3. Research question

In both the long-term context of New York City's rich immigrant history, and the contemporary context of the current political and economic situation of immigration in the city and in the United States, it is clear that migration is a large, complex, multi-faceted, and above all hugely important issue in contemporary US geography. It is such a large issue, in fact, that one thesis cannot hope to arrive at an understanding of all of it. Rather, then, I have decided to focus on one specific aspect of migration in the United States: the subjective experiences of migrants currently living in the USA. This is a vitally important subject, since understanding and giving voice to the subjective emotional lives of migrants serves to empower these migrants, and furthermore this sort of knowledge can help advocates, activists, and policy-makers to understand the needs and desires of the migrants they serve.

In terms of my specific research aims, I investigated how young migrants (ranging from age 18 to the early twenties) in urban environments perceive their surroundings in terms of belonging, safety, and danger, and how this influences these migrants' everyday movements and practices. I will address this via three sub-questions. First: which areas in of the city do young migrants living in New York consider they belong in, how is this related to safety and danger, and why? Second: how has this changed with the current political climate? Third: what are these migrants' daily patterns of movement throughout the city, and how does this relate to their perceptions of belong, safety, and danger? Finally, I will integrate these three questions to

attempt to understand how migrants' perceptions of safety, danger, and belonging inform how they move throughout the city.

1.4. Positionality

When doing social research the positionality of the researcher, with regards to issues of identity, and in relation to the positionalities of the research subjects, is vitally important. This is because, for one, the different positionalities of researcher and participant can carry with them unequal power relationships, and these unequal power relationships can in turn color and influence the types of data and knowledge collected during the research process (England, 1994). As well, the positionality of the researcher can also place them as an "outsider" to the social space which is studied, and in which participants are "insiders"; this can limit the kind of information participants feel comfortable offering to the researcher, and can influence the sort of picture of their social spaces participants want to present to the researcher (Bourke, 2014).

In terms of my own positionality with regards to this topic of research, there are some important factors to consider. For one, my choice of New York City as my location of study was not entirely due to its status as a nexus of immigration in the United States; as well, New York City is the place in which I myself grew up. Therefore, I not only have a familiarity with the city, its geography, and its culture, but also a deep connection with and love for the city. This familiarity with the city could allow me to more closely relate to and understand the populations I am researching.

However, there are many forms of identity I do not have in common with my participants. While I am close to them in age, I am in general somewhat older than them. As well, in terms of race, almost all of my participants were not white, whereas I am; this is a key form of difference between my experiences and theirs. Similarly, language is another form of difference between me and my participants: while all of my participants spoke fluent English, it was for the most part not their native language; nonetheless, all of my interviews were conducted in English. I may have elicited different responses from my participants had my interviews been conducted in their native languages.

Finally, there is the simple fact that I am US-born American citizen, while the people I am working with are not. While I was able to relate on a personal level to some of participants' experiences due to my own experiences of living outside of the USA, my experiences in this area differ from theirs in fundamental ways, since my own transnational experiences have been to different countries and under different circumstances. Indeed, it is possible that participants would be unwilling to speak to me or would hold back certain information due to worries that participating in my research could possibly harm their residence status in the US; I did not ask my participants whether they were documented or undocumented migrants, but it is possible that undocumented migrants would be less willing to participate in my research. I have speculated that my being affiliated with a non-US university might allay these worries somewhat, but I have no way of knowing for sure.

As such, with regards to my own positionality in relation to participants', and specifically with regards to whether I am an "insider" or an "outsider" in their social spaces, the picture is ambiguous. I am an "insider" in the sense that I am a New Yorker, and in the sense that I am

close in age to my participants, but I am an "outsider" in the sense that I am a white non-migrant. As Ganga and Scott (2006) point out, in the specific context of migrant research, this sort of ambiguous insider/outsider status can provide a form of social closeness between the researcher and the participant which can also make both parties more aware of those forms of social difference that exist between them.

2. Literature review

2.1. State of the art

Migration has been a strong focus of research in geography, as well as in political science, sociology, and economics. There has been a long tradition of work on migration conducted on a macro scale, and focused on the economic and political outcomes of migration both on migrants' host countries and on the countries they migrate from. However, there too has been a tradition that focuses on migrants themselves, and their own individual subjectivities. It is in this tradition that my thesis follows.

Much work has been done to geographically situate the subjective experiences of migrants. This work comes from many different disciplines, including those of emotional and affective geographies. There has also been critical work in this area coming from the discipline of children's geographies, which is especially relevant to my thesis due to my focus on young people. Specifically, Dobson (2009) has highlighted both what she characterizes as the lack of focus that migration studies has placed on the experiences of children and young people, as well as contemporary research that she feels has helped to remedy this. In particular, Dobson discusses how research on children and young people tends to focus on the micro-scale of subjects' personal experiences, while neglected larger-scaled global events. My thesis research deals with this very sort of cross-scale perspective, focusing as it does on how large-scale geopolitical events influence everyday practices and perceptions; in this, it follows other contemporary work being done by Hopkins (2007) and Laketa (2016a, 2016b).

There has been other significant work on the experiences of young migrants. Fangen et al. (2011), in a multi-site ethnographic study of young migrants in seven different European countries, highlight social exclusion as an important factor in migrants' lives. Crucially, they conceptualize this exclusion as happening on three levels: the structural level of political and economic policy, the positional level of social attitudes towards migrants, and the personal level of migrants' self-defined identities. Furthermore, they highlight how these three levels interact, bringing in the sort of cross-scale perspective I plan to use in my work. Laoire et al. (2016) provide another perspective on the subjectivities of young migrants, this time through an in-depth interview-based and participatory study of migrant children in Ireland. Laoire et al. emphasize that, while migrant children experience significant pressures from external social structures and from regimes of social exclusion, they also have their own agency in the active formation of senses of belonging and identity.

For its empirical content this body of work has used both interview-based and visual methodologies (similar to those I am using), as well as other methodologies such as autoethnographies and participant observation, to track the movements and geographical ideas of its subjects. For example, Besten (2010a, 2010b) has investigated the emotional senses of place and belonging among migrants children in Europe. These investigations include inquiries into senses of belonging among migrant children (which were connected to attitudes towards their neighborhoods) and patterns of movement (which, in the case of migrant children, were heavily limited). Besten's work serves as a methodological inspiration for my own, as she uses a

combination and interview and subjective mapping methodologies in her work, just as I use those same methodologies in mine.

Broader studies of emotional senses of and responses to different places have also been conducted, including studies involving measures of fear and safety. For example, Nayak (2003) tracks children's emotional responses to crime in a working-class school in the North of England, and how these responses are geographically situated, using a survey methodology with both qualitative and quantitative components. Bromley and Stacey (2012) also study how children experience fear in different parts of the urban environment, focusing once again on the UK (specifically the city of Swansea in Wales), and this time using an interview-based methodology. Bromley and Stacey give particularly interesting results in this area, as they determine that lower-income children feel less safe in their home areas relative to higher-income children, but feel safer in central areas than those children; furthermore, they also determine that girls feel significantly less safe in central urban areas than boys.

These studies, once again, focused on children as their area of study. In terms of other groups investigated using similar methodologies, studies have been done specifically on young women, from an explicitly feminist theoretical perspective. For example, Thomas (2005) looks at the geographical patterns of girls' urban movement and consumption patterns in Charleston, South Carolina, and finds that teenaged girls' choose (albeit out of necessity due to lack of alternatives) spaces of consumption as their preferred locations for socialization, and that furthermore which spaces of consumption they choose is tied into their racial and class backgrounds.

In particular, the role of fear in the lives of young women, and how this fear is geographically distributed, has been an area of considerable research. Pain (2001) provides an overview of different empirical and theoretical work on fear, and how it relates to gender, age, race, and the urban environment. This empirical work includes the work of Valentine (1989), who looks at how women's fear of male violence is geographically situated. She finds that women tend to feel safest in areas they find familiar, and that in unfamiliar areas women base their perceptions of fear on what they believe about the character of these areas from their physical characteristics and from their own preconceived ideas. Furthermore, these notions of fear serve to curtail women's independence, reinforcing patriarchal power.

Pain (2001) uses this research, among others, to construct a framework for understanding fear of crime as a form of social exclusion. This is because many of the phenomena that are connected with fear of crime in urban environments—including the experience of being a crime victim, but also related experiences such as the need to take precautions against crime and interactions with the criminal justice system—serve to marginalize individuals within society. Pain also discusses the paradoxes that are found in the ways fear is discussed in academic and popular discourses. She provides context and critique for Valentine's characterizations of women's fear in urban areas, pointing out constructing women as "fearful" can serve to disempower them. Furthermore, although men tend to report feeling less fearful in urban environments, they experience similar rates of violence as women, and also experience social exclusion in the form of being constructed as threatening (this last point being particularly true for men of color). Pain also discusses a paradox in the spatialization of women's fear, namely that women tend to report feeling more fearful in public rather than private spaces, but are in fact

more vulnerable to violence in private spaces than in public ones. Finally, and perhaps most relevantly to this paper, Pain discusses age with relation to fear in public spaces, and again finds a paradox: namely that although older people report higher rates of fear due to the perceived dominance of public spaces by the young, young people are more vulnerable to crime than older people, and behave in ways that serve to project dominance over public space in order to give themselves a feeling of safety.

For a different perspective on the relationship between space, feelings of safety, and action, van der Burgt (2015) proposes a framework, based on qualitative, interview-based empirical work, for understanding young people's negotiations of risk and danger in public urban spaces. She first argues that young people are not passive victims of risk and danger, but rather have a great deal of agency in the way they deal with these experiences. She then identifies three different strategies young people have for dealing with and mitigating risk in public spaces. The first strategy is avoidance, or simply not spending time in places which are perceived as dangerous. The second is risk confrontation, which consists of precautions one can take in order to be prepared for the possibility of risky or dangerous situations, and ways of assessing whether areas are dangerous in the first place. The third and final strategy is empowerment or boldness, in which young people actively assert their rights to public space in the face of risks and dangers, through the means of representing public spaces as safe, or by physically occupying and claiming these spaces.

As can be seen, there has been a good deal of research related both to how migrants, and how young people, subjectively experience their environments. The underlying theoretical assumption in all of this research is that people (in the specific context of the research discussed here, people from vulnerable groups such as women, children, and migrants) have experiences of fear and safety that are situated in specific physical places. But where do these experiences come from, and why do they happen in the way that they happen? As can be seen in the previous overview of the empirical work on the subject, the roots of these experiences include perceptions of crime, of police presence, and most importantly of personal belonging within space; there are noticeable differences in senses of safety between areas which people feel they "belong" versus those in which they do not. In an example of this, Cahill (2000), in her study of young people's daily practices in the Lower East Side of New York City, also integrated these practices with the subjective experiences of fear and belonging, and found that young people build their self-awareness based on their environmental experiences and their experiences of greater societal structures and institutions.

Other valuable research has been done on the senses of belonging of migrants in relation to the multicultural societies of their host countries. For example, Chow (2007) uses a questionnaire-based method of data collection in order to perform a quantitative measure of the senses of belonging of adolescent immigrants from Hong Kong living in Toronto. He finds that those migrants who were of higher socio-economic status, came to Canada for political or cultural rather than economic reasons, were easily able to make friends with native-born Canadians, came to Canada at later stages of life, had never been to Canada before migration, and who had fathers living in Canada tend to feel greater senses of belonging in their adopted country. Of these factors, age of migration and the presence of a father in Canada were the most significant. Chow interprets this is pointing to older young adult migrants having more of a say

in the decision to migrate and therefore being more invested in migration, and to migrant families with fathers present being more committed to staying in their new country.

For a different methodological and theoretical perspective on the subject, Harris (2009) discusses how the everyday practices and habiti (a term from the work of Pierre Bourdieu describing the unconscious practices which both construct and are constructed by one's social class, which will be elaborated on later) of young people in Australia serve to create multicultural, inclusive spaces of belonging; Wise (2005) similarly discusses the creation of such spaces, in the context of positive everyday intercultural encounters between people. Vasta (2013), in turn, puts this in the context of such nationalist rhetorics as "assimilation" of immigrants and its necessity for "social cohesion", arguing that such multicultural, inclusive spaces of belonging serve to create senses of solidarity between people that is not linked to identification with the nation-state. Turner (2008), in contrast, once again uses the example of Australia to discuss how communities of migrants and the racially marginalized can be criminalized and demonized within culturally dominant discourses, presenting a somewhat less utopian vision of migrant spaces of belonging.

Related to this, Veronis (2007) has done work on the use of space by migrants as an avenue for political action. She uses the example of Latino immigrants in Toronto to write about how the construction of such spaces of belonging, through methods including the building of private spaces and the occupation of public space, can also serve as a means of resistance for migrants against discriminatory regimes. She connects this to Gayatri Spivak's concept of strategic essentialism, which describes how groups of people based around categories of identity (such as race, class, or gender) choose to ignore the impossibility of defining the essential characteristics of these categories in order to pursue collective political goals (Buchanan, 2010). Veronis argues that Latino immigrants use the shared occupation of space as a way to strategically essentialize their own identities and thus cultivate political solidarity. Similarly, using the specific empirical case of Mexican migrants in New York City, Becerra (2014) shows how migrants stage performances—such as athletic events, religious events, or parades—in public spaces, so as to appropriate these spaces and claim their right to occupy them.

The subjective experiences of migrants in relation to space can be influenced by outside factors, however. With the recent political changes brought about by the Trump administration, it is possible that the spatial situation of migrants' perceptions of belonging, fear, and safety within New York City, and the sense of belonging these are tied to, will change drastically. Similar research in an earlier context has been undertaken by Hopkins (2007), who investigates how an earlier geopolitical upheaval, spurred by the events of September 11, 2001, affected the lives of young Muslim men in Scotland, and argues that these men's daily lives are profoundly influenced by global geopolitical events, regardless of differences of scale. Laketa (2016a, 2016b) also does research into the emotional and affective dimensions of geopolitical events, this time in the city of Mostar, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which in the 1990s experienced brutal ethnic conflict and war. In her empirical research, young people respond to geopolitical events emotionally and affectively; specifically, geopolitical concepts of "us" and "them" are embodied through the affects of young people, and spatialized through young people's emotions of belonging in relation to different spaces. Furthermore, these affective and emotional practices serve to perpetuate the geopolitical phenomena that cause them.

Further work in this same vein has been done by Noble (2005) and Croft (2012), using the theoretical framework of ontological security. Ontological security is a measure of how much trust one puts in the reality and reliability of one's surrounding environment (Jackson and Hogg, 2010). Noble discusses, using the empirical example of adult Muslim migrants in Australia, how migrants construct "home" spaces in their adopted countries in order to ensure their own ontological security, but that this ontological security is threatened by increased prejudice as a result of geopolitical events. Croft, in contrast, discusses the ontological security of migrants in public spaces, again using Muslim migrants as an empirical example, albeit this time in Britain; he shows that the "insecuritization" of these migrants, or definition of them by the state as those not deserving of state protection, also serves to decrease their ontological security, once again in response to geopolitical events. Noble and Poynting (2010) discuss the relationship of Muslim migrants to public space further, this time connecting it to the concept of belonging; the insecuritization and prejudice these migrants experience in public spaces serve to prevent them from performing the practices they need in order to cultivate this feeling of belonging. Chase (2013) also relates the concept of ontological security to the concept of sense of belonging discussed earlier, coming from the disciplinary perspective of social work and the sociology of health and wellbeing. In a study of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in the UK, she finds that a high level of ontological security strengthens migrants' sense of belonging, which in turn strengthens their general wellness.

The integration of wider geopolitical events onto the scale of local perceptions of is also hinted at in Cahill's work, but I believe it merits further investigation. Cahill also discusses young people's subjective senses of belonging, but she does not focus specifically on migrants, nor does she integrate these feelings of belonging into wider discussions of the migrant experience and migrant politics of the kind found in the work of Wise (2005), Vasta (2013), Harris (2009), and Veronis (2007). Therefore, I see a gap in current research centered on how these sorts of large-scale political changes can translate into the "local" scale and in turn effect young migrants' subjective senses of fear, safety, and belonging in New York City.

2.2. Theoretical background

There are four main theoretical traditions that underpin my research. These are the domain of emotional geographies, the idea of banal geopolitics, and Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, and the theory of imagined geographies. The first three of these theoretical traditions were instrumental in how I formulated my research question; the last, in contrast, only emerged as relevant once I had collected my results. Through these different theoretical approaches, I hope to provide understanding of the larger concepts that my research rests on; these are such possibly-ambiguous concepts as "emotion", "geopolitics", and "habit". By providing concrete definitions of these terms, I hope to make the empirical and theoretical findings of my research more understandable and applicable to other domains and to real-world political projects.

However, before diving into these different theoretical domains, it is first necessary to briefly provide theoretical definitions of one more of the concepts underlying my research question. My research question deals with the idea of "space"; by this, I mean it to be an investigation into the relational spaces of migrants. Specifically, it draws upon the tradition,

with post-structuralist human geography, that treats spaces (in many cases, urban spaces) as zones of social relation and contestation between different actors, with different degrees of social power (Murdoch, 2005). This conception of space draws on the ideas of Michel Foucault, in emphasizing the interconnectedness of space, power, knowledge, and practice. Specifically, power relations are translated into regimes of knowledge and discourses, which are in turn translated into practices, which are enacted across space (practices will be discussed in more depth in the section dealing with Bourdieu's Theory of Practice). Spaces, thus, are in a sense created by the practices and the forms of knowledge of the people constructing them; therefore, understanding the subjective experiences of these people is vitally important for understanding the spaces they inhabit, and vice versa. Furthermore, my thesis research deals with a specific population—migrants—with their own specific place within the networks of different power relations, and therefore with a unique relationship to space; it is this relationship to space that I seek to understand in this thesis.

2.2.1. Emotional geographies

Another concept underlying my research that needs clarification is that of "emotion". A theoretical background on emotion, in the context of geographical research, can be found in the domain of emotional geographies. Emotional geographies are attempts to integrate considerations of emotion, affect, and feeling into the discipline of geography, and to situate emotions geographically both within the body and within the greater world (Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Urry, 2012).

First, in order to investigate emotion and emotional geographies, a solid theoretical background on the concepts involved is necessary. First, the concept of emotion: Anderson and Smith (2001), in an early call for an increased focus on emotion within geography, refer to emotions as "ways of knowing, being, and doing in the broadest sense". This ties the concept of emotion back into the aforementioned post-structuralist framework of space, in which spaces are formed through the interactions of knowledge ("ways of knowing") and practices ("being, and doing"). Anderson and Smith furthermore call attention to the ways in which emotion underlies such seemingly non-emotional areas of life such as public policy and labor economics. To put it more simply, Davidson and Milligan (2004) state that "our sense of who and what we are is continually (re)shaped by how we *feel*" (emphasis in original). Therefore, emotion can be seen as not only an individual's subjective feelings, but also the ways in which those feelings serve to influence the ways an individual perceives and interacts with the world and with others.

Another concept which is intimately linked to, but distinctly different from, the concept of emotion is that of affect. Affect is a concept that focuses specifically on the unconscious or pre-conscious reactions people have to the world, and how these reactions are expressed through actions and movements of the body (Castree et al., 2013). Affect is considered by many authors to be distinct from emotion in that study of affect focuses on the way that subjective feelings manifest themselves in the actions of individuals, while study of emotion focuses on those subjective feelings themselves. Thien (2005) emphasizes another difference in the study of emotion and affect: that studies of affect attempt to study feeling as a process above outside of the scale of the individual human being, while studies of emotion are firmly situated at the level

of the human. Following both Thien's work and previous work on emotional and affective geographies, Anderson and Harrison (2006) posit four criteria for the study of emotion and affect in geography: a theory of affect and emotion must engage with material space and bodies, must engage with the nature of its subjects, must attempt to understand the particular affective forms of communication of its subjects, and must also be open to the political aspects of emotional and affective communication.

An overarching overview of the relationship between emotion and affect in geography can be found in the work of Pile (2010). While Pile identifies many similarities between affective and emotional geographies in terms of their research emphases and their methodological approaches, he identifies one key break between the two traditions: their approach to the idea of the unconscious. According to Pile, emotional geographies discount the importance of the unconscious and conceive of emotions as forms of conscious thought, while affective geographies focus instead on affects, and the feelings related to them, as purely unconscious phenomena. Pile also discusses the potential for emotions and affects to be both politically manipulated, and to be used as tools of political resistance.

But then how do we study emotion and affect in the context of space and geography? We can, as Urry (2012) does, investigate people's emotional reactions to physical space; Urry, from a study both of poetry and of tourist literature, discerns a separation between the physical land and its existence as an entity which inspires emotional reactions. A particular sort of emotional response to place that will be relevant to this thesis is that of "sense of place", which means not only one's perception of a place, but also one's sense of belonging, attachment, and rootedness in a place. Such a sense of place is influenced by people's patterns of residence, social attachments and bonds, and senses of cultural and ancestral heritage (Hay, 1998). Probyn (2010), in turn, discusses how emotions and affects are often figured as being "intimate" and "personal", and are thus implicitly spatially situated in zones of close proximity to the body; this is another way in which these feelings play out across space. Furthermore, specifically in the context of migration, Richter (2015) spatially situates emotion by analyzing the locations mentioned in migrants' emotionally-charged recounting of their own life events. All of these are methods by which one can link internal emotions and affects to external places within space.

For this thesis, I follow an approach to the study of feeling that embraces both conscious, thought emotions and unconscious affects; methodologically, I do this both by using verbal interview techniques to understand my participants' expressed emotions, and looking at my participants' daily practices to understand how these may also be patterns of affect. Sense of place is particularly important to me, since it is tied into the feelings of belonging that I hope to investigate in this research, and since migrants may have different relationships with the factors Hay outlines as contributing to sense of place. Finally, the political nature of emotions and affects, as mentioned by Pile (2010) as well as Anderson and Harrison (2006), is also taken into account in my research, since it deals with individuals' subjective relationships with geopolitical events. In terms of contemporary empirical work, this can be linked back to Laketa (2016a, 2016b) and her discussions of how affect and emotion serve to reproduce geopolitical conflict on a personal, everyday scale.

2.2.2. Banal geopolitics

What are the specific links of emotion and affect to politics that are relevant to this thesis? In this regard, Katz's 2007 work on the idea of "banal terrorism"—the way that discourses of terrorism, and reminders of terror and violence, can become part of everyday life—and the subsequent work that has been done on the banal geopolitical is a useful theoretical background. Katz's idea of banal terrorism, which was first formulated in a consideration of New York City's post-September 11th atmosphere, describes how constant reminders of terrorism can serve to create the perception a persistent state of emergency and threat upon a nation from extra-national "others", and how this in turn can justify the marginalization of these others. Since Donald Trump employs similar language in his speeches and policies, and specifically frames migrants as these threatening "others", banal terrorism is relevant in the current political context of my work as well. Furthermore, as Trump engages in the construction of an atmosphere of a fear, wrongness, and failure (which only he is capable of bringing America out of) as part of his affective rhetorical style (Anderson, 2016), it can be seen how the idea of banal terrorism is closely related to the political elements of emotional and affective geographies.

With reference to the United States and the United Kingdom, Sidaway (2010, 2008) also discusses the closely-related idea of "banal geopolitics", in which war and heightened security become normalized. Under the framework of banal geopolitics, long-term (perhaps never-ending) engagement in wars, with enemies that are either constantly shifting or are defined in an unclear or conceptual manner, becomes a norm, due to discourses of fear and threat (much like the discourses of Katz's banal terrorism). Specifically, Sidaway's 2010 work deals with how migration and race are enfolded into this framework. In this work, he discusses how the discourse of banal geopolitics, and the accompanying securitization of daily life, serve to empower governmental policies of deportation and discrimination towards migrants; a contemporary manifestation of this can be seen in Donald Trump's "Muslim ban" executive orders, which have attempted to block migration from a number of majority-Muslim countries, purportedly for reasons of national security (Trump, 2017). Furthermore, Sidaway goes on to discuss the racialized nature of the discourse of banal geopolitics, as the populations figured as threats in these discourses tend to correspond to marginalized racial minorities, and countries figured as threats tend to be those with pasts as colonized or contested areas.

The discourses of banal geopolitics and banal terrorism have other consequences for the lives of migrants. Hyndman (2012) also discusses how atmospheres of securitization and fear serve as techniques of governmentality directed toward the marginalization of migrants. Governmentality is a concept formulated by Michel Foucault describing the ways in which governments, through such techniques as legal regulations, lifestyle guidelines, surveillance, and identification, attempt to change the subjectivities of their populations so as to make them more appropriate state subjects (Castree et al., 2016). Migrants often face increased surveillance and scrutiny from governments, and the atmosphere of constant threat that discourses of banal geopolitics create serves to increase even this; therefore, there is an increased degree and a different sort of governmental power that is exerted upon migrants in these situations. Finally, it is important to note the different sources and homes of this discourse of banal geopolitics. Dittmer and Gray (2010) discuss the idea of "popular geopolitics", an attempt to

integrate feminist geopolitics, non-representational theory, and audience studies to determine how geopolitical attitudes are disseminated through, and shaped by, every day practices and culture. This framework helps illuminate the ways that such disparate yet omnipresent areas of life as popular culture and the affects of others can serve to create a cultural geopolitical discourse. It is important, then, to look at all of these different factors when looking at how banal geopolitics influences the lives of migrants.

Banal geopolitics, then, is relevant to my thesis because I am looking at the way that geopolitical events play out in everyday, "banal" reality. By looking at the emotional and affective subjectivities of migrants, and at their daily routines and practices, I hope to see how the events—and the discourses—of geopolitics play out in their lives, and how their lives fit into this reality. Since the current geopolitical discourse in the United States focuses so closely on immigration, and on migrants themselves, the subjectivities of these migrants could be closely intertwined with this discourse.

2.2.3. Theory of Practice

One of the main considerations in the discussion of the construction of discourses of banal geopolitics, and one of the research aims of my thesis as a whole, is the investigation of everyday practices. These are the sometimes unconscious habits and routines that make up the bulk of an individual's daily life. For this, Bourdieu's Theory of Practice will be a relevant channel of theoretical inquiry. Bourdieu will be relevant for my research in that it will allow me to make sense of the daily movements of my participants within a wider social context. It will also serve to bridge understandings of subjective emotions of my participants and the objective, external manifestations of their affective behaviors and their daily practices, since the Theory of Practices encompasses both practices and subjective feelings.

Bourdieu's Theory of Practice concerns the ways in which individuals' position within fields of social and power relations are continually constructed by their everyday actions and dispositions. Specifically, it attempts to show how individuals make use of their different forms of capital, and how these uses are constrained and shaped by structures of power and control; it also attempts to show how individuals' daily practices and habits of thought, known as habitus, can serve both to preserve and to change existing social hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1977a; Wacquant, 1998).

From this summary, several terms can be expanded and defined in more detail. These terms are the principal components of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice: field, capital, and habitus. To begin with the field, Bourdieu's sociology concerns, more than things themselves, the relationships between things; as such, the concept of the field in Bourdieu's theory is that of a particular space defined by the social relationships within it. It can be seen as the analogue in the social sciences to the field theories found in the natural sciences such as physics and mathematics. More specifically, a field is a space within the wider social world that is defined by specific sorts of actions performed by its members; some examples of fields include everything from science and literature, to politics and the law, to sports and popular culture. Fields have their own distinct set of social relations and power dynamics, their own specific

norms and rules, and include their own sets of institutions and practices (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014).

The next aspect of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice to be explained is that of capital. Bourdieu follows Marx in defining capital as a form of accumulated labor, but goes further by suggesting that there are types of capital beyond the realm of the market. It is these forms of capital which people may leverage in order to obtain more advantageous positions within society. Specifically, he defines three forms of capital: economic, cultural, and social. Economic capital consists of money, goods, and other things which the discipline of economics regards as capital. Cultural capital consists of the social recognition of one's place in society and one's mastery of culture, and can be found in one's patterns of bodily movement and speech, one's possession of cultural artifacts and goods, and one's academic credentials. Finally, social capital consists of one's links with other people and one's connection within social networks (Bourdieu, 1986). The concept of capital relates to the concept of the field in that it is one's stores and varieties of capital that determines one's position within a field, and whether one is dominant or dominated within that field. Furthermore, different sorts of capital have different meanings and values in different fields, and do not always transfer between them; so, for example, the cultural capital gained from mastery of a language ceases to be useful in a country where that language is not spoken (Wacquant, 1998).

The final element of the Theory of Practice is that of habitus. Habitus consists of the unconscious patterns of action, perception, and feeling we have toward the world. Individuals both constantly construct their own habiti through their daily actions and practices, and have their habiti structured for them by the cultural and social positions they occupy. Habitus, then, is highly dependent on the field one occupies, and one's reserves of capital, since they determine one's social position. However, one's habitus can be used to change one's social positon as well; for example, those with dominant roles within their fields often adopt habiti that serve to conserve the current state of these fields, while those with less dominant roles adopt habiti that serve to disrupt them. Broadly, one's habitus, and how it is valuated by the field one occupies can be seen as a guide for what feelings and actions are permissible and not permissible in a social environment (Wacquant, 1998). Looking back to previously discussed theoretical elements, habitus can be thought of as a concept related to affect, as both deal with unconscious ways of perceiving and feeling in the world, and the unconscious actions that arise from those feelings.

The "practice" in the Theory of Practice, then, emerges from the interaction of these three factors of field, capital, and habitus. Specifically, the correspondence or lack of correspondence between one's subjective thought and the objective social structures one inhabits create one's practice (Wacquant, 1998). Therefore, this paper's inquiry into the practices of young migrants will take into account both their internal and subjective mental realities, and their external social realities. Furthermore, this paper must take into account another key Bourdieusian concept: that of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is the process by which socially dominant actors define their own norms, discourses, and forms of communication as "natural", and define things outside of their own purview as subordinate and inferior, thus reinforcing inequalities of power (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). Given the differences and unique situations of migrants with regards to capital and habitus, migrants may be vulnerable to acts of symbolic violence.

The study of the subjective experience of migration has also been approached from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, for example by Landolt and Thieme (2018). It has proved useful in the study of migration because it allows for the unification of objective and subjective perspectives on social actions and relations, and because it offers a theoretical framework for the translations of capital that occur in migration and how these influence and are influenced by individuals' habitus. Specifically, and as previously mentioned, transnational migration involves moving from one field to another, in which one's stores of (especially cultural and in some cases social) capital become differently valued, and one's habitus becomes differently suited for one's social environment (Wacquant, 1998). This, in turn, can influence emotional and affective lives of migrants, since these transitions of capital between different fields can be difficult, and come with strong social pressures.

One of the first sociological investigations of transnational migration comes from Bourdieu's close associate Sayad, whose book *The Suffering of the Immigrant* deals with the experiences of Algerian immigrants in France in the mid-20th century (a group of which Sayad himself was a member). *The Suffering of the Immigrant* emphasizes that migrants are not only immigrants to their host countries, but also emigrants from their countries of origin at the same time. This dual status produces what Sayad calls "the double absence": migrants are not only physically absent from their countries of origin, but also socially absent from their adoptive countries due to their marginalization within these countries' societies (Saada, 2000; Sayad, 2004). This "double absence" can be linked to the theories of field and habitus. Under this framework, migrants leave one field for another, and adjust their habiti in an attempt to integrate into their new field, but find that the "hybrid" habitus they come up with alienates them both from their new field and their original one. This is an account of migration similar Wacquant's, discussed above.

Other applications and transformations of Bourdieu in the field of migration studies include the work of Erel (2010), who argues, using the case study of skilled female Turkish and Kurdish migrants in Britain, that rather than simply bringing pre-existing forms of cultural capital with them and attempting to utilize it in their new country, migrants construct new, migration-specific forms of cultural capital. Following that, Kelly and Lusis (2006) and Shin (2014) show how a habitus specifically related to transnational migration is created by young Filipino and Korean migrants (respectively) in Canada. Wise (2010) also discusses the relationship between habitus and affect in the context of migration, positing a form of habitus based on everyday affects and senses which is disrupted by transnational migration, both for the migrants themselves and for those living in areas experiencing large influxes of immigration.

Following this, it is also important to note how Bourdieu's Theory of Practice has been integrated with the study of emotion and the discipline of emotional geographies. Specifically, Weenink and Spaargaren (2016) discuss how emotion is integrally connected with practice, since each action an individual takes is in some way underpinned and influenced by emotion. Furthermore, they also discuss how this can lead to individual agency in acting within social fields, and changing the makeup of these fields, since emotions are an individual, subjective phenomenon.

2.2.4. Imagined geographies

The previous theoretical underpinnings discussed in this paper have dealt with individuals' subjective emotions, their daily practices and actions, and how these emotions and actions fit into the social and political worlds they live in. Yet these emotions and actions, as well as simply existing within the world, can also serve to construct it; this was already demonstrated in the preceding discussions of the construction of space, emotional geographies, and the Theory of Practice. One way in which this construction can occur is through the construction of imagined geographies.

The concept of imagined geographies originates in Edward Said's 1978 book *Orientalism*, an analysis of the history and practice of European studies and representations of Asia and the Middle East. The book argues that, in European depictions, the non-Western world is continually depicted in an inaccurate manner, as exotic and strange yet uncivilized and impoverished, so as to justify continued Western domination. One key component of this is what Said refers to as "imaginative geographies": the ways in which the Western conception of the non-Western world was constructed, not based on empirical knowledge, but rather based on texts and cultural depictions. In this way, the geography and nature of the "orient" was a product of the West's cultural imagination, and therefore betrayed Western values, biases, and prejudices.

Said's idea of imagined geographies deals with the way European culture creates the "Orient" as its other. In an "us vs. them" conception of contact between cultures, this theory is a theory of the construction of the "them". However, what about the "us"? How do cultures construct their own self-identities? To understand this, a concept related to that of imagined geographies can be employed: that of imagined communities. The idea of the imagined community, as first described by Benedict Anderson in his 1983 books of the same name, describes how nationalism functions as a constructed sense of kinship between individuals with (in many cases) very few actual commonalities in their material backgrounds and circumstances. Thus, just as imagined geographies allow societies create an "other" to oppose themselves against, so to do imagined communities allow societies to create themselves.

Imagined geographies and imagined communities as concepts, however, can be applied to many different areas of study besides nationalism and post-colonial relations. In a broader sense, then, imagined geographies are the ways that unknown "others", be they people, places, or cultures, are represented in the minds and in the discourses of individuals, and the way that these representations reflect the differentials in power relations between people (Mayhew, 2009). Of particular relevance to this thesis is the way in which Valentine (1999) applies the idea of imagined geographies to everyday life. She discusses, using as an example a discourse analysis focused on the ways food and eating are figured socially in modern society, how people use daily practices both to form imagined communities in order to bond with others. She also shows how people distance themselves from those with different practices, creating an imagined geography with those people as the "other". This idea of everyday imagined geographies and communities can also be applied to practices and emotions related to movement; this can be seen in Valentine's aforementioned 1989 empirical work on the geographical locations of women's fears, which shows how women determine their practices of movement in unfamiliar areas in

part based on "preconceived images… about that area and its occupants"—in other words, on imagined geographies.

In Bourdieusian terms, imagined geographies can be seen as another manifestation of habitus, in that they are dispositions which influence individual perceptions. As such, the idea of imagined geographies, in many ways, bridges the worlds of individuals' spatial practices, their interior emotions and affects, and the cultural, social, and geopolitical contexts they live in. People imagine what is unfamiliar to them based on the messages they receive from the media, from their social networks, and from (sometimes unconscious) social and cultural cues, such as their habiti. They then construct imagined geographies of these places, and these constructions in turn serve to further influence their patterns of motion and of feeling, since so much of people's decisions on where to do, and so much of how they feel about the places they inhabit and visit as part of their daily practices, are based on these imaginations. Furthermore, just as the habiti of migrants can become complex due to their transitions between different fields, so too do migrants' imagined geographies have the potential for additional complexity, as migrants my construct new and different geographies of both their home and their host countries. As well, in terms of migrants' feelings of belonging, the concept of imagined communities may be useful, as being a part of such a community can reinforce this sense. Therefore, an investigation into imagined geographies and communities must follow from the other aims of my research question.

3. Methods and methodologies

3.1. Research design

I designed my research with the aim of eliciting data in the form of individual case studies of my participants' daily lives and emotions. Within these case studies, I investigated my participants' emotional lives, how these emotions manifest themselves across space and influence daily practices and habits, and how and why these emotions have changed over time. By so doing, I aimed to provide a view into the subjective experiences of these individuals, and in so doing provide deeper understanding of the lives of people who are both in a period of intense change in their own personal development, and are members of a population that plays a central part in a period of intense change in contemporary historical development.

Since my research questions looks into different (yet related) aspects of my participants' experiences, different methodologies informed my data collection and analysis. These different methods in turn necessitated the use of differing research methods in the actual conduction of both data collection and analysis. However, these methodologies had enough in common in terms of underlying theory that I was able to successfully integrate them into a coherent theoretical framework, and the data I collected in turn could be triangulated in order to provide a rich picture of my participants' lives.

The first method of data collection I used was the conduction of semi-structured interviews. In these interviews, I asked participants to provide narratives of their daily practices and habits of movement, and of times in which they felt strong emotions of belonging, safety, and danger. I also asked them for their own subjective definitions of these concepts, as well as for descriptions of features of places that could elicit these emotions. Finally, I also asked them if these feelings and practices had changed in the recent past, and whether they thought that their feelings would change in the future. Specifically, I asked whether participants' feelings and practices had changed over the past year, since this is the period of time which corresponded to Donald Trump's election to the presidency. This method of data collection served to provide information relating to all three of my sub-questions, in the form of verbal interview data.

My second method of data collection was the creation of participatory maps by the participants. In these maps, participants drew in their regular, daily patterns of movement in New York City, indicated the emotional character of safety, danger, and belonging that they associate with the places they go, and indicated whether their daily patterns of movement had changed recently. This method of data collection was also related to all three sub-questions, but most especially the third, concerning my participants' daily practices. Furthermore, it complimented my verbal data by providing a source of visual data.

My third method of data collection was asking for the submission of photographs, taken by my participants, of the places they felt the strongest sense of belonging in. This method of data collection provided greater insight into my first research sub-question, concerning which areas of the city my participants feel the strongest sense of belonging in. Furthermore, it provides an additional source of visual data, both in terms of what my participants consider to be places they belong in, and what they physical features of these places are that my participants consider salient to belonging.

To that end, my fourth method of data collection was a secondary data collection of information on the areas of the city that my participants indicated as emotionally significant, in terms of either safety, danger or belonging. This information consisted of quantitative demographic and economic data on these areas, as well as quantitative crime rates for the areas, gathered from official statistics provided by the New York City Department of City Planning and the New York Police Department. This data was included in order to provide more additional information about the character of the places that my participants found to have emotional significance; as well, this data provides a different perspective on the character of these areas other than the subjective statements of my participants.

3.2. Sampling and access

3.2.1. Theoretical background

Before beginning my research, I had a set of theoretically-determined criteria for my desired sample of data. Specifically, I was looking for around twenty young adults, aged 18 to 24, who were born outside of the United States, and who ideally lived in the same general area and were of the same or similar ethnic backgrounds. I concentrated on this age of migrant because this is a group of people who migrated early enough in their lives that their event of migration influenced their growth and development, and who were young enough to remember this event; these people also generally migrated during a time in which the laws and discourses surrounding migration were somewhat similar to those now. Of the various sampling techniques outlined by Patton (1990), this could be considered a form of typical case sampling, since I wanted my case studies to represent something of the typical immigrant experience in New York City.

There was also an element of homogeneous sampling to my initial criteria, since the reason I wanted to restrict my participants in terms of age, area of residence, and ethnic background was in order to reduce variation among my sample group. Since I was working with a vulnerable class of people who were (and are currently) embroiled in a national political debate, there was an element of sampling politically important cases in my methodology as well; in a sense, any sampling done with migrants in the United States could be considered politically important.

I chose to focus on young adults because it could further reduce variation among my sample, this time in terms of variation in age of migration to the United States; simply put, younger participants allow for less variation in this area because has been less time in their lives for it to vary across. Furthermore, this in an important source of variation in migration studies, because the time in one's life that one migrates has an impact of one's experience of migration. Rumbaut (2004) posits several different "generations" of migration depending on one's age at the time of migration. These include 1.75 generation immigrants, who migrated between birth and age 5, and who have little memory of their country of origin. Another group is 1.5 generation immigrants, who migrate between the ages of 5 and 13, and who retain memories and cultural affiliations with their country of origin while also adapting and assimilating easily into their host country. Finally, 1.25 generation immigrants, who migrate from the ages of 13 to 17,

and first generation immigrants, who migrate from the age of 17 up, experience the strongest ties to and memories of their country of origin. However, in this study, age of migration did not have a great impact on results.

3.2.2. In practice

My final research sample consisted of fifteen young migrants. I recruited participants for my research in several different ways. My primary method of participant recruitment was through the City University of New York (CUNY); specifically, I asked several people in charge of student programs at CUNY universities to publicize my research to the students in their programs, many of whom were born outside of the USA. Through these channels, I recruited students attending three different CUNY universities: Hunter College, the Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC), and the New York City College of Technology (abbreviated as "City Tech"). I also asked those who had participated in my research to inform their friends about it as well, thus utilizing snowball sampling (Patton, 1990); this also led to me recruiting students and graduates of the three aforementioned institutions. Finally, some of my participants were recruited using the online classified ad service Craigslist; this led me to recruit students and graduates of other institutions, such as New York University (NYU).

Some of my methods of participant recruitment were unsuccessful. I visited many different neighborhood community centers across the boroughs of Queens, Brooklyn, and Manhattan and asked whether it would be possible for me to contact or advertise to their patrons about my research, but I did not manage to recruit any participants from them, because for the most part these organizations were not open to my research. I also attempted to contact possible participants through nonprofit organizations dealing with migrant issues, such as Make the Road New York and the YMCA's New Americans Welcomes Centers; I was similarly unsuccessful at these organizations. Many of these organizations did not give a reason for not being open to my research, but a few that did cited an unwillingness to allow their patrons to be contacted by outside parties. As well, I also attempted to recruit participants by putting fliers up in English language schools throughout the city; these schools were very open and receptive to me advertising my research in them, yet I still did not manage to recruit any participants through this avenue, presumably due to lack of interest by the students. For all of my participants, I offered compensation for participation in my research, in the form of a $10 Target gift card for participating in the interview, and an additional $10 Target gift card for submitting follow-up photographs. This was done in order to make participation in the research project more attractive; all participants ended up receiving this payment.

Due to these issues of access, not all of my desired sampling criteria could be implemented when I actually recruited my participants. Specifically, my desire for a sample population that was relatively homogenous in terms of national origin, ethnic affiliation, and location of living was not possible. Rather, my participants were very diverse both in terms of what countries they came from and where within New York City they lived. This can be seen in Appendix 1, which provides details on the characteristics of my participants; Figure 2 also shows my participants' region of origin, using the demographic regions defined in *The Newest New Yorkers: Characteristics of the City's Foreign-Born Population* (2013). Thus, my sample ended

up embodying more of the virtues of one chosen using maximum variation sampling techniques, rather than homogeneous sampling techniques; these include showing trends that emerge even among varying populations (Patton, 1990).

It is worthwhile to compare with regional origins of my sample with the regional origins of the entire city's immigrant population as outlined in *The Newest New Yorkers*; this comparison can be found in Table 1. As previously mentioned, *The Newest New Yorkers* divides the city's immigrant population into six regions of national origin: Asia, Latin America, the Non-Hispanic Caribbean, Europe, Africa, and "All Others" (the exact compositions of these regions is described in Section 1.2 of this thesis). Overall, my sample proportions align closely with the overall proportion of Latin American and Non-Hispanic Caribbean migrants in the city, while over-representing Asians and under-representing Europeans. Furthermore, my sample is completely lacking in African participants or participants from the group "All Others"; however, these are the smallest migrant populations in the city, making this lack understandable, albeit unfortunate. Nonetheless, the fact that my sample's proportional regional origins matches so closely with the proportional regional origins of New York City's immigrants as a whole is interesting, especially considering the fact that was not a goal of my sampling strategy, but rather completely coincidental.

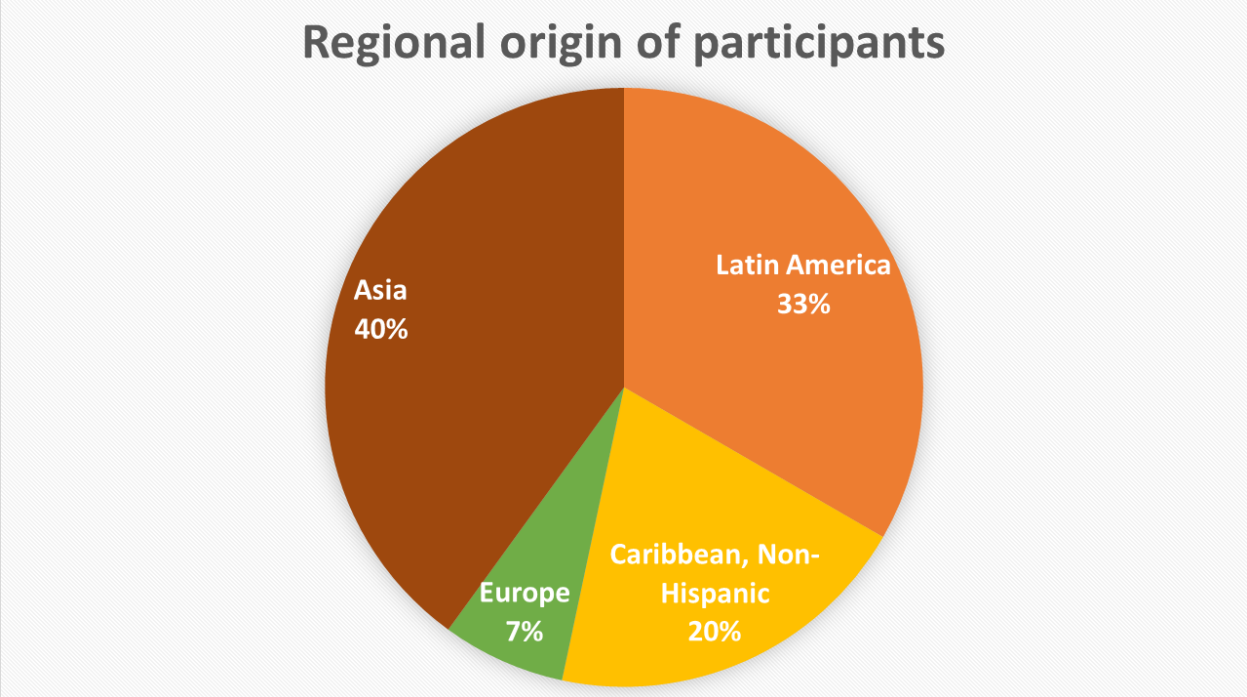


Figure 2: The proportions of regional origins of my sample, using the geographic regions defined by The Newest New Yorkers (2013).

	Asia	*Latin America*	*Caribbean, Non-Hispanic*	*Europe*	*Africa*	*All Others*
My sample	40%	33%	20%	7%	0%	0%
NYC as a whole	27.5%	32.1%	19.4%	15.9%	4.2%	0.9%

Table 1: The proportions of regional origins of my sample, compared with those of the whole of New York City, as found in The Newest New Yorkers (2013).

My sample also exhibited some intersections of identity besides migrant status. My sample consisted of seven men and eight women, a roughly even proportion of both. This is notable because, as discussed in Section 1.2.1, New York's migrant stock is proportionally more female than male; furthermore, the populations of the universities from which participants were recruited also tended to be majority female (Borough of Manhattan Community College, 2018; CollegeFactual, 2013). I did not ask my participants to provide their race in my interview, but it was notable that some mentioned their racial background as an important factor. My participants ranged in age from 18 to 27, with an average age of 21.6 and a median age of 21; and in age of migration from 4 to 23, with an average age of migration of 11.7 and a median age of migration of 11. Returning to Rumbaut's framework of immigrant generations, my sample included three 1.75 generation immigrants, six 1.5 generation immigrants, five 1.25 generation immigrants, and two first generation immigrants. In other words, my sample exhibited a fairly even distribution among categories of migration generations. Since New York's migrants tend to be older, with a median age of 44 (*The Newest New Yorkers*, 2013), my focus on younger migrants may have caused me difficulty in finding participants. In terms of other sorts of identity, one of my participants was deaf, thus adding the dimension of disability into his responses.

One identity category that all of my participants shared, due to my recruitment strategies, was that all of them were either current university students or university graduates. Since attending university is associated with higher incomes and better job prospects in the United States (Baum et al., 2010), the lack of participants in my research who did not attend university represents a blind spot in my research scope. This is because migrants who are unable to attend university may be a more vulnerable class of people that migrants who are able to, and therefore may have different emotional perceptions of and different daily practices in the urban environment. Furthermore, it is notable that only 27.9% of New York's migrant population has attended university (*The Newest New Yorkers*, 2013); this means that my sample represents only a small part of the migrant population in New York, and therefore only a small part of the migrant experience.

Related to my participants' university educations is their social class and socioeconomic status, which is difficult to fully ascertain. This is because I did not directly ask about income levels or any other indicators of socioeconomic status in my interviews. Furthermore, since almost all of my participants were university students, their occupation could not be used as an indicator of socioeconomic status either. However, when dealing with young people, the occupation of participants' parents can be used as an indicator of their social background (Galobardes et al., 2006). Figure 3 shows a breakdown of my participants' parents' occupations, using the categories set out by *The Newest New Yorkers* (2013). This information still does not provide a great deal of information about my participants' socioeconomic status; however, it is

worth noting that there is a wide variation among occupational category of participants' fathers, while participants' mothers disproportionately work in the service industry.

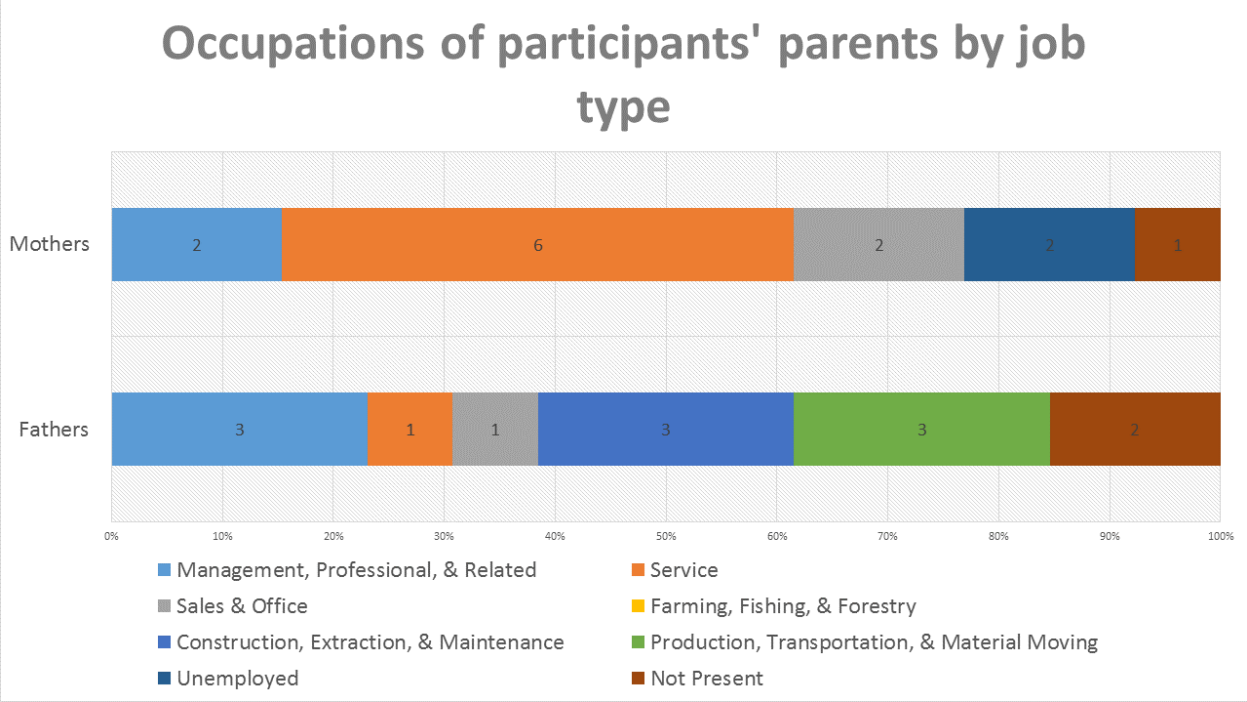


Figure 3: Occupations of participants' parents, categorized using job types from The Newest New Yorkers (2013).

Another trait that all of my participants shared, once again due to my recruitment and data collection strategies, was that all of them spoke English. I was only able to recruit English-speaking participants because all of the techniques I used for sampling were in English, and all of my interviews were conducted in English as well. Since only 51.2% of foreign-born New Yorkers are proficient in English (*The Newest New Yorkers*, 2013), this effectively limited my pool of possible participants to only half of the city's migrants. Furthermore, since (as discussed in Section 1.2.1.) English proficiency is uneven across different migrant groups, the fact that I conducted my research in English may have limited which groups I could have recruited from. Finally, since dominant language proficiency is related to immigrants' economic and career prospects in their host countries (McManus, 1985), only recruiting English-speaking participants may have influenced my results as well. This may, in turn, have been another factor which caused me to recruit only university-educated participants, since the benefits of host-country language proficiency are much more pronounced in professions that require a university education than they are in professions that do not (Berman et al., 2003). In the end, then, it is important to remember that the results of this thesis must be seen in the context specifically of English-speaking migrants who have a university education.

3.3. Data collection and analysis

In order to collect my data, I lived in New York City from June 13, 2017 to September 6, 2017, a total of eighty-five days. For the first and last week of this period, I lived with my

parents; for the rest of the time, I rented a room in the Astoria neighborhood of Queens. While Astoria does have a high migrant population (*The Newest New Yorkers*, 2013), my living situation did not end up being directly relevant to my research.

3.3.1. Interviews

I conducted a total of fifteen research sessions with my fifteen different participants over the course of my period of data collection. The first part of these sessions consisted of a verbal interview. These interviews tended to be around thirty minutes long, and were then recorded and transcribed.

My interviews followed the following structure: I began with an introduction of myself and of the premise of the interview, as well as an explanation of anonymization and of how I would be recording the interview. Then, I asked a few short questions about my participants' backgrounds, such as their age, their country of origin, where they lived, and where they worked or studied. Following that, I asked them to narrate their daily routine of movement on an average weekday, and then asked them to describe which places they visit in this routine of movement are related to feelings of safety, of danger, and belonging, as well as if there have been any changes to this routine over the past year.

The next segment of my interview involved eliciting narrations about times when my participants felt the aforementioned emotions of safety, danger, and belonging, as well as the feeling of not-belonging. I then followed these up by asking my participants for their subjective definitions of these concepts, and which features of a place can cause them to experience these feelings. I then asked my participants about how these feelings have changed over time: whether they feel like they belong in places more or less over the course of the past year, and whether they could think of certain places that have felt safer or more dangerous over the past year. I also asked them about their feelings of belonging in society as a whole, in the specific society of the United States, and in any specific communities they were part of. Finally, I finished the verbal portion of my interview by asking them about how they think their feelings of safety, danger, and belonging will change in the future. My full interview guideline can be found in Appendix 2.

Theoretical background

There were several methodologies that underlay my choice of interview methods. The most basic method used in my research was that of the semi-structured interview, in which I utilized a research guide with a pre-determined set of questions, but allowed myself to deviate from this guide, both in terms of the order in which my questions were asked, and in terms of improvising new questions if an interesting avenue of inquiry presented itself (Longhurst, 2016). I chose this method of interviewing for a number of reasons. First, it is flexible and allows for variation from the interview guide and between different participants (Longhurst, 2016). This was useful to me because, going into my data collection, I did not have a very clear idea of what my participants were going to say, what sorts of things would be interesting to them, or indeed what sorts of people they would be; therefore, I found it valuable to be able to modify my approach to interviewing them as I saw fit. From a methodological standpoint, I also wanted to

be open to participants' voices in guiding the direction of my research. However, the presence of a concrete interview guide in semi-structured interviews did allow me to have a solid theoretical basis for the questions I did ask, which in turn allowed me to link my participants' responses to the theoretical ideas I was asking. Furthermore, having a set of pre-defined questions helped me assess the commonalities and differences between the responses of my participants, especially since I had such a heterogeneous sample. Finally, as Longhurst (2016) points out, semi-structured interviews are uniquely useful for investigations into issues of emotion and affect such as my own work, since they allow participants the freedom to express their own emotional subjectivities outside of a narrow interview frame.

In terms of the content of my interview questions, I followed the model of the episodic interview method, as described by Flick (2000). The episodic interview focuses on eliciting narrations of specific life events and experiences from participants, as well as eliciting subjective definitions of the concepts relating to these experiences and relevant to the larger aims of the research project. I chose the episodic interview framework for this thesis because it is useful both for finding out concrete facts about participants' regular practices (from their narratives of these practices), but also the emotional subjectivities that are related to these practices (from their subjective definitions of concepts, and from what and how they choose to describe them in their narratives).

One final concern I had in the planning of my interviews was finding places in which to conduct them. The method I chose to use for this was to allow my participants to name the location of the interview themselves. This was done for several reasons, one of which was simple ease of access: I believed that people would be more interested in participating in my interviews if they were able to choose a place for them that they found convenient. Yet there was also a theoretical basis for this choice. After all, in a study that deals with people's subjectivities in regards to place, their subjective experiences of the place their interviews were conducted should be vitally important. As such, allowing my participants to pick the location of their interviews allowed them another avenue to express which locations they found safe and felt belonging in (Herzog, 2005); since meeting a stranger for an interview is inherently something of a risky act, it would make sense to want to do it in a safe location, and indeed many of my participants said that the locations their interviews were conducted in were ones in which they felt safe. These locations—for the most part, university buildings, cafes, public libraries, and parks—also themselves contain meaning, which can analyzed to get a better sense of my participants' emotional subjectivities toward these places (Elwood and Martin, 2000).

Coding and analysis

After conducting my interviews, I transcribed the recordings using the program Express Scribe. This transcription converted my audio recordings into text, which I could then code, using the program QDA Miner Lite.

I performed two rounds of coding on my interview data. In terms of the actual codes used in this first cycle of coding, I followed several of the different methods set out by Saldana (2009). The first round of coding was focused on picking out emotionally salient concepts, places, and events described in my interviews, and picking out the places and practices that went

along with them; this, taken as a whole, was a process of Initial Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 81), since it was a semi-improvisational attempt at coding in order to deduce trends and themes for further analysis in my data. I first used Attribute Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 55) (albeit in a separate document) to note down information about my participants such as age, gender, and national origin; I did this during the process of interview transcription, rather than afterwards as in the case of my other codes. My first category of codes used after transcription was "definitions, places, and instances", and served to categorize which questions my participants were answering; for example, I had codes for "definition of safety", "safe places/instances", "definition of danger", and so forth. This is an example of Structural Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 66), as it identified the general categories of response which reoccurred throughout my sample.

The next stage of my coding focused on a set number of categories derived from my research question; following as it did from my research question, the formation of these categories was a form of Structural Coding. Following the first part of my research question, I had four categories of codes for statements related to my participants' emotions: "aspects of belonging", "aspects of not belonging", "aspects of safety", and "aspects of danger". This is a form of Emotion Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 86), since its intent was to look at different dimensions of my participants' emotions. There was also an element of Values Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 89) in these codes, since many of the aspects of these broad emotional categories either had to do with my participants' moral values (for example, "family" as an aspect of belonging) or with their affective judgments of others (for example, "mentally ill people" as an aspect of danger).

From the second part of my research question, I also had three categories dealing with my participants' practices: "movement" (for descriptions of different ways and habits of moving around and outside the city), "places, activities, and institutions" (for general sorts of places in my participants' lives, such as home, school, and work, as well as common activities such as socialization and recreation, and institutions such as educational organizations), and "specific locations" (for specific neighborhoods and parts of the city and the country mentioned by my participants). These codes followed the methods of Descriptive Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 70), as they served to show the specific topics discussed by my participants. Furthermore, the codes in the category "movement", and the codes in the category "places, activities and institutions" which involved a practice or a repeated action were a form of Process Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 77).

Finally, I had one category dealing with the last part of my research question: "change over time", which dealt both with changes in my participants' emotional attitudes and changes in their daily practices. As these codes also dealt with an action, or more abstractly a movement from one state of life to another, they were also coded using Process Coding.

My second round of coding also used codes as defined by Saldana (2009). For the most part, I employed Focused Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 155), removing codes that had limited actual application to my data, or codes that were redundant with one another. I then refined the codes under each individual category, using a process of Axial Coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 159) in order to develop stronger theoretical links between the individual aspects I coded, the categories they belong to, and the total investigative thrust of my research.

3.3.2. Participatory maps

Following the verbal interview task, I then conducted a participatory mapping task with my participants. In this task, I asked them to think back to the first part of my verbal interview in which I asked them to describe their daily pattern of movement on an average weekday. I then gave them a blank sheet of paper, and asked them to draw, in black pen, a map of this routine of movement. In order to capture their emotions and feelings toward the places on these maps, I then asked them to circle places in which they felt a sense of belonging in green, places they felt safe in blue, and places they felt in danger in green. I also asked them to, if their daily routine had changed over the past year, draw their old routine in purple. A few of these participatory maps are figures in my Results section, while more of them can be found in Appendix 3.

Theoretical background

Participatory mapping (which is also variously referred to as mental mapping, sketch mapping, and cognitive mapping) has had a long methodological history within the disciple of geography, and has been used in the contexts of many different subject areas, and from many different epistemological standpoints. However, it has faced criticism on several grounds as well. Nonetheless, participatory mapping methodologies were uniquely useful for my own research, for a number of reasons.

Curtis (2016) provides a historical overview of participatory mapping's use as a research technique. Its first appearance in published academic literature came in the 1960s and 70s, from the disciplines of city planning and urban studies; however, it fell out of widespread usage until the early 2000s, when advances in geographic information systems (GIS) technology made it possible to integrate participatory maps with other sorts of spatial data. Curtis identifies three areas of research concern that have been investigated using participatory mapping over the technique's history. The first of these is that of cognition, or the study of how people think and reason spatially; this has mostly been in the domain of psychology. The second is that of composition, or how people draw and use maps; this has mainly been in the domain of urban planning, and has not been the target of much research since the 1970s. Finally, the third is that of content, or what people's perceptions, knowledges, and usages of space are; this has been investigated in disciples across the social sciences, and is the category of research that my work falls into.

Within the domain of content-focused research, Curtis (2016) sub-divides the existing body of participatory mapping research into five sub-fields. These are behavior, which includes participatory mapping research that seeks to understand people's spatial practices; knowledge, which includes research concerned with what people know about space; perception, which includes research concerned with how people see different spaces and what their thoughts and feelings are about them; and preference, which includes research dealing with which places people find the most and least desirable. The fifth and final sub-field contains research that focus on a combination of different research areas; since this thesis uses participatory mapping to gain knowledge on both behaviors and perceptions, this is the category it belongs in. Curtis

makes the point, however, that these categories are fluid, and that many sorts of overlap can occur between different research areas.

Participatory mapping is a worthwhile form of data collection for my research for a number of reasons. As Soini (2001) points out, the act of drawing a map is not simply the creation of a visual representation of an external environment. Rather, it is the creation of a visual documentation of the map-maker's subjective perception of that external environment. Thus, the production of participatory maps is uniquely useful in understanding participants' subjective ideas of the places they inhabit, including their emotional and affective relationships to these places. This, in turn, is the main thrust of my research. Furthermore, participatory mapping can be considered to be a form of participatory research, in which research participants take active guiding roles in studies they participate in. Participatory research methods are powerful tools because they can change the usual hierarchical relation of power between researcher and "subject" into one that is more equal and reciprocal, and thus allow the discovery of different knowledge that would not otherwise have been possible. Participatory research methods can also serve to empower research participants in other areas of their lives (Pain, 2004); since the empowerment of young migrants is one of the eventual, large-scale goals of my research, participatory mapping is appropriate for this aspect of my research as well. Finally, participatory mapping is simple and low-cost, giving it another advantage for work with marginalized groups (Curtis, 2016).

Specifically, participatory mapping methodologies have been used to explore such issues as social capital, sense of place, and the lives and livelihoods of migrant women; all of these subject areas are relevant to my thesis research. From a perspective of urban studies and planning, Jorgensen (2010) discusses how mental mapping methodologies can be used to investigate the relationship between people's local areas—in the context of urban studies, their neighborhoods—and their senses of belonging and social capital. He links one's feelings of belonging in one's neighborhood with one's resources of and ability to leverage social capital, and thus the sustainability of one's livelihood. Furthermore, he describes a quantitative method for evaluating participatory map data to determine people's senses of belonging in their neighborhoods, by comparing the scale of their maps with the actual geographical scale of their neighborhoods. While my research will not use quantitative methods, the idea of using participators mapping methods to investigate senses of place and belonging is very relevant to my research.

Within the context of migration research, Jung (2014) formulates a way to critically use participatory mapping in order to understand the subjective realities of participants, based on her own empirical experience with migrant women in South Korea. Jung emphasizes the participatory map as not simply a pure transmission of the participant's cognitive process onto the page, but rather a socially constructed and mediated form of expression. She, furthermore, formulates four criteria for the critical interpretation of participatory maps: attention to both similarities and differences between maps, interpretation of maps together with other forms of data such as interviews, consideration of the role of power and knowledge in the production of maps, and attention to what is missing in participants' maps. Jung emphasizes the importance of this kind of map methodology specifically in work with migrants, since migrants' subjective experiences with space tend to be uniquely mediated by relations of power. Since my research

deals explicitly with these subjective experiences among migrants, Jung's work is very valuable to my research.

Although the methodology of this thesis uses the concept of a map in its literal sense as a schematic depiction of a physical area, it is worth noting that maps can also function in other, more metaphorical ways. Of particular relevance to this thesis due to its connection with emotional geographies is MacKian's 2004 usage of participatory conceptual "maps" to visualize the lives of people living with chronic illness. MacKian conducted verbal interviews, and used the spatial metaphors that her participants used in these interviews (for example, "feeling distant" from one's friends, or "rising above" something) to construct "maps" which, although they were not representative of any actual physical space, did illustrate the participants' subjective understandings of their own lives. Since the research goals of this thesis involve the subjective experiences of participants, the maps that these participants produce can be seen in both the literal sense as drawings of their physical environments, and in the metaphorical sense as expressions of their subjective "inner landscapes".

Visual analysis

The participatory map data elicited during this research offers information on a variety of different factors of my participants' lives, practices, and subjectivities. These different sorts of information can be coded and interpreted in a number of different ways and on a number of different levels, using different epistemological frameworks.

As detailed in Section 3.2.2., the focus of the first part of the participatory map task was for participants to draw maps of their patterns of movement on an average day. This gave information on participants' practices and behaviors. Furthermore, participants also circled areas of safety, belonging, and danger on their maps, giving insight into their emotional perceptions. In a way, this circling task can be seen as analogous to the coding of the participants' verbal interviews, since these interviews were coded based on these dimensions of emotional perception. However, in a key difference, during the mapping task this "coding" was performed by the participants rather than the researcher; this served to bring participants onto a more equal footing with the researcher in terms of the production of knowledge, and gave them a greater voice. This is in line with Guillemin and Drew's 2010 methodological work on the functions of participant and researcher in the analysis of participant-generated image methodologies (both drawing and photo-elicitation methods). They emphasize that it is the participant, not the researcher, who gives meaning to the images they have created, but that the researcher has a vital role in integrating this meaning into a larger theoretical and empirical context.

Nonetheless, coding for content can be performed further on images, as described by Rose (2016); the critical visual methodologies Rose describes are, in fact, recommended by Guillemin and Drew (2010) for the analysis of elicited images. In analyzing the participatory maps, I used to content category codes form the analysis of the verbal interview data to look for common elements in my different types of data, and to see which elements described in my participants' interviews were salient in their maps as well. I also followed the criteria for the interpretation of participatory maps as outlines by Jung (2014), and detailed previously in Section 3.3.2.1.

However, there are other levels that participants' maps can be interpreted on besides as literal representations. Looking at other aspects of these maps can provide further insight into participants' perceptions, feelings, and ideas about the space they inhabit and their own spatial practices. In order to investigate these other levels of meaning, it is necessary to understand the other things that participatory maps can be "seen" as. As mentioned earlier, participatory maps do not simply convey objective information about space and participants' behaviors in space; rather, they are subjective representations of how these participants experience, perceive, and interpret space. Thus, for this thesis, participants' emotional perceptions of different areas can be studied not only from what they choose to circle, but from how they draw the maps themselves.

This is addressed by Tuan (1975), who (as Curtis [2016] points out), is one of the earliest theorists of participatory mapping methodologies. Tuan distinguishes between the schema (an unconscious psychological representation of a familiar space used to get around it) and the image (a conscious mental depiction of a non-present visual object), and then uses these concepts to discuss what he calls the mental map. He defines the mental map as a sort of combination of the image and the schema: a consciously-created psychological representation of how to get around a place. The participatory map-making task used in this thesis can be seen as an attempt to capture this sort of mental map on the page.

Mental maps had previously been addressed and discussed by Pocock (1972), who described some of their features and theorized on ways they could be used in geographic study. Pocock describes the mental map as, fundamentally, the product of an interaction between an individual and their environment; as such, the mental map is influenced not only by the physical features of the environment, but also by the personal circumstances of the individual within it, such as their social status and ways of thinking. These personal circumstances can, in fact, be likened to Bourdieu's ideas of habitus, since they involve unconscious habits of thinking and acting that are socially influenced; as such, mental map making can be seen as a product and an expression of habitus.

Pocock (1972) also describes four key features that mental maps tend to share. First, mental maps tend to only be partial representations of space. This is for the simple reason that people making these mental maps do not have access to the full scope of spatial information about a place. Therefore, participatory map data can capture how much spatial information people have about the environments they are in. Second, mental maps tend to be simplified and distorted representations of spaces. Specifically, spaces are represented as more symmetrical than they actually are, and landmarks are judged to be arranged in more regular patterns than they actually are. The nature of these distortions can also provide information about participants' spatial perceptions.

Third, mental maps often feature distortions in terms of scale. This is because mental maps, as representations of the subjective perceptions of an individual, can be influenced by individuals' misconceptions about distance and scale. For example, travel time can influence scale judgments: as Pocock points out, a long highway which can be driven on quickly and easily can often be judged to be shorter than it is. Of more relevance to my research is the fact that individuals' value judgements of different features of their environments can also lead to distortions in scale; in their mental maps, people can place their places of residence closer to

desired areas and further away from others. This ties into the issues of emotional perception this study deals with; it can also be related to ideas of social difference, as people can perceive areas dominated by other social classes as farther away from them, and to ideas of sense of belonging, as people can imagine places they feeling belonging in closer to them.

Fourth and finally, people's mental maps change and evolve over time. This is due to increasing familiarity with their native areas, although increasing familiarity does not necessarily lead to more detailed and accurate mental maps. On the contrary, as Pocock (1972) points out, while people who are more familiar with an area have more access to information about it, this familiarity may also lead them to ignore or take for granted places they see on a regular basis. Since this thesis deals with migrants, who upon migration have to learn how to navigate around a completely new city, another way of analyzing participatory mapping data could be compare the detail and level of information in each map with how long each participant has been in New York City.

How else does Pocock's (1972) and Tuan's (1975) idea of the mental map help to interpret the participatory maps elicited in this thesis? Tuan outlines several different ways that people use mental maps; seeing the participatory maps as mental maps, participants' perceptions can be analyzed by looking at how they are using these mental maps, and "seeing" their participatory maps as these different usages of mental maps. Specifically, Tuan discuss how mental maps can be used to share information with others, to encode and structure knowledge and memory, and to imagine unknown areas. Looking at mental maps as stores of knowledge and memory can allow one to see the subjective knowledges about spaces and the personal and collective memories that are related to those spaces in participatory maps. Looking at mental maps as imaginary depictions of unknown places, in contrast, allows one to see participants' imagined geographies, and the beliefs and perceptions that underpin these imaged geographies, in their participatory maps. Lastly, the participatory maps elicited in this study are ways for my participants to communicate with me, and this aspect of them—as ways for my participants to voice their views of the city with me—cannot be ignored in analyzing them.

As Tuan (1975) points out, the mental map is a form of mental image. Furthermore, the participatory maps drawn in this study are physical, non-mental images. Therefore, the participatory map data elicited in this study may also be analyzed using the visual image analysis techniques as outlined by Rose (2016). Specifically, the way that participatory maps are composed can be analyzed by looking at how different elements are arranged in the image: the spatial organization of different elements, and the viewpoint the image is taken from. Some of these techniques can also be applied to participatory maps; in particular, analysis based on the spatial organization of an image can be likened to Pocock's (1972) idea of analysis based on the relative distances between different elements in a participatory map.

Finally, as mentioned in the previous section, another level on which participatory maps can be analyzed on is described by MacKian (2004). MacKian uses the visual metaphors in speech to create "maps" of her participants' subjectivities, emphasizing once again the map's identity as not only a representation of space, but also a representation of inner subjectivities. Analyzing the composition of the participatory maps elicited in this thesis as visual metaphors is another avenue through which they can be understood. Overall, then, there are many different

ways in which participatory maps can be seen and interpreted, and in this thesis research all of these different methods will be used together to make sense of the participatory map data.

3.3.3. Participant-submitted photographs

As a third component of my data, I asked my participants to submit to me, via text message or email, photographs they had taken of the places they felt the strongest feelings of belonging in. The number of photos submitted was not specified, and I received between two and fifteen photos from different participants. Furthermore, this was optional for participants, and three of my participants elected to not submit photos. Some of these photos can be found as figures in my Results section, in situations in which they are relevant portions of the results being discussed

Theoretical background

This method of data collection is related to, but distinct from, the method known as "photo-elicitation". Rose (2016), in her description of photo-elicitation methodologies, follows Harper (2002) and Van Auken et al. (2010) in defining four strengths of photo-elicitation. The first of these is that photography can carry with them more information, and information of different types, than verbal interviews. Another is that, since photo-elicitation is to some degree a participatory methodology, it serves to empower research participants. The other two strengths, however, are those that are most relevant for my research. These are that photo-elicitation can be better at prompting emotional and affective data from participants, and that photo-elicitation is useful for investigations of daily routines and practices.
Since my research deals with both daily practices and with emotions and affect, photo submission is highly appropriate methodology for my work, since in this way it is analogous to photo elicitation. Furthermore, Rose cites a large body of work using photo-elicitation that is focused on the experiences of young people in urban environments, a body of work which my thesis research can be compared to. One example of such work has been the work of Thomas (2005), who used photo-elicitation in her research into the relationships between consumption and socialization among teenage girls.

There is one key difference between my photo submission tasks and the sort of photo-elicitation work described by Rose: while in the techniques describes by Rose, participants submitted photos before verbal interviews, and said interviews were based around verbal descriptions and discussions of the photos, in my work the photos were submitted after the interviews were completed. This was done for one main reason: since the photo submission task was based around participants submitting photos of places in which they felt feelings of belonging, I wanted my participants to have thought through what belonging meant to them before submitting photographs, and since this was a major focus of my interview process, I believed that the verbal interviews would serve as good prompting for the selection of photographs.

Photo submission methods, of course, have limitations as well. Some of these limitations are discussed by Packard (2008), based on an exploratory photo elicitation study conducted with

homeless men in the United States. Packard specifically criticizes the idea that photo elicitation methods always serve to provide power to the powerless and to place participants on the same level as researchers. He argues that, due to the need for specific technical training in the production of images, participants who do not have this training or the skills behind it are unable to derive any empowerment from photo elicitation research. This criticism is worth considering, but is not as relevant for my research as it was for Packard's; this is because, although they are from a marginalized and vulnerable class within society, my participants are all well-educated and technologically knowledgeable, and specifically are adept with taking photos on their smartphones. As such, the photo submission task I provided them did not place any demands on their technical abilities in the production of images beyond what they were capable of.

Visual analysis

The visual analysis of the photos I received in my research was guided, once again, by the recommendations of Guillemin and Drew (2010) in their methodological work on analysis of elicited materials, since they extended their methodological framework for this analysis to photos as well as drawings. Following Guillemin and Drew, my analysis emphasizes the role of the participant as the interpreter of their own photos, since the meaning they put behind them is the meaning I am seeking to elucidate in my research. This is done by integrating the elicited photos with the participants' interviews. Since in this photo submission task I asked specifically for photographs of places my participants felt a sense of belonging in, to analyze the photos in relation to the interview data I compared the places and things present in my participants' photographs with the things they indicated in their interviews as contributing to a sense of belonging.

In addition, and once again following the recommendation of Guillemin and Drew (2010), I used the critical visual methodologies outlined by Rose (2016) in order to analyze and code my photographs. As such, I coded my photographs along four different criteria: the location photographed, what camera angle it was photographed from, what features and elements are visible in the photograph, and how the photograph is composed. The reason for the first of these criteria is the aforementioned integration with the participants' interviews: I wanted to see how the places my participants indicated as being places of belonging in their interviews matched up with the places they indicated as places of belonging with photos.

The reason for the second criteria, that of camera angle, is in order to "position" the participant within the photo they have taken, since the camera angle indicates where the participant-photographer was in relation to the photo's subject matter when taking the photo. Harper (1988) discusses the role of photo-elicitation in allowing researchers to see social realities and situations from the point of view of participants, and camera angle and the place of the participant when taking the photograph are vital for understanding this. This is because where the participant is physically in relation to what they are photographing, which in turn can help understand the way participants relate—socially, emotionally, and affectively—to the things they are taking pictures of.

I coded my photographs based on the third criteria, once again, in order to integrate my photographic data with my interview data. In their interviews, my participants discussed which

features of places made them feeling belonging, and what belonging meant to them, and I wanted to see if those things were present in the photos they sent in as well. This facilitates a greater discussion of what the physical features of an urban environment are that produce a sense of belonging in young migrants, and why these features produce this sensation.

Finally, I coded my photography based on the fourth criteria, the composition of the photograph, following the guidelines for compositional analysis within the critical visual methodology set out by Rose (2016). Specifically, I looked at which elements within the photographs were visually emphasized, and which were de-emphasized, by their placement within the frame of the photograph. By doing this, I hoped to gain information about which elements of the places in which they feel belonging my participants found important—or which elements they wished to draw my attention to. By using all four of these criteria together in my coding, I hoped to deepen the understanding my participants' subjectivities and perceptions of the urban environment—specifically their senses of belonging—that I had gained from their interviews and their participatory maps.

3.3.4. Information on locations

In addition to information to participants, I also supplemented my data with information about the areas that my participants indicated as being emotionally salient. This information specifically pertained to the demographic characteristics of these areas, their general economic character, and their crime rates. It was obtained from official statistics, as a form of secondary data collection.

Theoretical background

I included this additional information on the locations my participants discussed for a number of reasons. In terms of demographics, I was interested in the interactions between the emotions my participants indicated in each area with the migrant populations of the areas, as well as the racial and ethnic character of the areas and the amount of diversity present in each area. Even if participants did not cite these as factors influencing their emotional responses to places, I wanted to see if there was any correlation between emotional responses and demographics. Specifically, I wanted to see if an area having a high population of migrants, or a high population of people with a similar racial or ethnic background to the participant, had any correlation with a participant's emotional reaction to that area.

In terms of economics, I wanted to see whether areas that were on average wealthier tended to elicit different emotional reactions from participants than less wealthy areas. I also looked at related measures such as educational attainment in order to see a clearer picture of the economic profiles of each area and compare them to the economic profiles of my participants. Finally, in terms of crime rate, I wanted to see whether high-crime areas also tended to elicit different emotional responses than low-crime areas, specifically in this case with regards to feelings of danger.

There are some important methodological considerations to take into account when using this kind of outside data. One such consideration is that, in the absence of any statement from

the participant about the cause of his or her emotional response to a particular place, there is no way to establish any specific relationship between any characteristic of that place and the participant's emotional response. Co-occurrences between characteristics of places and participant responses can be noted, but nothing can be definitively concluded from them (Jick, 1979).

Another thing to be considered is the danger of privileging "official" statistical and demographic data over the data gained from participant responses. Fundamentally, the goal of this study is to give its participants a voice and to allow them to express their own subjective understandings of their environment, and positioning demographic and statistical data as a more accurate representation of the world than participants' descriptions of it serves to rob them of that voice. Furthermore, it is also important to avoid thinking of statistical data as objective and participant data as subjective; rather, both types of data present a subjective view of the world, with statistical data being an expression of the subjectivities of the organizations gathering it and their methodological and epistemological frameworks (Kwan, 2001). As such, I regard this sort of statistical data strictly as a supplement to the data gathered directly from my participants.

Sources, data types, and analysis

For my sources of demographic and economic data, I used information both from the 2010 United States Census, and from the 2010-2014 American Community Surveys. In order to access this information, I used an online fact finder provided by the New York City Department of City Planning (NYC DCP). This fact finder allowed me to search for locations within New York by address, intersection, census tract, subway station, or Neighborhood Tabulation Area (NTA, a geographic subdivision used by the NYC DCP). It then provided quantitative information on such demographic measures of these areas' populations as age, gender, race and ethnicity, national origin, educational attainment, and language spoken at home. It also provided information on economic measures such as employment rates, occupation types, income, poverty rates, housing types and values, and commuting patterns.

For data on crime rates, I used information provided by the New York Police Department (NYPD), using another publically available online map interface. This information was much more recent than the NYC DCP data, allowing access to information from up until January 2018; I accessed information on the months of June through August 2017, since these were the months during which my empirical work took place. This interface provided data on totally crimes committed per 1000 residents in each of New York City's police precincts; it should be noted that police precincts do not match up to census tracts, NTAs, or any of the other previously-used demographic categories. The interface also allowed me to specify the type of crime I was interested in; the different crime types consisted of burglary, felony assault, grand larceny, grand larceny of motor vehicle, murder, rape, and robbery.

I also supplemented these two data sources with data on the demographics of specific institutions—for the most part, educational institutions such as universities—mentioned by my participants. This data is provided by the institutions themselves. This allowed me to have a closer picture of the characteristics of the specific places my participants indicate as emotionally

salient, rather than just ideas of the demographics of the general areas these places are located within.

This data was analyzed by putting it in the context of my participants' experiences. Specifically, this meant looking at the data on the areas my participants lived in and considered emotionally salient, and seeing how the data complemented my participants' characterizations of these places in their interviews, participatory maps, and photographs. I organized my analysis by looking first at the information on specific places indicated by my participants as places of belonging, then at places indicated as being safe, and finally at places indicated as being dangerous. After making these comparisons, rather than looking at the specific characteristics of each area indicated by participants, I elected to take a broader view and look how, in general, participants' feelings towards and perceptions of different areas matched up with the economics, demographics, and crime rates of these areas. This was done in order to see the general pattern of participants' subjectivities. The goal was not simply to look at the characteristics of specific areas, but to see the general trend of how participants' perceptions of those areas related to the characteristics of those areas.

3.4. Triangulation

My research involves four different sources of data: interviews, participatory maps, photos, and demographic data. Furthermore, these data sources are of different types: the interviews are qualitative and verbal, the maps and photos are qualitative and visual, and the demographic data is quantitative. In order to analyze this data, I needed to integrate and triangulate all of these different data types together.

Triangulation, in its most basic sense, is the use of more than one type of data or method of data collection is social science research. Specifically, the form of triangulation I use in this thesis is methodological triangulation, in which different forms of information gathered using different methods (in this case, interviews, participatory mapping tasks, solicitation of photos, and quantitative statistics) are integrated into one body of data (Denzin, 2017). Triangulation of different types of data is useful for several reasons: it can serve to decrease biases caused by reliance on specific research methodologies by contrasting these with other methodologies, and can allow for the integration of different types of data together in order to provide broader pictures of human experiences (Cohen et al., 2013).

In this thesis, I have triangulated my data in several ways. Although the differences between my verbal interview data and my visual map and photo data necessitated somewhat different methods of coding and approaches towards analysis, I have kept many of the same theoretical and investigative concerns across these different types of data. In many cases, I have used the same codes for each of these data sources, in order to facilitate comparisons between them, and I have attempted to look at my visual data as a point of reference for my verbal data—and vice versa. In order to triangulate my quantitative, statistical data with these other data sources, I have used my interview, map, and photo data as a way to guide my searches through my body of statistical data. Specifically, by focusing my investigations into the body of quantitative data on the places my participants discussed as emotionally salient, I have integrated

this quantitative data into my body of information as a whole, as a complement to the data gathered from my participants.

4. Results

Following the methods of data collection and analysis outlined in the previous section, I arrived at a body of empirical data consisting of verbal interviews, participatory maps, and participant-taken photographs from a sample of fifteen young adult migrants living in New York City. Additionally, I also have information on economics, demographics, and crime rates of the areas my participants indicated as emotionally salient.

Jung, in her 2014 formulation of a critical methodology for the analysis of participatory maps (as discussed in Section 3.3.2.), emphasized looking for both patterns of similarity among participants' maps, and also for ways in which participants were different from one another. I have applied this methodological prescription to my entire body of data, not only my participatory map data. Therefore, I will discuss both how my participants' responses were similar to one another, and how they differed. I will organize this using the framework of participants' general practices and patterns of movement as a way to discuss both those practices and the emotions and affect associated with them. I will also discuss how these feelings and practices have changed over time. By doing this, I will answer my research question and show which areas of the city my participants feel emotions of belonging, safety, and danger in, how this is influenced by geopolitical events, and how this relates to my participants' practices of movement. I will also integrate this data with the quantitative data on the demographics, economics, and crime rates of the areas my participants discussed.

4.1. Practices, emotions, and affects

It is important to look at participants' practices around space, since the goal of this thesis is to investigate not only migrants' perceptions but also their actions, and since practices are an important component in the formation of habitus. Following these practices, I will also look at the emotions and affects associated with them, and with the spaces they are conducted in.

Participants' practices were investigated in a number of different ways in this study. In the interviews, I asked participants to describe their daily routines of movement on an average weekday, and the participatory map task involved drawing this routine of movement out on paper. Furthermore, while doing the participatory mapping task, some participants narrated what they were doing, giving further information about their patterns of movement. In terms of emotions and affects, I also asked questions during the interview portion of the study about participants' feelings of safety, danger, and belonging; I also asked participants to recount instances from their lives in which they had felt those emotions. Furthermore, I also asked participants to circle locations of safety, danger, and belonging on their participatory maps, and to submit photographs of places they considered to be locations of belonging. I also asked, both in participants' interview and participatory mapping tasks, how these practices and feelings had changed over the course of the past year.

Overall, several trends emerged about participants' patterns of movement. In general, most participants lived in areas closer to the periphery of New York City, but worked or studied in areas closer to the center of the city; therefore, most participants commuted long distances to their schools or workplaces, in all cases using public transportation. Participants did this in the

morning, stayed in these central areas for most of the day, and then commuted back to their homes in the evening; however, many participants were careful not to stay out too late. Participants' recreational activities tended to take them to more varied places and along more varied routes, and was less regular than their daily work and study routines. The following sections will be structured following this general plan of participants' routines of movement, and in so doing touch on participants' patterns of emotion and affect, before finally discussion how these routines, emotions, and affects have changed over time.

4.1.1. Homes and home neighborhoods

Participants began their days by waking up in their homes. These homes, and the neighborhoods in which these homes were situated, were highly emotionally salient areas for participants; specifically, participants felt strong senses of belonging in their homes and home neighborhoods. Furthermore, participants also tended to feel safe in their homes and home neighborhoods. These patterns of feeling were particularly apparent in the participatory maps, in which twelve out of the total fifteen participants indicated their current dwelling places as places they felt feelings of belonging in; many participants indicates their current dwelling places as safe as well. This was further reflected in my interview data, with many participants citing their current living spaces, and the neighborhoods in which those living spaces are situated, as places in which they belonged and felt safe.

In terms of submitted photos, which were of places of belonging for participants, many participants sent in photographs of their home neighborhoods, but no participants actually sent in photos of their current living spaces. I speculate that this is due to a reluctance on the part of participants to publicize pictures of personal, private places. However, the participants who sent in photos of their home neighborhoods often sent in photos featured strong visual—in many cases textual—markers as being in those neighborhoods; for example, Miguel sent in a photo with a sign indicating his home neighborhood of Fort Greene, Brooklyn, while Diego sent in a photo of the a sign indicating the Flushing Main St. subway station (Photo 1). As such, it can be seen that my participants found it important not only to send in photos of their neighborhoods as places in which they belong, but also to emphasize the importance of these neighborhoods in the photos.

Photo 1: A photo sent in by Diego, using a subway station sign to indicate his home neighborhood.

When discussing their homes and home neighborhoods in their interviews, participants gave several different reasons for why these were places in which they felt they belonged. Many participants mentioned feeling like they belonged in their home neighborhoods because those places were familiar to them; familiarity is another major aspect that lead to feelings of belonging. Furthermore, Catherine felt belonging in her home because it was where her family was; this was a sentiment that was echoed among many of the participants who lived with family members. Participants also cited the possibility of connection with their home countries, and the opportunity to speak their native languages, as important factors that led to feelings of belonging in their home neighborhoods. Finally, and to some degree related to this, participants also mentioned that racial and ethnic diversity was another factor which made their home neighborhoods locations of belonging.

Familiarity

One element which participants consistently indicated as being an important factor in feeling a sense of belonging in a place is a feeling of familiarity with that place. This, specifically, was mentioned as part of my participants' definitions of belonging in many cases. Familiarity with a place, in the conceptions of my participants, meant a deep, intimate knowledge of a place; this can illustrated with the words of Lola, who said, "I think it's when you feel that you know a place, and you can move around without a person helping you out." This extended both to knowing how the place was physically laid out and how to navigate the place, and what the specific customs are cultural norms were in a place. Many participants, in discussing familiarity, related it to a place "feeling like home", and in turn related both of these concepts back to that of belonging.

Participants often discussed being highly familiar with their homes and home neighborhoods, and, as such, feeling belonging in these areas. Participants' feelings of familiarity in these places can be related back to participants' daily practices: if a participant visits and spends time in a place regularly and as part of their daily routine, they will gain a sense of familiarity with a place due to acquiring such a close knowledge of it. In terms of familiarity with social norms and customs, familiarity can also be related to participants' feelings of belonging in environments that have elements of their home cultures in them (specifically in terms of migrants' native languages), since migrant participants may have a better idea of the cultural norms in these areas. Finally, familiarity in a place can be related to familiarity with the other people who live in a place; in this particular case, familiarity can therefore also be related to migrants' feelings of belonging in areas in which they have close contact with family, as will be discussed in the next section.

Family

An aspect of participants' home neighborhoods that added to their senses of belonging was the presence of, and proximity to, family members. Family, either as a concept or in reference to participants' specific family members, was mentioned in all of the interviews conducted in this study; participants' attitude towards family can best be summed up by Lola,

who referred to places of belonging as "where your family is". It was not, however, as apparent as factors in participants' submitted photos or participatory maps. This, however, could have been due to the nature of these tasks: the way the participatory mapping task was structured asked for more focus on geographical features and patterns of movement than on specific other people, while participants may have been reluctant to share images of their family in the photo submission task. However, the importance of family can be seen in the participatory map task when it is held in reference to the interview task: many participants reported feeling senses of belonging in their homes, and these participants also lived with their families.

Several things are notable from participants' discussions of family. First, participants take a very positive attitude toward their relationships with their family, and tend to feel strong senses of belonging when in the presence of family. This sense of belonging is irrespective of danger and other negative emotions. For example, Anna felt belonging when she was with her parents, despite that her parents live in an area of the city in which she herself neither felt safe in nor felt belonging in; she was willing to spend time in this area for her parents, despites its many downsides. From this, it can be extrapolated that the presence of family is a strong enough factor in terms of making participants feeling belonging in a place that they are able to brave dangerous conditions; or, alternatively, that participants bring social connections, such as the connections they share with their families, into places in order to make them into places of belonging.

Some participants also mentioned family as an important factor specifically with regards to their experiences of migration. Putri mentioned that the presence of her family helped her with the migration process when she was describing why family was important to her: "Family is really important to me, and we all moved here from Indonesia, and to move and come here you have to know […] people that you know will always be there for you, and that's really important to have." This sentiment was echoed by Lola, who discussed how seeing her family helped her during her difficult process of migration to the US: "Even if I didn't feel like I belonged here yet because I was new here, my family was here and I was happy that we were together again after seven years." The feelings of belonging engendered by the presence of family, therefore, can be seen as helpful for dealing with the uprootedness and lack of attachment to place that migration can cause. This, in turn, points to another reason that the presence of family can contribute to belonging: for young migrants, family connections are often the only social connections from before migration that are preserved upon coming to a new country.

Connections with home countries

Other participants cited their home neighborhoods as places of belonging because the other people in their neighborhoods were of the same racial, ethnic, and national background as them, and had similar positionings as migrants. Joel, a participant who was originally from Jamaica, felt belonging in his neighborhood of East Flatbush, Brooklyn, because, "there's a lot of people from my country, and other countries within my immediate consciousness […] that are in that area, so you feel like back home, like you're back in the Caribbean." There can be many reasons why being in close proximity to others from the same background can lead to feelings of belonging. Some participants, particularly those who had migrated to the US fairly recently such as Joel, Lola, and Shamim, claimed that maintaining a connection to their home countries was

very important to them. Others mentioned having strong attachments to certain aspects of their home countries' culture, most notably in the form of native foods from those countries.

However, it is important to note that participants' relationships with their home countries varied highly. Many participants discussed feeling as if their home countries were dangerous, and talked about political and social issues in their home countries that made them feel uncomfortable there. However, participants also discussed how feeling a connection with their home countries was important for their senses of belonging. The different levels of attachment to home countries varied among participants, as did participants' feelings of danger in regards to their home countries. Related to this was the different practices of participants with regards to their home countries, with some participants frequently going back to visit their home countries, even for extended periods of time, and other participants not visiting their home countries at all.

Many participants discussed feeling a desire to maintain connection with their home countries, even after migration. They discussed spending time in areas where other people of their same national origin live and enjoying speaking their native languages. Some participants (for example, Joel, Putri, Angie, and Kelly) also discussed attending cultural festivals for their home countries, while other participants (for example, Diego, Kevin, Abhishek, and Kelly) also discussed eating food from their home countries in order to feel connected to those countries. In almost all cases, these home country connections were factors that made participants feel a greater sense of belonging in their lives, and were things that participants sought out as sources of happiness. Lola, in fact, discussed how she wished more visitors from her native country of the Dominican Republic came to see her so that she could better maintain her connection to her home country. Furthermore, two participants, Shimam and Abhishek, submitted photos of their home countries as places they felt feelings of belonging in; one of these can be seen in Photo 2.

Photo 2: Photo submitted by Shimam of his native Bangladesh.

Shimam, however, had a somewhat ambiguous attitude towards his home country despite the aforementioned feelings of belonging there, and other participants discussed feeling as if their home countries were dangerous, and feeling negative about the social and political issues in those countries. Shimam and Joel, for example, both discussed feeling in danger in their home countries of Bangladesh and Jamaica (respectively) due to political issues in those countries. Although it was not in a political context, Lola also discussed feeling in danger in her native Dominican Republic: "The Dominican Republic is a great country, it's beautiful, but like any other country it has good and bad things, and one of the bad is that there's not that much security all the time, and anyone can just come and grab your stuff and kill you if you see them, just because of that. So it's just crazy. They look at you and they see that you have money or something, it's not good."

However, it is notable that these feelings of danger in participants' home countries did not make them feel less of a connection to those countries; on the contrary, all of these participants discussed desiring a strong connection to their home countries, and in many cases wanting to visit their home countries again. The only participant who did not express any desire at all for connection with her home country was Zoe. Zoe discussed feeling in danger in her native country of China, citing news reports of violent crimes against women occurring in the country. Zoe also discussed no longer feeling any sort of belonging in or attachment to China, specifically citing no longer having anything in common with her friends and family there and stating that, "When I first came here I would usually call my friends in China, and also my relatives in China, but after one or two months I stopped calling them, because […] I feel that I don't have anything in common with them, to share with them." Furthermore, Zoe also mentioned having no desire to visit China again, in contrast with her siblings, who wanted to visit often. As an explanation for this lack of desire for connection with her home country, Zoe discussed how she as a person had changed since she lived in China, and therefore how she no longer felt like the country appealed to her.

Following from this, participants had different practices when it came to visiting their home countries. Zoe was the only participant to express no interest in visiting her home country, but other participants spent different amounts of time visiting. Some participants, such as Kevin, Nikita, and Putri, did not discuss visiting their home countries at all, but did not express any negative opinion about it. Others, in contrast, discussed in positive terms having recently visited their home countries; Anna, Lola, Miguel, and Diego were examples of this. The case of Diego was particularly interesting because his mother still lived in his home country of Peru, therefore visiting his home country was the only way for him to see her and maintain this form of family connection. Finally, Shimam discussed migrating back and forth between the United States and his home country of Bangladesh, spending several years at a time in each country. As such, it can be seen that participants spent different amounts of time in their home countries, leading to another form of heterogeneity in the sample. It is notable that there did not seem to be any noticeable link between these practices and participants' feelings of belonging, safety, and danger, however. Furthermore, this heterogeneity in the sample means that, while some participants did discuss connection to their home countries and an important factor in terms of belonging, it cannot be taken as necessary for belonging in an area.

Native language

Other participants mentioned having spaces, such as their home neighborhoods, in which they could speak their native languages as being very important for their senses of belonging. This was something which was apparent in in participants' interviews rather than in their participatory maps or their submitted photos. I speculate that this is because the interviews were a verbal medium, while the maps and photos were a visual one, therefore discussion of language was more likely to come up in the interviews. It is notable that, of the submitted photos, none of them featured pictures of signage in participants' native languages. This was true even of the photos submitted by Shimam and Abhishek, which were of the participants' home countries of Bangladesh and India respectively, but only feature signage in English. The only pictures that feature non-English language were those submitted by Diego, which feature signage in Chinese, and by Angie, which feature mosque decorations in Arabic; interestingly enough, neither of these were the participants' native languages.

The importance of native language was, of course, only apparent for those participants for whom their native language was not English, and three out of the total sample of fifteen participants were native English speakers. These participants were Joel and Selena, who are Jamaican, and Anna, who is from Trinidad and Tobago. However, even in the case of these participants, Joel pointed out that the form of English he speaks at home is specifically the Jamaican form of the language, rather than standard American English. Other than these three participants, all of the other participants reported speaking a native, non-English language at home with their families. However, Angie, Putri, and Miguel reported also speaking English with their families as well, resulting in a mix of languages. As well, Abhishek reported speaking English rather than his native language with his roommates. Finally, Nikita, who was deaf, spoke a mix of Russian and American Sign Language with his family.

Many of the participants who did speak a native non-English language related being able to speak this language with belonging. This sort of belonging was related, in turn, to participants' abilities to form social bonds, something discussed both previously in this section and further in Section 4.1.3. It can also be related, more specifically, to participants' bonds with their families, since many participants spoke their native languages with their family members. One thing that was notable about participants' feelings of belonging as they related to their native languages was that, in many cases, speaking these languages allowed participants to cross barriers of national identity. Rather than hypothetically feeling belonging only with people of their same national origin, the unifying factor of a native language allowed participants to feel belonging with everyone who shared that language background. This was the case for Miguel and Angie, who claimed to feel belonging with all Spanish speakers, rather than simply other people from their respective home countries of the Dominican Republic and Colombia.

It was also notable that, while the ability to speak one's native language was important for participants to feel belonging, the ability to speak English also contributed to feelings of belonging as well. This was the case for Lola, who reported feeling increased belonging in New York City as her English skills improved. It can be seen from these two factors that different language proficiencies both allow for belonging, but in different situations. Native non-English language skills allow for belonging with family members and people from similar linguistic

backgrounds, while English language skills allow for belonging and for forming connections with people from outside of these groups. Since all of my participants could speak English, both of these avenues of belonging were open to them, making the linguistic dimension of belonging one in which belonging is found in different situations based on the language employed, rather than necessarily one in which avenues of belonging are closed off due to lack of linguistic ability.

Diversity

Yet for other participants this feeling of belonging around others from their own background extended to other areas of life. Diego mentioned the importance of having others around him who understood his particular struggles as a migrant as being particularly important to him and his personal sense of belonging, and found this understanding and belonging in the neighborhood of Flushing, Queens, near his home. This brings to light a final element of belonging that many participants felt in their home neighborhoods: the fact that their home neighborhoods were racially and ethnically diverse.

Many participants mentioned diversity, in terms of race, ethnicity, and national origin, as an important aspect of their areas of belonging. This was, once again, something that came out in participants' interviews rather than in their participatory maps, since participants did not do anything specifically to indicate the presence or absence of diversity in their maps or in their photos. However, many of the places my participants indicated as spaces of belonging in their maps and in their photos also happened to be highly diverse places as well; this can be seen when quantitative data on the diversity of different areas will be integrated with the map and photo data.

When discussing diversity, participants who mentioned it all had positive attitudes toward it, and associated it strongly with belonging. Why diverse spaces were important for belonging came through for a number of different reasons expressed by different participants. For some, diverse environments lead to better living and working environments; this was the case for Kelly, who cited her current work environment as a location of belonging for her because its diverse makeup lead to a work culture that fit well with her. This was due to cultural similarities in terms of ways of thinking, doing, and working as reasons for feeling belonging; Kelly mentioned feeling belonging at her current workplace because her co-workers, who were of "diverse" backgrounds, had similar attitudes toward work as she did, and contrasted it with an earlier workplace in which she did not feel belonging due to differences in workplace culture, and in which all of her co-workers were white non-migrants.

For others, diverse environments lead to belonging because people in these environments understood participants' individual struggles as migrants; this was the case for Diego, who felt belonging in the diverse environment of the international school he had attended before starting university because he felt people there were understanding toward him. For still others, diverse environments were important because they lessened the likelihood of racial discrimination, which was a factor against feelings of belonging; this was the case for Joel and Selena, both of whom mentioned feeling worried about the possibility of such discrimination in racially homogenous spaces. For instance, Joel mentioned that "areas where there is a majority of one

sort of people" lead to the possibility of "racial tensions", and therefore a lack of belonging. Finally, in some cases the feelings of belonging related to diversity were more difficult to describe; this was the case for Miguel, who, when discussing an environment that lacked diversity, said that he "[didn't] know how to feel about [it]", and that it was "awkward".

One thing that was notable about participants' feelings of belonging with regards to diversity was that it was specifically diverse environments with people of many different backgrounds in them that engendered belonging, not environments that were composed entirely of people from the same background as the participant. Kelly, in fact, stated specifically that the reason she felt belonging at her current work environment was not because of the presence of other Asian-Americans, but rather the presence of a diverse group of people. While aspects of participants' home countries and cultures—such as language (discussed in previously) and food—certainly contributed to belonging, being in a space with only other people from those countries and cultures was not generally associated with belonging. As environments that were only composed of people from participants' home countries would also confer many of the same benefits as outlined in the previous paragraph, this points to there being something to diversity other than simple contact with home country cultures that engenders belonging. Such a thing might a shared identity connecting people in these diverse environments, or even a shared environment centered around diversity; this concept will be developed further later in this paper, in Section 5.1., 5.2., and 5.3.

The quantitative data agrees with participants' stated preferences for diversity, in home areas and in others; participants' areas of belonging tended to be racially and ethnically diverse. In most cases, no single racial or ethnic group made up the majority of the population in any area. The exceptions to this were the mostly white Upper East Side, which was a place of belonging for Kevin and Anna; the mostly white Williamsburg, which was a place of belonging for Selena; and the mostly black East Flatbush, which was a place of belonging for Joel. Furthermore, participants' areas of belonging tended to have high immigrant populations, with most being around 20% immigrant or more. The exceptions to this were once again the Upper East Side, which is 3% immigrant, and Williamsburg, which is 11% immigrant.

However, there are explanations for these trends. In terms of diversity, both Anna and Kevin specified the Upper East Side as a place of belonging specifically because of their university, Hunter College, which is very diverse (CollegeFactual, 2013). Furthermore, East Flatbush, although it is not racially diverse, does have the highest immigrant population out of any of the locations specified as an area of belonging by participants, with 53% of its population being born outside the United States. Finally, although it is not directly relevant to discussions of racial and ethnic diversity, Williamsburg is a unique area within New York City due to its large Hasidic Jewish community (Poll, 2017); this will be discussed further with regards to economics.

It should be noted, however, that the areas participants found safe and those they found dangerous were also very diverse, as indicated by the quantitative data. In terms of the demographic and social profiles of the areas participants found safe, many were highly diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, and national origin. In many of these areas, there was no single racial or ethnic group that made up more than 60% of the population: for example, in the NTAs of Fresh Meadows, Queens (specified as a safe area by Selena) and of Fort Greene, Brooklyn (specified

as a safe area by Miguel), no single ethnic group formed a majority of the population. Furthermore, many of the areas specified as safe by participants had high immigrant populations. The most notable example of this was Flushing, Queens, an area referred to as safe by Nikita, whose population was 71% foreign-born.

There were some exceptions to this trend towards diversity in safety. For example, the Upper East Side and West Village NTAs in Manhattan (specified as safe by Kevin and Abhishek, respectively) had populations that were overwhelmingly white and non-migrant. However, it is important to note that both of these places were specified as safe because they were locations of the participants' universities (Hunter College and New York University, respectively). The student bodies of these universities were much more diverse than those of the areas in which they are located: Hunter College is far more ethnically diverse than the average American university, with no single racial group forming more than 30% of the student body (CollegeFactual, 2013), while New York University is also very diverse, with no one ethnic group having a majority share of the student population (NYU Web Communications, 2014).

The places participants found dangerous also tended to be racially and ethnically diverse, with no one ethnic group making an overwhelming portion of the population. These areas also tended to have large immigrant populations, ranging from Elmhurst (70% immigrant) to Fort Greene (20% immigrant). The exception to this trend was the Upper East Side, which was specified as dangerous by Anna; this area, as previously discussed, has an almost entirely white population, and only 18% of its residents are foreign-born.

Therefore, high levels of racial and ethnic diversity were found in almost all of the areas participants found emotionally salient. Notably, this was true regardless of what the emotion in questions was: safe places, dangerous places, and places of belonging all tended to be highly diverse. Participants indicated diversity as a major factor that contributed to their senses of belonging, as discussed above; however, participants did not mention diversity contributing to their senses of safety or danger.

The high levels of diversity in all of participants' emotionally salient areas can be understood by looking at the interactions between participants' different emotions. Specifically, participants often reported that the places they felt safe corresponded to the places they felt they belonged in; however, participants also often reported feeling a sense of belonging in places they reported as being dangerous. This was born out when looking at the specific NTAs reported as being emotionally salient, with many participants reporting the same areas for multiple emotional categories. In fact, one participant, Miguel, reported the same area (Fort Greene, Brooklyn) for all three emotional categories. Therefore, the high levels of diversity in all of participants' emotionally salient areas can be taken specifically as being related to participants' senses of belonging rather than their other emotions.

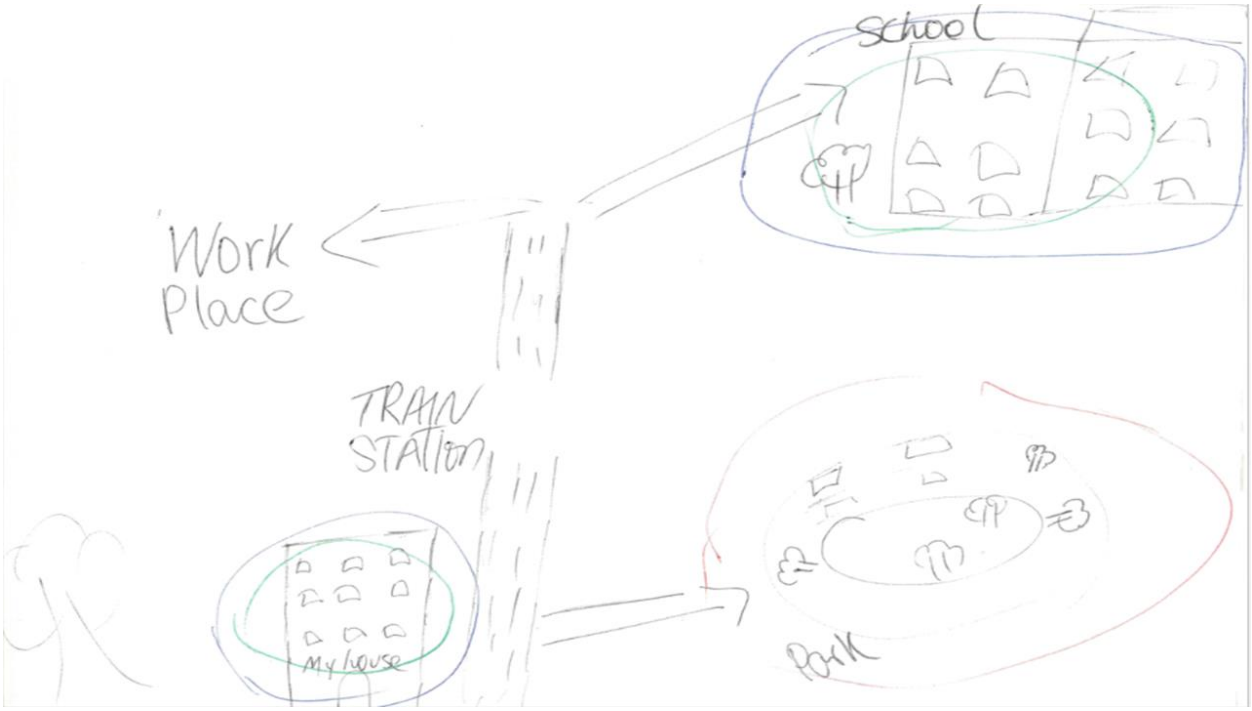
Safety and its relationship to belonging

The second main emotion discussed in my interviews and participatory mapping tasks with regards to their homes and home neighborhoods was safety; specifically, participants' senses of personal safety. For the most part, the factors participants mentioned as making them feel safe were much the same as the factors that made them feel as if they belonged; the main

factors mentioned in connection with safety were participants' familiarity with their surroundings and the presence of family.

Most participants cited familiarity with an area and the presence of community members such as friends and family in an area as the main factors contributing to their senses of safety in an area. Furthermore, in both the interview and participatory map tasks, participants often referred to their home areas as safe. These areas, in turn, also tended to be areas of belonging for participants. Furthermore, when asked about the relationship between safety and belonging, most participants said that the places in which they felt safe were the same as those in which they felt belonging.

In the interviews for this thesis, I asked participants directly how safety and belonging were related for them, and whether the places they felt safe in were the same as the places they felt as if they belonged in. The majority of participants affirmed that this was the case, stating both that feeling safe in a place was very important for their sense of belonging in that place, and that the places they felt safe in were also generally the places they felt they belonged in. This can also be seen in the participatory map data, in which participants (for example, Catherine in Map 1) tended to circle the same areas as both safe and as areas of belonging.



Map 1: Participatory map drawn by Catherine, in which the same areas (her house and her school building) are circled to indicate both safety and belonging.

However, there were some participants for whom the relationship between safety and belonging was not so straightforward. Miguel mentioned that, although for the most part the places he felt safe were the same as the ones in which he felt be belonged, there were "exceptions". He specifically discussed an incident in which he attended a class at Hunter College and was the only non-white student in the classroom; this was a case in which he felt as if he was in a safe environment, but did not feel belonging due to the lack of diversity. Putri

expressed a similar sentiment in more general terms: she said, of the places she felt safe, that, "They [do not have] the most sense of belonging, even though I feel safe, because even though you have no home there, you can feel safe in an area. You're not necessarily wanted there, so you don't always feel a sense of belonging in a safe place." For these participants, places could feel safe in the sense that there was no risk of harm present, but still not be areas in which participants felt they belonged in emotionally.

A different perspective on the relationship between safety and belonging was articulated by Diego. He said that the places he felt safe in were not the same as he felt belonging in, and said that in the places in which he felt belonging, "[someone] will step up for me, if there's something like harassment, he will make sure it does not happen again." In other words, Diego could feel a sense of belonging in a place in which he did not feel safe, as long as he knew that there was a support structure in place in case he experienced harm. This can be tied back to the issues of family support and connection, and its importance for belonging, discussed previously.

Together, these examples point to safety and belonging being linked emotions, but indirectly. As was previously discussed, many of the factors that lead participants to feel senses of belonging in spaces also lead them to feel safe in spaces. It is notable from participants' discussions of the relationship between safety and belonging that, although many participants said that they two concepts were linked, very few participants, when asked about their senses of belonging, mentioned safety as a factor that influenced them. Therefore, safety and belonging do not have a direct causal link, but rather an indirect one due to similar factors influencing both. Furthermore, those participants who did not see a link between the two concepts highlight the indirect nature of this link further, since for them a places simply being safe is not enough to make it a place of belonging. This, in turn, emphasizes the importance of other, more subjective aspects of space in creating a sense of belonging.

4.1.2. Commuting

Most of the home neighborhoods participants in this study lived in were in peripheral areas of New York City. These areas were in the "outer boroughs" of Brooklyn and Queens, and furthermore were far away from the core areas of even those boroughs. The exception to this was Kevin, who lived in the semi-central area of the Lower East Side, Manhattan; however, Kevin lived in this area because he lived in student housing provided by his university. Miguel also appears to live near the central area of the city; however, since he lived in a different borough and therefore had to cross a river in order to commute into the center of the city, he still had a long commuting time. Figure 4 shows the areas in which each participant lived.

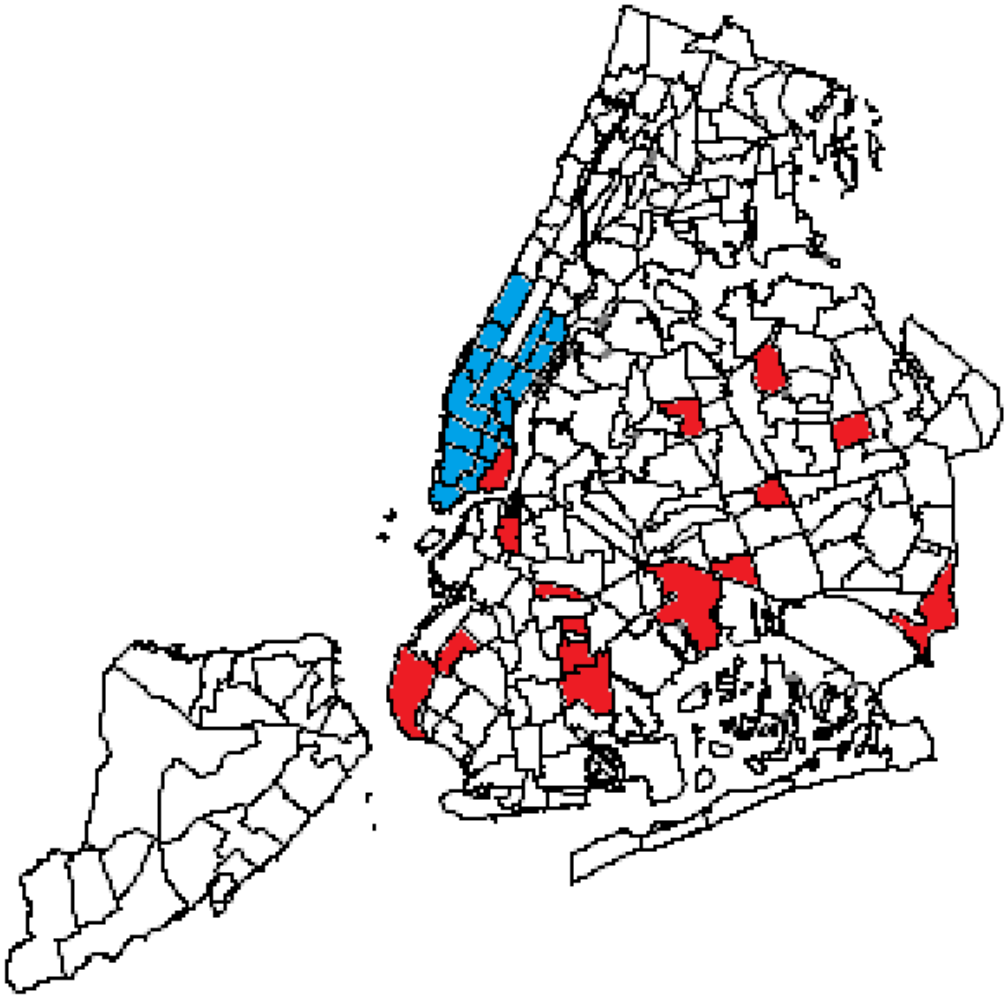


Figure 4: A map of New York City, divided by NTA, with areas in which participants lived highlighted in red and the city's central business district highlighted in blue.

These peripheral areas of the city are the areas where migrants tend to settle upon first arriving in contemporary New York, since housing is generally more affordable in these areas (New York City Department of City Planning, 2010). Therefore, my participants living in these areas is not unexpected with regards to wider trends of migrant settlement in the city. However, since almost all of my participants worked or studied in more central areas of the city, they were required to commute long distances each day in order to reach their workplaces and schools. This is the next major practice participants tended to be engaged in during their everyday patterns of movement.

Almost all of my participants used public transportation when commuting; the exception to this was Kevin, who occasionally travelled by bicycle. This preference for public transportation is also typical for young people living in New York City: public transportation is extensive in the city, while driving can be impractical with New York City's traffic (Salon, 2009). Due to the distance from their homes to their universities or workplaces, most

participants had long commute times, usually around an hour. For this reason, participants usually woke up and began commuting early in the day, and were not able to return home regularly throughout the day, but had to stay in the areas of their workplaces or schools for most of the day.

Public transportation

Commuting, then, took up a large portion of participants' days. In terms of the interactions between emotions and practices, it is notable that travelling by public transportation was one of the things which participants most often cited as being dangerous. This was apparent in the participatory map data, with many participants indicating subway routes, subway stations, and bus routes as dangerous places. It was also apparent in the interview data, with many participants citing the subway as a dangerous place and commuting as an activity, and with some participants recounting specific incidents of feeling in danger or of being victimized while commuting.

As previously mentioned, one thing which every participant had in common was commuting via public transport on an almost daily basis, in some cases or long distances. It is worth noting, then, that something that was such a major part of participants' lives was also something that so many of them regarded as dangerous. It is also worth noting that, despite regarding it as dangerous, no participants avoided commuting or using public transportation; however, this may be attributed mostly to a lack of other options for getting around the city, especially for participants who lived far away from their schools or workplaces.

Why did participants regard public transportation as dangerous? This can be understood by looking into some of the specific instances of feeling in danger while commuting via public transport recounted by participants. Zoe described hearing of incidents in which men have attacked women with knives on the subway, while Diego described dealing with aggressive homeless people on the subway, and Angie described feeling threatened by a homeless person smoking on the subway. Other participants discussed in more abstract terms why they felt in danger while commuting: Catherine mentioned that, on the subway, there are people who are "not right in the mind" and "have mental issues", while Putri mentioned that there are "a lot of crazy people" on the subway. All of these can be taken as indicating that the reason public transportation is a dangerous place is because of the presence of threatening people.

Threatening people

The presence of people they considered threatening, furthermore, was one of the things participants tended to indicate as a major factor behind their feelings of danger in their interviews. There were several different categories of people that participants found threatening; the most common ones were the mentally ill, users of drugs and alcohol, and the homeless. Furthermore, many participants could not give a specific reason behind finding certain individuals threatening, but rather put their feelings down to unconscious, gut reactions.

Several participants recounted incidents in which they either had experienced harassment from these sorts of "threatening" people, but many more participants recounted being afraid of

this sort of harassment without actually experiencing it. This was especially true in the cases of "threatening" people for whom participants could not articulate the reasons behind their threatening status. In these cases, participants could not recount instances of harassment, or why they were afraid of this sort of harassment, but described these people in vague terms such as "shady" or "sketchy".

In all cases, however, the reason participants found others threatening was due to an implicit risk of harassment. This harassment could consist of actual criminal behavior such as robbery—one participant, Miguel, recounted having been mugged a few weeks prior to the interview. The harassment could also constitute panhandling or asking for money; this was participants' main concern with regards to homeless people. Finally, some female participants also reported feeling in danger of sexual harassment at the hands of men, and recounted specific cases in which they had heard of these sorts of events happening; for example, Anna made reference to an incident in 2016 in which a student at her university, Hunter College, had been groped and followed to class by a man on the subway (CBS News, 2016).

Feelings of fear caused by the presence of threatening people, then, can be linked somewhat to the fear of crime. In terms of crime, areas indicated by participants as being dangerous tended to have relatively higher crime rates than safe places. No area had fewer than two crimes reported per one thousand residents in the period studied, while some areas (such as Catherine's East New York, Shimam's Harlem, and Miguel's Fort Greene) had much higher crime rates, with four or five crimes reported per thousand residents. The South Bronx, the area indicated as dangerous by Joel, had an even higher crime rate than these, with eight crimes per thousand residents reported. For New York's public transportation system, the area in which (as previously discussed) many participants felt a great deal of danger, data is less concrete. However, from data from the New York Police Department (2017), it can be seen that in the entirety of the New York public transit system, an average of 340 crimes were committed per month during the period studied (June to August 2017). However, considering that an average of over five million people rode the subway alone every weekday in 2016, this is a comparatively low rate of crime.

However, it is worth noting that the crime rates in the areas specified by my participants as safe were highly variable. Most of the areas specified had low crime rates; specifically, most areas had fewer the two crimes reported per one thousand residents. However, some of the areas students specified as safe had relatively high crime rates, with five or more crimes reported per one thousand residents. This variability can be explained by the fact that the low-crime areas reported as being safe were participants' residential areas, while the high-crime areas reported as being safe were the areas of participants' educational institutions. These educational areas with high crime rates were Tribeca, Manhattan, specified as safe by Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) students Catherine, Joel, and Angie; Downtown Brooklyn, specified by New York City College of Technology (City Tech) student Zoe; and the West Village, Manhattan, specified by New York University (NYU) student Abhishek. All of these areas are busy commercial centers, which could explain their high crime rates. However, as many participants specified in their interviews as a source of safety, educational buildings in these areas tend to be patrolled by security guards; therefore, students within these buildings may

be protected to some degree from the risk of crime in those buildings' surrounding neighborhoods.

Finally, crime rates in participants' areas of belonging were quite variable. Some areas which participants specified as areas of belonging had crime rates of less than two crimes per thousand residents. Examples of this include Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, specified by Putri; Fresh Meadows, Queens, specified by Kelly; and Flushing. Other areas had crime rates of around two crimes per thousand residents; these areas include the Upper East Side and the Upper West Side. However, many of the areas specified as spaces of belonging had higher crime rates than these, and in fact higher crime rates than the areas participants specified as safe. Williamsburg, Crown Heights South, and East Flatbush all have crime rates of three or more crimes per thousand residents, while DUMBO, Downtown Brooklyn, East New York, and Fort Greene all have crime rates of four or five crimes per thousand residents. Furthermore, there does not seem to be a straightforward link between the type of place—residential, educational, or recreational—specified as a place of belonging and its crime rate relative to other places of belonging.

In terms of crime, participants' safe areas tended to have relatively lower crime rates than participants' dangerous areas. This corresponds to participants' perceptions of danger as being related to the presence of threatening people, as discussed previously. However, participants' areas of belonging were widely variable in terms of crime rates, with some being very low in crime and some being very high. From this, it can be concluded that crime rate was not an important influencing factor for participants' senses of belonging. This can be related to the interviews, in which many participants reported being able to feel a sense of belonging in an area they also felt was dangerous. Furthermore, public transportation had a relatively low rate of crime in comparison to how dangerous participants found it, suggesting that there may be other factors contributing to this sense of danger.

What could these other factors be? One thing, in further regards to the relationship between danger and belonging, that was consistently related to feelings of danger due to the presence of threatening people was familiarity with an area its residents. This was articulated by Lola, who discussed how she felt in danger near her workplace in the neighborhood of East New York, Brooklyn due to the presence of large groups of young men who she regarded threatening. She put her feelings of danger around these people in the context of her unfamiliarity with the area: "if you grew up somewhere, for example a person from East New York won't feel in danger because they know the people, they're their buddies or their crew, but for me, since I don't know them and I don't belong to that place, I just don't feel that safe because I know that I could become a target." Familiarity with an area was, as previously discussed, a major dimension of belonging for participants, and therefore the idea that a lack of familiarity with an area can lead to feelings of danger around people from that area provides a connection between belonging and danger.

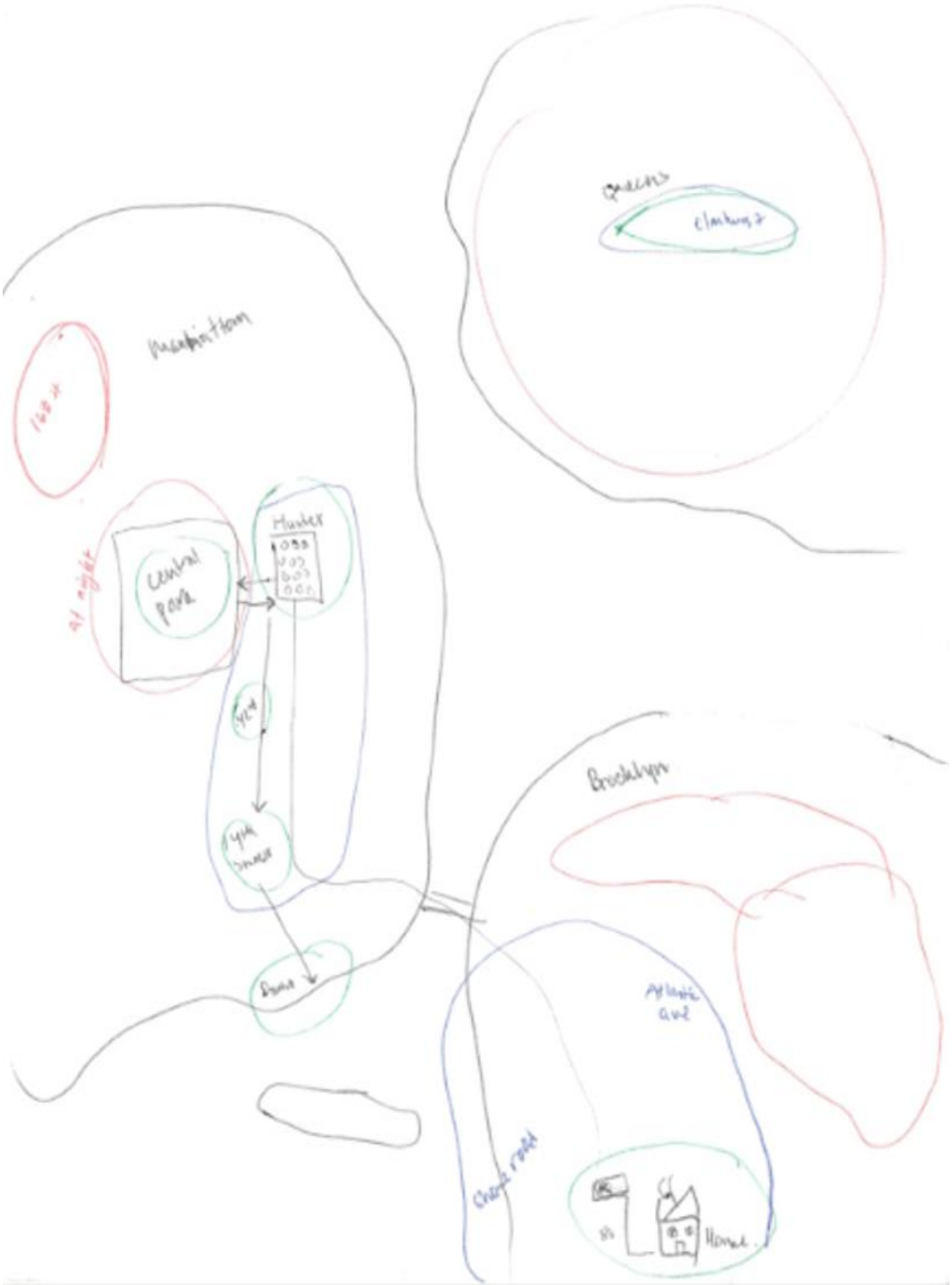
From this, then, it can be understood how public transportation specifically can be seen as a locus for threatening people (despite its relatively low crime rate). One reason is that public transportation is an "in-between" space, since it is a space that is centered on travelling from once place to another; furthermore, it is a space that is always changing since it is in motion. Going back to the idea of threatening people being found in unfamiliar areas, mentioned previously, public transportation can be seen as constantly being an unfamiliar space to

participants, even if the specific route a participant takes is the same each day. This is because the space of public transportation is one which does not belong to any particular part of the city, and which is always changing due to always being in motion.

Danger and belonging

The previous discussion of the relationship between threatening people and familiarity with an area brings to the fore the question of the relationship between danger and belonging. For many participants, this relationship was a straightforward one, with most participants saying that they would not feel a sense of belonging in a place they thought of as dangerous. This was further born out in the participatory map data, in which most participants did not indicate any places as eliciting both feelings of belonging and feelings of danger.

However, there were some exceptions to this pattern. Putri, for example, indicated that Central Park in Manhattan was an area of belonging for her, while simultaneously indicating that she also found it dangerous at night; this can be seen in Map 2, her participatory map. This sort of mindset can also be seen in Photo 6, the photo submitted by Joel and discussed later in Section 4.1.4. In this photo, Joel indicates that Times Square, Manhattan is a place of belonging for himself, despite also discussing it being dangerous during his interview.



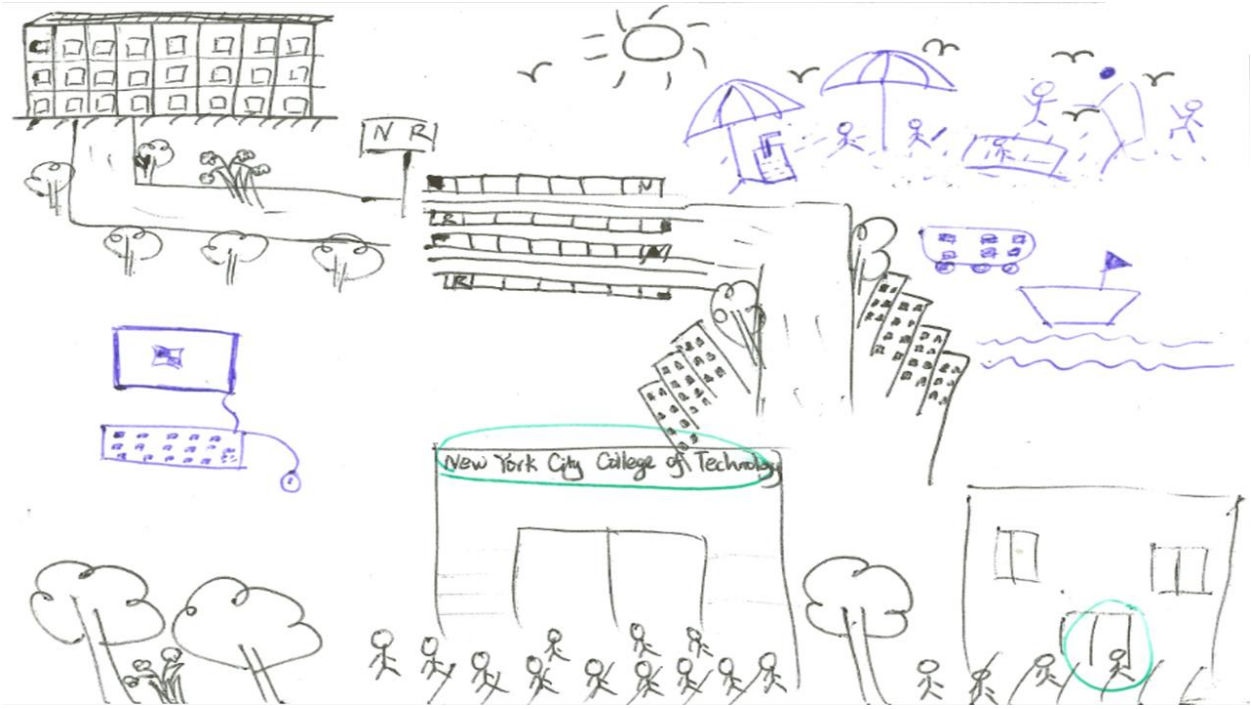
Map 2: Participatory map drawn by Putri, in which Central Park is indicated as a place of belonging, but also as being dangerous "at night".

These exceptions to the general pattern of danger and belonging being opposed can be linked back to the relationship between safety and belonging, as discussed in Section 4.1.1. It can be seen as another indicator that there is more that influences participants' senses of belonging than simply whether a place is safe or not. Taken together, the interactions between

safety, danger, and belonging can be investigated to understand participants' subjective senses of space; this will be discussed further in Section 5.1.

Furthermore, in relation to practice, it is notable that a large portion of participants' times was taken up by something which they generally found to be dangerous. This stands in contrast to the general trend, as will be discussed later in Section 4.1.5., of participants considering New York City to generally be a safe place, and of participants not generally feeling in danger within the city.

These different interactions of emotion and practice can be understood better when taken together with another trend that emerged from the interviews and participatory maps: participants tended to minimize the role of commuting in their lives. Even though it took up such a large portion of participants' days, participants did not tend to spend a large amount of time discussing their commuting experiences in the interviews, preferring to talk about school, work, home life, and recreational activities. Furthermore, in many of the participatory maps, the distances participants travelled while commuting were minimized. Rather than being drawn to scale, these maps had commute routes drawn much shorter than their actual physical distances; this can be seen in Map 3.



Map 3: Map drawn by Zoe. Her relatively long commute--from Sunset Park to Downtown Brooklyn--is drawn as a very minor element within the map.

Through this, it can be seen that participants desired to minimize the importance in their lives of the activities they considered dangerous. This, in itself, can be seen as a pattern of affect, as it is a (possibly unconscious) avoidance of a dangerous activity. In terms of migrants' construction of space, it can also be seen as a technique for constructing space that is not dangerous for them. Migrants' senses of space within New York City will be discussed in

Section 5.1; furthermore, migrants' patterns of affect in relation to that will be discussed specifically in Section 5.1.2.

4.1.3. Work and study

The main activities participants commuted to were studying and attending classes at university, working, or a combination of the two. This typically took up a large portion of each participant's day; this was for the simple reason that both of these activities had a high workload and were very time consuming. However, as discussed in the previous section, participants' commutes were often too long for them to be able to travel home or to other parts of the city when they were not working or studying; therefore, participants often stayed in the areas around their universities and workplaces even when not working or studying. Specifically, participants tended to eat at restaurants and patronize parks that were near their workplaces and educational institutions; for example, several participants who were students at Hunter College, such as Kevin and Putri, discussed spending time in Central Park, which is nearby. These sorts of recreational activities will be discussed in Section 4.1.4.

It is also worth noting that some participants chose to spend time in their university and educational buildings even during their free time. Zoe and Diego both discussed how they spent large amounts of time in—and felt feelings of belonging in—the libraries of their educational institutions. Other participants, such as Anna, Joel, Angie, and Catherine, also discussed their involvement in extracurricular activities and clubs provided by their educational institutions; this is another form of spending recreational time at these places. These offer other examples of the overall trend in participants' patterns of movement which privilege these areas.

Educational institutions tended to be locations in which participants felt both safe and as if they belonged. Feeling these emotions about these places, and spending large amounts of time in and around them, can go hand in hand. On the one hand, participants can desire to spend more time in places they feel positively about. Alternatively, however, it is important to remember that (as discussed in Sections 4.1.1. with regards to home neighborhoods) familiarity with a place is important for participants' senses of belonging and safety. Furthermore, social connections and friendships are another factor participants linked to belonging; this will be discussed in further paragraphs. Spending more time in a place both makes it feel more familiar, and can help in forming close relationships with the people in it; therefore, places which participants' daily patterns of movement take them to more often can grow to be places in which participants feel stronger feelings of safety and belonging.

One final thing that is notable about participants' patterns of movement with regards to work and school is that, while participants typically spent entire days at these places, they were also for the most part very careful to come back from these places early, rather than staying out late. This can be tied in to how many participants cited some areas of the city, and specifically the act of commuting by public transport, as being more dangerous at night. Furthermore, some participants recounted feeling in danger in situations that required them to stay out late; this was the case for Anna and Putri, both of whom reported feeling in danger coming home from late-night classes. This avoidance of staying out late was one instance in which participants'

practices of movement were influenced by their perceptions of danger, since it was these perceptions of danger that prevented them from commuting at night.

Educational institutions

As previously mentioned, all of my participants were university students, with the exception of two who were a recent university graduates. As such, both educational institutions and the physical buildings those institutions are housed in were incredibly important for all of my participants. In fact, all of my participants discussed education in some way in their interviews, with the participants who were currently students discussing their school lives and the participants who were recent graduates discussing how their educational experience had shaped them and prepared them for their current lives. Additionally, many of my participants were actively involved with their educational institutions in other capacities beyond as students, with some of them (such as Diego and Putri) pursuing internships through their schools, others (such as Anna, Angie, Joel, and Catherine) being active in extra-curricular activities at their schools, and still others (such as Zoe, Abhishek, Anna, Angie, and Joel) having on-campus jobs. As can be seen here as well, many participants were active in their school communities in more than one way.

Photo 3: Photo submitted by Zoe of her university building. The angle and framing of the photo emphasizes the size--and, implicitly, importance--of the building.

In terms of non-interview methodologies, participants also indicated the important of education and educational institutions. On their participatory maps, eight out of my total sample of fifteen participants indicated their school buildings as locations of belonging. Furthermore, of the twelve participants who submitted photographs, six of them submitted photographs of educational buildings; as described in Section 3.3.3., the photo submission task involved participants submitting photos of places they felt belonging in (an example of one of these photos can be seen in Photo 3). While both of these are only of roughly half of the participant sample, it is notable that a few participants were not currently enrolled in university, and therefore may not have had as much direct contact with educational institutions. Furthermore, when looking at the other emotions studied in the participatory mapping task, it is notable that eight out of my fifteen participants also indicated school buildings as places of safety, and that these were not necessarily the same participants that indicated school buildings as places of belonging.

The role of education for my participants was almost entirely positive. Almost every participant reported feelings of belonging toward their educational institutions. The main factor behind this was the strong sense of community many participants at their educational institutions. This led to feelings of belonging: for example, Kevin, an honors student in biology at Hunter College, mentioned his school as a location in which he felt belonging, and attributed this feeling of belonging to the closeness he felt to his lab partners, who he referred to as his "second family". This closeness was also found through extracurricular activities connected with participants' educational institutions; for example, Catherine was active in the Student Government Association at her university, and mentioned feeling a sense of belonging in this association because "it's pretty much like family". Indeed, other participants, such as Lola, mentioned that enrolling in university was something that helped them feel a greater sense of belonging in New York, since it was a way for them to meet people and make friends. Still other participants noted the administrative policies and the staff of their educational institutions contributed to their senses of belonging; these included Anna, who cited the friendliness of teachers at her university as a contributing factor towards her feelings of belonging there, and Diego, who discussed how understanding the staff at his former high school were toward his unique experiences as a migrant. The aforementioned example of Diego is particularly interesting, as he was the only participant to explicitly mention being a migrant in relation to his sense of belonging at his university. Furthermore, it is noticeable that this sense of belonging based on closeness with others, and particularly the comparison many participants made between these close communities and family, can be linked to how many participants noted the presence of friends and family as something that contributes to belonging.

Friends

Friends, either in terms of the concept of friendship or in reference to specific other people were mentioned during interviews by thirteen out of my fifteen participants; for example, Kevin discussed how his feelings of belonging have grown when he has "made a lot of good friends and met amazing people". Friendship was not as apparent of a factor in participants' submitted photos or participatory maps. Much as in the case of family, this could have been due

to the nature of these tasks. However, the importance of friendship can be seen in the participatory map task in that many participants indicated areas they reported spending time with their friends in their interviews in as places they felt belonging in.

Much as in the case of family connections, the sense of belonging brought on by friendship was irrespective of other emotions such as danger. For example, Diego discussed feeling belonging with his friends, and spending time with his friends in neighborhoods such as Corona in Queens, despite indicating on his participatory map that he found that neighborhood dangerous. Furthermore, in another similarity with participants' feelings toward their families, friendship could help participants specifically with regards to migration. Lola, for example, noted that making friends with people in New York City had helped them feel a greater sense of belonging in the city since migrating there. Selena took this further by discussing how making friends specifically with people who shared or understood her migrant background helped her feel a greater sense of belonging: "I was meeting people from different countries, who had moved from different states, and their lifestyles were different, their backgrounds were different, and I found it was a lot easier to make friends, and find people who I really fit in with, and people who I am friends with now to this day."

Following this, it can be seen that family and friendship are for the most part interchangeable in terms of their places in the emotional landscapes of my participants. Both family and friendship are associated with the same strong feelings of belonging, and my participants discuss each in the same ways. This can be best seen in the previously-mentioned quotation from Kevin, who referred to his friends as his "second family". It can also be seen in how Shimam referred to some of his friends as his "brothers"—however, in this particular case he was discussing his religious community, so the mediating factor of religion can be in play here; religion will be discussed further in Section 4.1.4. It is worth noting that many of my participants were either currently geographically separated from their families due to their patterns of migration—such as Diego, whose mother was currently in his home country of Peru—or had been in the past. This physical separation from close family could lead participants to find closer bonds with friends in order to replace that lost familial connection. This loss of connection, it should be noted, was physical rather than emotional; participants such as Diego who were separated from their parents still reported having close relationships with them. However, these participants did not get a chance to interact with their parents as much as they would like, and friends served to fill that social gap.

How does closeness with friends lead to belonging in a place? This was perhaps best expressed by participant Angie, who said, of what made her feeling belonging in a place: "[I]t depends on the people. If you know people from that environment, you feel like you belong. Could be the security guard, it could be a person that works there or just […] somebody else that goes on a regular basis and you see them every time you go there. You feel you belong because you have a relationship." This sentiment was also echoed by many of the other participants: that having a feeling of belonging was, for them, related to feeling a connection with the other people around them. This sort of connection is most pronounced around friends and family, but it is notable that some of the areas of belonging discussed earlier, such as educational institutions and local neighborhoods, are also environments that encourage the building of this sort of connection. As discussed in previously, this sort of interpersonal connection can be especially

important for migrants, who in many cases have had to abandon the social networks they have fostered in their home countries and have come to a new environment without this sort of connection.

Social isolation

Following this discussion of friendship as a factor of belonging, another prominent factor that came through in participants' interviews about feelings of not belonging was social isolation and loneliness. Many participants discussed how feeling isolated and cut off from others made them feel as if they did not belong in their environment.

There were three factors that were closely related to these feelings of isolation. The first of these was participants' familiarity with their physical surroundings, with participants reporting that being in unfamiliar areas lead to a sense of social isolation, and therefore of not belonging. This can be related to back to how familiarity of surrounds was related positively feelings of connection with community, and to belonging. The second factor was English language ability, with participants who did not speak English upon migrating to the United States noting that they did not feel as if they could socially connect with others until they had gained English language skills. This reinforces the previously-mentioned point that both English and non-English language skills contribute to belonging.

The third factor that contributed to feelings of social isolation was related to the makeup of the participants' environment. Specifically, Diego, Miguel, and Kelly all described instances of being in work or academic environments in which they were the only migrant or the only non-white person present. They all described feeling socially isolated and like they did not belong in these environments. Notably, they all felt this way for different reasons. Miguel felt socially isolated in a classroom in which he was the only migrant because of his lack of common background with the other students, while Kelly felt isolated in a workplace in which she was the only Asian-American due to different cultural attitudes regarding work. Diego felt socially isolated in a classroom in which he was the only migrant because—even though it did not occur—he felt afraid that other students would be prejudiced or discriminatory against him because of his migrant background.

Prejudice and discrimination

From this follows another major factor in participants' feelings of belonging. Specifically, racism, anti-migrant discrimination, and ethnic prejudice were all factors which participants said made them feel as if they did not belong in a given area. When asked in the interviews to describe instances in which they felt a lack of belonging, several participants described times when they had experienced racism or discrimination based on their status as migrants.

This discrimination came in many forms and from many different sources. In some cases, instances of discrimination were personal microaggressions. For example, Lola describes how, when ordering coffee, the people serving her will be less polite to her that they are to white people; this is a regular occurrence for her, happening "so many times that [she] lost count."

Similarly, Miguel describes another instance of discrimination: "There was this one occasion in my [apartment] building where this older gentleman who happens to be white […] decided that it was a good idea to block my way to the door and ask me whether I lived there or not. He didn't ask the friend that was with me who was Asian, he didn't ask anyone else coming after me, he just asked me whether I lived there or not."

Governmental and police discrimination

Other participants, however, were concerned about discrimination from the government and from law enforcement. Angie, for example, mentioned that she worries about being stopped and detained by the police, and that she believes that these supposedly random police stops are racially motivated in nature. She describes this sort of discrimination as such: "regardless of how you act towards [the police], even if you're the most respectful person, it just depends on the day that the cops have had or their attitude towards your race or your skin tone." Furthermore, she discussed how her feelings of belonging in New York—and in the United States as a whole—have decreased in recent years, because she has observed these police stops growing in frequency; she says that this is because "lately cops have felt this bigger power, sort of support that they get to just stop anybody for no reason, and just do whatever they want." In other words, feeling as if the police are more empowered to act in racially discriminatory ways has made Angie feel less like she belongs in the city.

However, in terms of attitudes toward the police, participant responses varied greatly overall. Some participants felt as if police presence helped them feel safer in an area, and could recount stories of positive interactions with police officers. Other participants, however, felt threatened by police, and reported that the presence of police officers in an area made them feel in danger.

Several participants discussed police officers in positive contexts. These participants mentioned the presence of police officers as a factor which led to increased feelings of safety. Shimam, for example, mentioned feeling a sense of safety in his home neighborhood due to living in close proximity to a police station, and discussed how the Islamic center he is involved with has a close relationship with the local police force. In his words, "the police station I live near, it has a good connection with the Islamic center, so we talk, and this Ramadan we gave them an award for their contribution and help. They even said, if you have any problems talk to us." Kelly also discussed how a large police presence made her feel safer in her home neighborhood. Furthermore, Kevin, Anna, and Angie also discussed how the presence of police and security guards at their university buildings made those buildings feel safer; Angie also discussed how the presence of police officers in parks made her feel safer in these areas. Angie also described an instance in which a homeless person was causing a disruption on the subway and "a cop was outside, and one of us from the train called him in, and they controlled the whole situation", which she claimed also contributed to her sense of safety.

Other participants had more ambiguous attitudes toward the police. Joel and Putri both raised the concern that, while increased police presence could help them feel safer in an area, it could also draw attention to the fact that there was some sort of danger in that area that necessitated the presence of the police in the first place. Putri articulated this by saying, "more

cops just draws interest to the cops, and says, oh, did something happen that they need to have more security here? So that's a feeling of, 'am I safer here or not?'" In these cases, the presence of police made participants feel more uncertain of whether an area is safe or not.

Finally, other participants harbored negative attitudes toward the police. Joel, for example, singled out "issues with police and African-Americans" as a reason he felt a lack of belonging in American society. The issues Joel was referring to were the spate of highly-publicized police killings of innocent black people, such as Mike Brown and Eric Garner. These killings occurred in 2016 and early 2017, and the latter occurred in New York City; they sparked a national conversation in the United States about anti-black police brutality and violence (Taylor, 2016). In this case, then, Joel was discussing police making him feel less of a sense of belonging in the context of police racism. Although he did not mention this explicitly in his interview, it is worth noting that Joel, a migrant from Jamaica, is black, and therefore would be a possible target for anti-black police violence.

Angie also brought up feeling how the police had made her feel less of a sense of belonging in American society as a whole. She specifically related this to possibility of being stopped and questioned by the police. Furthermore, she related this to her racial and ethnic background, since she referred to the police specifically stopping "Spanish" (Hispanic and Latino) people. This, therefore, was another instance of a participant mentioned feeling as if police presence made them feel less of a sense of belonging, and relating this directly to issues of race and racism. However, it is notable that Angie also discussed having positive interactions with the police, and cited police presence as something that made her feel safer in her university building, as described earlier in this section. This highlights general the ambiguity of participants' attitudes toward the police.

There were other forms of governmental discrimination against migrants that lead to feelings of not belonging among my participants besides those from law enforcement, however. Notably, Anna discussed how her citizenship status made her feel a lack of belonging. She had become a United States citizen a year prior to the interview, but beforehand had been a legal permanent resident in the US. Even with that legal permanent resident status, she described how, without US citizenship, she was barred from many opportunities in terms of career prospects and academic scholarships, and how not having access to these opportunities made her feel less belonging. She then explains the notable difference citizenship status made in her life: "I realized, when I became a citizen, it was a lot easier, […] I got a lot of job opportunities and scholarships just because I was a citizen." This can be seen as a form of discrimination, since governmental regimes of citizenship privilege citizens over non-citizens, and therefore this can been as another form of governmentally-directed discrimination leading to feelings of not belonging.

Popular or media-based reputations of danger and discrimination

Participants also experienced discrimination in terms of the messages they received from popular and political discourses that expressed racist and anti-migrant attitudes. Joel, for example, discussed how the rhetoric employed by the Trump administration has made him feel less like he belongs in the United States: "when this new president came in he started bringing

hate, and at one pointed it started to sound like, certain people don't fit in and need to go, he put in a ban, banning certain people." Joel also mentioned these sorts of discriminatory discourses coming from other sources besides the Trump administration, specifically citing white supremacist movements. Notably, Joel specified a spatial source for these discourses, locating them "down south"—in other words, outside of New York City, and in a place where he had never personally been. The construction of areas outside of New York as dangerous places in which participants would not belong will be discussed further in Section 5.3.4.

It is notable that the interview with Joel took place on August 25, 2017, only a short time after the major white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia (a city "down south") on August 11, 2017 (Heim, 2017). This event was covered widely in the media, both due to its size and violent nature, and due to President Trump's apparent unwillingness to condemn the white supremacists at the rally (Thrush and Haberman, 2017). This event was mentioned specifically by some of the other participants when discussing their feelings of danger, and its impact on the participants' emotional lives is an instance of large-scale political events influencing participants' personal lives.

Media and word-of-mouth representations of places were also factors that led participants to regard them as dangerous. What sort of danger these places were construed as having varied, as did what channels they were construed as dangerous via. Specifically, many large, public, well-trafficked spaces were construed by the media as being dangerous due to the risk of terrorist threats, while certain neighborhoods of New York were construed by popular reputation and word-of-mouth as being dangerous due to high rates of crime. Finally, some areas outside of New York City were construed both through the media and through popular discourses as being dangerous for migrants due to the risk of racism and anti-migrant discrimination.

Some participants, such as Joel, discussed how media reports of terrorist attacks and mass shootings had made them feel danger in large public spaces, as these places were more likely targets for these sorts of attacks. Notably, the place Joel cited as dangerous because of this threat was Times Square, which is also someplace he submitted a photograph of as a place of belonging (Photo 6); furthermore, he did not change his practices in order to avoid this place, despite feeling in danger there.

Other participants discussed feeling like certain neighborhoods within New York were dangerous due to them having reputations of being high in crime. These reputations were not founded on media depictions of the neighborhoods, but rather spread via word-of-mouth, and thus constitute a popular discursive construction of these spaces. Participants cited different neighborhoods as having this reputation: Shimam discussed Harlem, Manhattan in this way, while Catherine pointed to East New York, Brooklyn, and the entirety of the Bronx. Catherine also discussed the Bronx as having a reputation for danger, while Joel cited specifically the South Bronx, as well as the Brooklyn neighborhood of Brownsville. Putri, in her interview, in a way encapsulated how this process of danger via popular reputation works: "someone telling me that you have to be safe and be cautious […] changes something." In other words, being told that an area was dangerous made her feel as if she was in danger in that area, even if there were no other indicators of danger. The actual crime rates of these areas, as well as areas specified by participants as places of safety and belonging, were discussed in Section 4.1.2.

Finally, some participants discussed feelings of danger related to places outside of New York City due the risk of racist and anti-migrant discrimination. These feelings of danger were based both on media reports of racist violence in these areas, such as the aforementioned white supremacist riots in Charlottesville, Virgina; and on popular discourses of these areas as being home to people with racist and anti-migrant attitudes. These media and popular discourses were in many cases related to the Trump presidency, and specifically to the prospect of encountering Trump supporters in places outside of New York City. Selena, for example, discussed feeling out of touch with other states in the United States besides New York which had supported Trump in the 2016 presidential election.

Unknown places

Following this, it is important to note that, in general, participants tended to cite areas as dangerous based on popular and media discourses when they themselves had not been to these areas, especially in regards to places outside of New York. While no participants specifically said that they felt afraid or as if they were in danger in places they had not been to, many participants said that they would feel in danger in specific places, only to reveal when asked that they had never been to these places. This particular trend was present in the interview data, but not in the participatory map or photo data; this is because the participatory mapping task was focused on participants' daily practices of movement and therefore on places participants had been, while the photo submission task required participants to be in the places they submitted photos of by its very nature.

Participants' feelings of danger in places they had never visited was a distinct and different phenomenon from participants' feelings of danger in unfamiliar places. In the latter case, participants had been to these places, could recount the instances of having visited these places and feeling in danger in them, and could explain how the unfamiliarity of the environment and its features contributed to their feelings of danger. In the former case, however, since participants did not have recollections and experiences of having been to these places to draw upon, they instead drew their feelings that these places were dangerous from other sources. These sources were, in every case, the representations of these unknown places that participants had picked up from media and popular discourses and representations of these places. These discourses and representations, and how they interacted with participants' senses of danger, were discussed previously in the section above.

In some cases, participants felt as if places in New York City they had never been were dangerous. This was the case, for instance, for Shimam, who cited Harlem, Manhattan as a dangerous place despite never having been there, and based this on Harlem having a reputation for danger due to crime. In most cases, however, the unknown areas participants cited as being dangerous were other places in the United States outside of New York City. Furthermore, the reasons participants gave for feeling that these places were dangerous were their reputations for being home to racist and anti-migrant sentiments.

These reputations came from both media and word-of-mouth sources. In terms of word-of-mouth reputations and representations, participants recounted being told by friends and relatives about negative experiences in other parts of the United States. For example, Joel

mentioned being told by his cousin that, while he was in the southern United States, he had been called a "monkey"; for this reason, Joel regarded the South as dangerous because of the prevalence of anti-black racism. In terms of media representations and reputations, participants described basing their feelings of danger on reports of racist and anti-migrant activity in other parts of the United States. In this case, this can be seen in how Selena mentioned not feeling comfortable with the idea of visiting the state of Virgina after the Charlottesville riots. However, in most cases, participants found areas they had not visited and which were outside of New York to be dangerous due to a mix of these different sources, which came together to form a general sense that these areas were unwelcoming toward migrants and non-white people, and had the potential to be dangerous. This could be seen in the responses of Shimam, Selena, Kevin, Lola, Miguel, Abhishek, Joel, and Putri—a large and diverse cross-section of participants.

A few things are of note about this pattern of finding unknown areas outside of New York City to be dangerous. The first is that it can be taken in concert with participants' finding all of New York City to be safe, and feelings as if they would be able to be safe anywhere in New York, as will be discussed Section 4.1.5. Second, it can also be noted that several participants cited specifically the American South as an area which they believed would be dangerous for them. Since this is a part of the country which supported Trump in the 2016 presidential election, and which has been represented by the media as a strong, unanimous base of support for Trump, this can tie participants' feelings of danger about this area in with politics. These two observations, taken together, point to participants—and by extension, young migrants in New York—constructing imagined geographies of New York in contrast with the rest of the United States based on their emotional and affective perceptions of political events; this will be further discussed in Section 5.3.4.

Together, these participant examples—touching on different sorts of discrimination, as well as participant attitudes toward police, media and popular discourses, and places outside of their immediate knowledge—can be taken to show how discrimination, although it can come from multiple sources, all serves to decrease participants' feelings of belonging. As alluded to in the previous section, discrimination and social isolation are interrelated not only in that they are both factors that lead to feelings of not belonging, but also in how they work. In the previous section, it was discussed how being in non-diverse environments could be socially isolating for participants due to fears of discrimination. As well, many participants describe their experiences of discrimination as functioning by way of social isolation; this can be seen, for example, in Lola's description of being treated rudely—and therefore implicitly socially excluded—due to her race. In terms of discrimination based on governmental regimes and political discourses, it can even be seen that these forms of discrimination serve to socially isolate migrants from American society as a whole.

4.1.4. Recreation

Finally, in addition to the previously discussed aspects of their daily routines, many participants also discussed their recreational activities. These sorts of practices were not as often mentioned as those involving commuting or those involving work and school, because the interview and participatory map tasks involved recounting practices of movement on a typical

weekday, and these recreational activities were less routine and often occurred on weekends. However, I also did ask about participants' favorite recreational activities in the interviews, and some trends did emerge.

The first major pattern to do with participants' recreational activities has to do with where participants chose to spend their recreational time. There were three major kinds of space participants tended to enjoy spending their free time in: parks, large public spaces, and restaurants. Many participants spent large amounts of time in parks; however, it is notable that many participants identified parks as being dangerous spaces, while still also spending their recreational time in them, and furthermore some participants also had more ambiguous attitudes towards parks and "green" spaces in general. There are many possible explanations for this: for one, the positive aspects of parks identified by my participants, such as their natural beauty, could outweigh their negative aspects; as well, many participants identified parks as only being dangerous at night, and therefore only spent time in parks during the day. Furthermore, the role of participants spending time in places which they perceive as dangerous as a way of "claiming" public space can also be a factor, which will be discussed further in Section 5.3.3.

A similar pattern can be observed in participants' recreational activities in large public spaces. These kinds of spaces include large-scale, popular, and well-known public areas such as Times Square and other major landmarks. These are, once again, places which participants visit and spend their free time in, despite feeling a sense of danger in. The same process of "claiming" public space can also be seen to be at work in these places as well. Furthermore, many of these spaces—such as the bridges Lola discussed spending time visiting—are symbols of New York's civic infrastructure, and spending time in these places can be seen as an example of migrants "claiming" these spaces as well. Finally, some participants, such as Nikita and Lola, also discussed spending time in museums; these can be seen as spaces symbolic of New York's culture, and therefore migrants spending time in these spaces can be seen as "claiming" them as well. This can be seen in Photo 4.

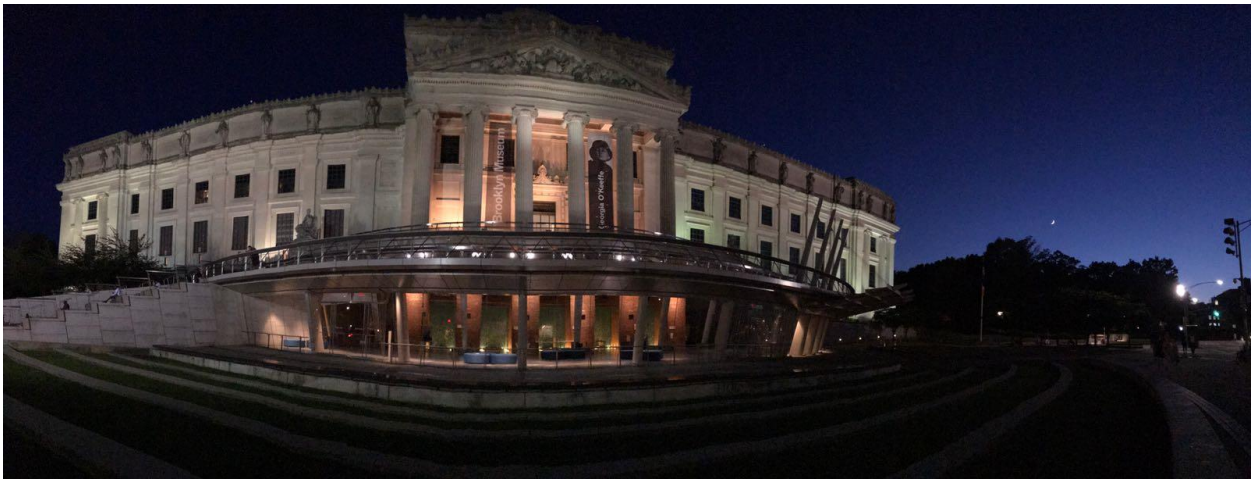


Photo 4: Photo submitted by Lola of the Brooklyn Museum, a place where she spends much of her recreational time.

The final type of place where many participants reported spending their free time was in restaurants and other food service establishments. This preference for restaurants can be linked to something many participants discussed: how food was one of the major ways in which they

felt connected with their home countries. Kevin, for example, said, "I guess the aspect about [my home country, Indonesia,] that I'm still attached to is its food," and proceeded to discuss spending free time visiting Indonesian restaurants. Diego also discussed spending much of his free time visiting restaurants that served the food of his native Peru. Food, therefore, established a link for some participants to their home countries; as discussed in Section 4.1.1., this in turn could lead to feelings of belonging.

One notable thing about all of the various types of places participants chose to spend their time in—parks, public spaces, and restaurants—was that these places tended to be somewhat removed from participants' routine patterns of movement. In other words, participants' recreational spaces tended to be removed from the spaces they went daily on their commutes from home to school or work and back again. The main exception to this was in the case of parks: participants tended to visit parks which were close to either their homes (in the case of Miguel) or their schools or workplaces (in the case of Kevin). However, in general, this pattern of choosing recreational spaces far from usual commuting path could be seen for most participants. This pattern could be explained by a desire by participants to not spend their free time in places associated with work and study, or a desire to explore more of the city and for novelty. It is notable, however, that unfamiliarity with an area was something that many participants said made that area feel dangerous for them, and something which made participants feel as if they did not belong in an area; therefore, this pattern of movement can be seen as another example of participants spending recreational time in an area despite feeling it is dangerous.

The other major trend that can be observed in terms of participants' practices of recreation was that participants preferred to spend their recreational time in the presence of friends. Friends, and being with friends, were an important factor that led to feelings of belonging in participants, as discussed in Section 4.1.3. Taken together with the previously-stated observation about participants choosing to spend their free time in areas that were relatively unfamiliar to them, participants' preference for bringing friends with them on their recreational activities can be seen as a strategy for increasing their feelings of belonging in the places they go. If unfamiliar areas are places in which participants feel both as if they are in danger and as if they do not belong, then having friends in these areas can serve to ameliorate these emotions, and possibly make these new spaces into areas in which participants feel safe and as if they belong. This, then, can be seen as another process by which migrants make more of the city into a place in which they can belong.

Participants' recreational activities, taken as a whole, are highly entwined with their senses of belonging, and with their desires to "claim" New York's urban space as a space in which they, as young migrants, can belong. It may be because participants' practices of movement in terms of recreation are almost entirely individually-directed and voluntary, whereas their patterns of movement in terms of work and study are partially determined by the structures of their workplaces and educational institutions, that there is this additional emotional and affective component to patterns of recreation. This will be discussed further in Section 5.3.3.

Finally, although it cannot be necessarily termed a "recreational" activity, some participants used portions of their time which was not spent commuting, studying, working, or sleeping at religious services, or otherwise involved in religious life and religious communities.

Although only three participants out of the total sample of fifteen mentioned religious activity as part of their practices, it was a powerful enough factor in their lives that it merits further discussion, particularly since it was a strong source of belonging for these participants.

Parks

As well as spending much of their recreational time there, many participants indicated feeling senses of belonging in parks. Very few participants included these locations on their participatory maps, and those who did include them did not indicate them as places of belonging. Furthermore, in the interviews, many participants mentioned spending time in these areas, and mentioned specifically that they were places they spent leisure and recreational time in; however, very few participants specifically said that these were places in which they felt belonging. However, in terms of submitted photographs, many participants sent in photos of parks as places they felt belonging in. This discrepancy between the photo submission task and the other methods of data collection could be because both the interview task and the participatory mapping task involved participants describing their daily routines, while the photo submission task did not have any relation to routines, only to locations of belonging; if parks are only visited occasionally, or are not visited on a regular routine basis, they might not have been mentioned in the participatory mapping task or the interview, even if they are locations of belonging.

Many participants reported spending much of their leisure time visiting parks. This leisure time was outside of participants' daily routines due to the fact that it was irregular and non-scheduled. Which parks my participants spent time in depends in large part on where the participants lived and worked. For example, Lola lives near Prospect Park in Brooklyn, and so spends a lot of time there, while Miguel lives near Fort Greene Park and so spends his time there; both of these participants sent in photos of these locations as places in which they felt belonging. Kevin, to contrast, indicated feeling belonging in Central Park on his participatory map, even though he does not live there; however, he attends Hunter College, which is nearby. This can tie in to participants' previously-discussed feelings of belonging in their home neighborhoods. Although the parks participants frequent vary in size, popularity, and prominence, all of them are public areas frequented by many people. In terms of the reasons behind feeling belonging in parks, participants who discussed parks indicated that they were good opportunities to be in touch with nature in the otherwise highly urbanized environment of New York City.

It is also notable that many participants also thought of parks as dangerous places, especially after dark; however, this did not deter them from visiting parks. This was especially apparent in participants' participatory map responses, in which six out of the total of fifteen participants indicated parks as dangerous places. However, almost every participant who indicated parks as dangerous places specified that these parks were only dangerous at night, not during the day. Furthermore, considering these parks dangerous during the night did not prevent participants from visiting them during the day, or from considering them places of belonging as well. In fact, one participant, Shimam, noted that he regularly visits his local park in the middle of the night, even though he considers it dangerous.

Those participants who specified why they considered parks to be dangerous after dark attributed the source of danger to the presence of threatening people; this was a major aspect of

danger for participants in general, as discussed in Section 4.1.2. The fact that the presence of these threatening people was not enough to make participants avoid parks and public spaces, but rather that participants were still willing to spend time in and enjoy these places, can be tied into the ideas of migrants "claiming" public spaces, and the right to inhabit public spaces, through their daily practices. This idea will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.3.

It is also important to discuss why those participants who enjoyed spending time in parks found them to be desirable places. Furthermore, it should be noted that there was some ambiguity with regards to participants' attitudes toward parks. In a more general sense, participants had divided attitudes toward which sort of space they preferred: highly built-up, urbanized spaces, or spaces that were more "natural", with more greenery and less development. For the most part, participants preferred more natural areas; however, there was enough of a difference of opinion regarding this that it merits further discussion.

When participants discussed enjoying and preferring more natural spaces, it was often in discussion of why they enjoyed spending time in parks. Many participants cited as desire for natural space—something which is quite rare in a city like New York—as a reason for patronizing parks; this can be seen in Photo 5, submitted by Kelly. There were some participants who took this preference for natural space still further, beyond simply discussing parks, such as Shimam, who discussed missing the rural environment of his home country of Bangladesh, and preferring it to New York City.

Photo 5: Photo submitted by Kelly of her local Fresh Meadows Park, showing a preference for more natural and less urbanized environments.

However, there were other participants who did not agree with this preference for natural spaces and parks. Abhishek, for example, discussed how the heavy urbanization of New York made it feel more like a space of belonging for him, because it reminded him of his home city of Mumbai, India. More broadly, it is notable that almost every participant discussed the heavily developed and urbanized New York as a whole as a location in which they felt belonging and safety, regardless of their preferences for natural or developed spaces. This suggests that there are more important factors than the aesthetic character of space for my participants and their emotional perceptions of space.

Public spaces and landmarks

Another category of large, public space that participants indicated feeling belonging in was that of famous public areas and tourist attractions. These include such prominent landmarks as bridges, museums, and famous monuments throughout the city. Much as in the case of parks, very few participants included these locations on their participatory maps or noted them as locations of belonging in their interviews. However, once again, these spaces were well-represented in the submitted photos, for much the same reason as for parks.

There were many different places—and many different kinds of places—of this sort that participants felt belonging in, but most had the common feature of being well-known, popular landmarks within the city. Selena submitted a photo of Bryant Park in Manhattan; Lola submitted photos of Times Square, the Brooklyn Bridge, and the World Trade Center; Putri submitted photos of the famous Lower Manhattan skyline and of the Verrazano Bridge; and Diego submitted photos of Madison Square Park. Perhaps most interestingly, Joel submitted photos of Times Square and of Yankee Stadium, but these photos were "selfies", with Joel himself positioned prominently in the center of the frame (Photo 6). This serves to emphasize to the viewer the centrality of Joel himself to that space, and how he is occupying it. Once again, many participants indicated spending their leisure time in these places in their interviews; for example, Selena mentioned regularly going out to dinner with friends near Times Square.

Photo 6: Photo sent in by Joel, showing himself "in the very heart of it", in the center of Times Square. Permission to use this photo was granted by the participant.

In terms of why participants feel belonging in these places, it is notable that these locations are all globally famous as tourist attractions and as symbols of New York City. This link to tourism was made explicit by Kevin, who mentioned in regards to spending his leisure time in prominent public locations such as Times Square, that he "would consider myself a tourist in my own city. I've lived here for the past seven years, and I still feel the need to explore the countless things and surprises this city has to offer." By indicating belonging in these places, and by emphasizing their own drive to explore and discover more about these places, migrant participants could be emphasizing their ability to belong in, and their right to, public space. This can be seen especially with regards to the photos Joel submitted, with himself placed prominently in the middle of famous landmarks. Furthermore, it could even be argued that these famous public spaces could serve as a metonymy for belonging in the city as a whole, since these are spaces that are most strongly associated with New York in popular culture. It is also worth noting that, similar to the case of parks, many participants indicated these sorts of spaces as being dangerous, yet participants did not avoid these places or feel a lack of belonging in them; in fact, Joel, who sent in a photo of himself in Times Square, also indicated Times Square as a dangerous location on his participatory map.

A final type of public space that many participants felt sense of belonging is that of spaces associated with the civic infrastructure of New York (although it notable that participants did not mention this aspect of these places themselves). These are places that are either associated with the city's government, or were built as civic projects. Many of the areas previously discussed as locations of belonging, such as public parks and university buildings, are also such civic structures; other such civic structures can be seen in the photos of bridges submitted by Putri and Lola, the photos of the subway system submitted by Diego, and the photo of the New York City Municipal Building submitted once again by Lola. Submitting these sorts of photos as locations of belonging could be a claim by participants that they belong in and deserve to be included within the structure of civic nationalism in the United States. In the context of migrants' lives in the contemporary United States, this is a political claim, asserting participants' rights as migrants; this will be discussed further in Section 5.3.

Religion

One more activity some participants were engaged in was the practice of religion; furthermore, for these participants, this practice was a major source of feelings of belonging. Unlike previously-discussed aspects of belonging, only a few of my participants mentioned religion as a source of belonging; however, it was a strong enough force in the lives of these participants that it merits discussion here. Religion was mentioned during the interviews by three participants, Shimam, Putri, and Angie. Shimam also included his mosque on his participatory map, while Angie submitted photos of several different mosques she frequents. Another participant, Abhishek, sent in a photograph of a religious building, in this case a Catholic church, but since he did not discuss religion in his interview, I will confine my analysis of the role of religion to those participants who did discuss it because of the comparatively greater amount of information available on them.

The three participants who discussed religion were unanimous in how religion was a strong force in their lives, and that religion contributed greatly to their senses of belonging. However, their individual religious backgrounds varied greatly. Putri, whose country of origin was Indonesia, was a Christian, while Shimam and Angie (who were Bangladeshi and Colombian respectively) were both Muslim. Furthermore, while Shimam was born a Muslim, Angie converted to the religion when she was eighteen years old. The role religion played in the daily practices of each of these participants also varied greatly. Putri did not mention any regular practices related to her religion, while Angie discussed regularly attending mosques, but not having one specific mosque she attended, but rather moving between different mosques and Muslim prayer services throughout the New York area (one of these can be seen in Photo 7). Shimam, to contrast, had one dedicated mosque he went to, which he also visited on a daily basis for the social connection it afforded him and because he did volunteer work as an academic tutor there—this regular attendance may be the reason that a religious building appeared on his participatory map and not those of the others.

Photo 7: Photo of an outdoor Muslim prayer service submitted by Angie.

While each of these three participants strongly related religion to their senses of belonging, they also each did it in a different way. Putri mentioned that the Indonesian cultural activities at her church kept her connected to her home country, which contributed to her sense of belonging. However, on a broader scale, she credited her Christian faith with giving her a sense of meaning and purpose that allowed her to feel belonging anywhere. Angie described having a time as a religious seeker, trying out different faiths before eventually coming to Islam. She eventually chose Islam because, in her words, she "just fell in love", and "felt a peace" with the religion; this sense of peace in turn was connected to her sense of belonging. Shimam also felt a deep spiritual connection with Islam which was connected with his feelings of belonging, but also found belonging through the community of his mosque. As previously mentioned, he referred to the other people at his Islamic center as his "brothers", and related this community of people strongly to his sense of belonging. The relationship between faith, community, and belonging was so strong for him that he mentioned not being able to maintain a friendship with someone who had lost their Muslim faith.

Since I did not ask directly about it in my interviews, I have no information about whether any of my other participants were religious. However, for those participants who did mention it, it was a strong component of belonging. This was a result both of factors previously discussed such as access to communities of friends and connection to one's home country, but also of a deeper, more spiritual sense of belonging that came from religious faith. Finally, it is worth noting that two of the participants who mentioned religion were Muslim, and Muslims as a group have been targeted for discrimination through the policies and rhetorics of the Trump administration. Shimam, in fact, mentioned that Trump's discriminatory policies were a common topic of conversation at his mosque, although he did not elaborate on what exactly was discussed. These discriminatory policies could contribute to a sense of solidarity among Muslims, which in turn could also contribute to belonging.

4.1.5. New York City as a whole

Finally, pulling away from participants' daily practices of movement, it is worthwhile to note three trends in participants' perceptions and subjectivities around space that extend to the entirety of New York City, rather than to any specific area. The first of these trends is that the quantitative economic character of places of emotional salience throughout New York City could not, generally, be linked to participants' feelings towards these areas. The second of these trends is that, in general, participants did not report experiencing feelings of danger very often during their lives and daily routines. The third is that participants tended to regard the entirety of New York City as a safe place, and that participants believed themselves to be capable of feeling safe anywhere within New York City.

Economics of emotionally salient areas

Quantitative economic data was found for different areas of New York City which participants indicated as places of belonging, safety, and danger. Participants' areas of belonging were, for the most part, very economically prosperous. They tended to have median incomes

higher than that of New York City as a whole, which was $55,191 per year as of 2016 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016), and most had less than 20% of their population below the poverty line. However, there were enough exceptions to this to call into question a direct relationship between economic prosperity and belonging. These exceptions were the neighborhoods of Crown Heights South, Brooklyn, a place of belonging for Lola; East New York, Brooklyn, a place of belonging for Catherine; Flushing, Queens, a place of belonging for Diego; and, once again, Williamsburg. As previously mentioned in Section 4.1.1., although it has recently experienced an influx of young professionals and artists and as a result undergone gentrification, Williamsburg is still home to a large population of Hasidic Jews, who follow a highly orthodox form of religion which rejects many parts of secular, modern society and promotes isolation from non-Hasidic communities (Poll, 2017). Of particular relevance here is the fact that Hasidic Jews do not generally practice secular education, and therefore have difficulty finding employment outside of the Hasidic community (Seville, 2016). This can explain Williamsburg's very poor economic performance, with a median income of only $21,502, and 52% of its population living in poverty.

The areas participants specified as safe also tended to be economically prosperous. The median incomes among residents in NTAs specified as safe by participants tended be higher than the median income of New York City as a whole. The two exception to this trend were the neighborhoods of Flushing, Queens (specified as safe by Nikita) and Crown Heights South, Brooklyn (specified as safe by Lola). It is notable, however, that despite some safe areas having lower median incomes than that of New York City as a whole, every safe area had a rate of poverty that was lower than or comparable to that of the entirety of New York City (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Furthermore, in terms of other economic indicators, every neighborhood considered safe by participants had residents with high degrees of educational attainment; in most cases, the largest proportions of the populations of these areas had college degrees of some sort, and there were no safe areas in which a significant portion of the population did not have a high school degree. Finally, in most of the areas considered safe by participants, residents tended to be employed in the financial, educational, and health care sectors of the economy, and hold jobs at the professional or managerial level.

In terms of economics, participants' dangerous places tended to be much less prosperous than their safe places. The neighborhoods of Harlem, East New York, the South Bronx, Corona, and Elmhurst all have median incomes lower than the median income of New York City as a whole. Furthermore, the South Bronx and East New York also have high rates of poverty—45% and 30%, respectively—and of unemployment—15% and 14%, respectively. Furthermore, in terms of other economic indicators, East New York and Ozone Park have populations who have generally only achieved high school degrees, while Corona and the South Bronx have large proportions of their populations who never graduated high school. As well, the populations of East New York, the South Bronx, Ozone Park, Corona, and Elmhurst tend to be employed in the service, retail, construction, and transportation industries, which are comparatively lower-paying, less stable, and less prestigious than other industries.

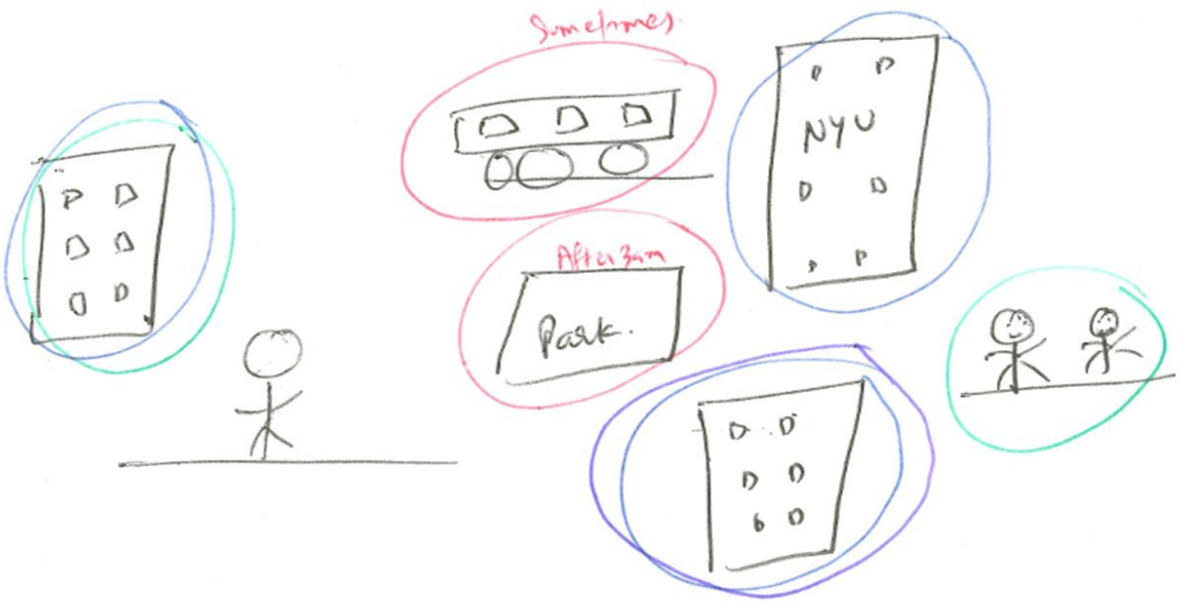
However, there were some areas participants regarded as dangerous which were very economically well-off. Fort Greene, the Upper East Side, and Morningside Heights all have high median incomes (very high, in the case of the Upper East Side) as well as high levels of

educational attainment and populations who work in professional and managerial careers. Furthermore, there is not a through-line in terms of what type of areas these were in terms of participants' practices of movement. Fort Greene is Miguel's home neighborhood, the Upper East Side is the location of Anna's university building, and Morningside Heights is an area which both Kelly and Putri had to visit for reasons of work or study.

Overall, in terms of economics, there was a large amount of variation between areas of emotional salience. Areas participants reported as safe were generally economically prosperous; areas participants reported as dangerous were relatively less prosperous, with some noticeable exceptions; and areas participants reported as places of belonging were relatively more prosperous, again with some notable exceptions. There was enough variability among the different areas within each category of emotional salience, however, that it is difficult to draw conclusions about the influence of a neighborhood's economic character of how participants perceived it. Furthermore, since (as previously mentioned) participants did not discuss the economics of different areas in their interviews, there is no way to make a connection between the interview data and the quantitative data. Therefore, in this thesis, it cannot be said that there is a noticeable trend in linking participants' emotional perceptions of spaces with the economic characters of those spaces.

Lack of danger

Despite the previously-discussed spaces and aspects of space which made participants feel as if they were in danger, the most notable trend to emerge from the interview data with regards to feelings of danger was just how little danger participants perceived there being in their environments. Many participants reported not feeling afraid or as if they were in danger very often. Furthermore, in their participatory maps, some participants did not indicate any space they visited as being dangerous, while other participants indicated some spaces as dangerous, but only at certain times of day (this can be seen in Map 4), suggesting that for the rest of the day they did not regard any area visited during their daily patterns of movement as being dangerous.



Map 4: Participatory map drawn by Abhishek, in which the dangerous areas (circled in red) are marked as only being dangerous "sometimes" and "after 3AM".

This general lack of perception of places in New York City as dangerous was especially noticeable if the places which participants had not visited are discounted. This can be done in order to determine specifically which places participants considered dangerous due to first-hand experience, as opposed to which places participants considered dangerous due to their reputations from the media or from word-of-mouth. If these latter places are discounted, it becomes even more apparent how participants did not consider any places they had visited within New York City to be dangerous, since without the inclusion of places they had not been, many participants would not have anywhere reported as dangerous.

This lack of feeling of danger in New York City can be seen as directly related to how participants believed they would be able to feel safe anywhere within New York City, as discussed in the next section. As discussed in that section and elsewhere, the lack of these feelings of danger can be considered with regards to participants' political lives as migrants; this will be discussed further in Section 5.3.1. Furthermore, the ways in which this perception of a lack of danger works specifically with regards to the space of New York City will be discussed further in Section 5.3.4.

The entirety of New York City as a safe place

In comparison to the previous discussions of the lack of danger in New York City, one thing that was striking about participants' discussions of safety is that, when asked which places within New York they found safe, many participants claimed that they would be able to feel safe anywhere in the city. For example, Selena said, "generally in the city I feel safe"; Kevin said, "there's a great sense of security wherever I am in the city"; Abhishek said, "most parts of the

city are safe"; Diego said, "I usually feel safe in New York"; and Shimam said, "I do feel like New York City will always be a safe place for all types of people." As can be seen, this sentiment was expressed in many different ways, but it was something that many different participants echoed.

What was the root of this feeling of safety in all of New York, and this ability to feel safe anywhere in the city? Shimam's interview response can shed some further light on the issue. This is because his discussion of New York City being safe as a whole was contextualized by two other factors. The first was his discussion of hostility toward Muslims in the United States. In the interview, we were discussing anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States as a whole, and he specifically cited all of New York as a safe place for Muslims, compared with the rest of the United States.

This brings us to the second factor that contextualized his feelings of safety in New York: comparison of New York to other places in the United States. He specifically said that, in New York, he feels "90% safer than in other states." Taking this in concert with his other statements on the safety of New York as a whole, it can be seen that, for Shimam, New York as a whole is a safe place because New York has a culture that is open to people of marginalized groups such as Muslims, which sets it apart from the rest of the United States. It is notable as well that Shimam claimed never to have been anywhere else in the United States besides New York, meaning that his impressions of other parts of the country as being less safe than New York were not formed from first-hand experience, but rather from other influences.

Other participants who claimed to feel safe in the entirety of New York did not provide this further context into the reasons behind their feelings of safety, and therefore it cannot be said with certainty that they felt the same way as Shimam. However, many participants did also discuss feeling unsafe in places outside of New York City, despite not having been to these places; this was discussed previously, in Section 4.1.3.

4.1.6. Change over time

Another dimension of participants' emotions and practices which I asked about in my interviews and in my participatory mapping task was whether these emotions and practices had changed over time; specifically, over the course of the last year. As discussed in my methods section (specifically, Section 3.1), this time period was chosen because it corresponded to when Trump became president; therefore, this was a way of seeing if and if so how this major political event had influenced participants' emotions and practices. Furthermore, in my interviews I also asked how my participants believed their emotions and practices would change over the course of the coming year.

Very few of my participants reported any major change in either their daily practices of movement. However, there was a very diverse and heterogeneous set of responses from participants about how their feelings about different areas of the city have changed over the past year. Furthermore, when asked about how they felt their emotions and practices would change in the future, many participants expressed worry and fear, and were apprehensive that the United States would become more dangerous and less of a place of belonging for them.

Lack of change in practices over the past year

In terms of practices of movement, almost no participants reported a change over the course of the past year. This was apparent both in the interviews and the participatory maps. In fact, there were only four exceptions to this: Miguel discussed spending more recreational time in different places in his home neighborhood of Fort Greene, Brooklyn, Zoe discussed a recent beach holiday and a new job, Diego discussed several buildings he used to spend time in being demolished, and Anna discussed moving from living with her parents in Brooklyn to living with her boyfriend in Queens. It is notable that none of the participants who did report changes in their practices of movement linked these changes in any way to the Trump presidency.

Different sorts of change in emotion over the past year

Overall, participants had a very widely-varying set of responses when asked how their feelings of safety, danger, and belonging had changed in the past year. Some participants did not report any change in their feelings, similar to their lack of change in practices. Participants who did this were Nikita, Kevin, Catherine, Zoe (although she reported feeling in more danger in her home country of China), Abhishek, and Kelly. This comprises a large portion of the sample; however, there were many more responses from different participants who reported their emotional responses to different places throughout the city, and their emotional states in general, changing in a variety of different ways.

A few participants, such as Lola, described how their feelings of belonging within New York City had increased since first migrating there from their home countries due to learning English and forming more social connections; however, although the participants who discussed this were relatively recent migrants, these actual migration events did not happen within the last year. Anna also reported feeling more belonging in the United States after acquiring her citizenship, another example of feelings of belonging changing in response to migration-related events. Similarly, though not connected to migration events, other participants discussed feeling more belonging as they integrated more closely into the communities of their homes and educational institution; Diego was an example of this.

Other participants, such as Anna and Shimam, discussed having moved from more dangerous to safer areas recently; for example, Shimam discussed feeling in danger in his former neighborhood of Ozone Park, Queens, due to a 2016 incident in which an imam was shot in that neighborhood (Rosenberg and Schweber, 2016). However, he also discussed how his sense of safety had changed for the better after moving away from this area. Angie also described her feelings of safety increasing in her home neighborhood of Elmhurst, Queens due to changes in its population and its development. She claims that, "my neighborhood was actually more dangerous than what it is today. There's been a lot of gentrification, moving people from one area to another and trying to balance it out." She then further explains how this has made her neighborhood feel safer, stating that, "when you mix different communities […] you are putting the well-off people with people that are in Section 8 [people who are in public housing due to poverty], and they're helping out each other, and there's a positivity there that just makes the neighborhood better, because two different groups are working together." This can be seen as an

example of increasing diversity leading to increased feelings of safety; it is also notable that this is the only time in any of the interviews that any participant mentioned the concept of gentrification, and it is furthermore notable that the concept was mentioned in a positive light.

Some participants also discussed feeling less safe and more in danger, as well as feelings as if they belonged less in New York City and the US as a whole, over the past year. Participants tended to connect these increased negative feelings to political events, specifically the election of Donald Trump and the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville. This attitude was encapsulated by Selena, who, discussing how she felt less as if she belonged recently, stated, "we currently have a government in place that is very outspoken about the way they see people of color, and it's not a positive attitude towards immigrants, and I feel as though it is a specific attack on immigrants of color, so it is difficult to deal with." This sentiment—that the Trump administration's hostility towards immigrants and people of color led to participants feeling as if they were more in danger, and less like they belonged—was also echoed by Joel and Miguel, with both Joel and Selena also discussing the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville as another political event that had made them feel less belonging. Echoing the general tenor of many participants' feelings of belonging in New York City versus the rest of the country, all three of these participants also claimed to feel that the rest of the United States besides New York become much more dangerous than New York; Miguel specifically mentioned the Sanctuary Cities movement, and New York's status as a Sanctuary City, when discussing this.

One thing that was notable about this was that Selena specified, when discussing her decreased feelings of belonging, that her "personal" levels of belonging had not changed, while only her "national and political" feelings of belonging had changed. This was a sentiment that was also echoed by Miguel. This can be taken to indicate that, while participants felt as if their senses of belonging in the United States were threatened by these political events, they still felt as if they had a personal space of belonging in their homes, and perhaps in New York City as a whole. Another notable thing Selena mentioned was that she is involved in activism against the Trump administration, and attended protests in New York City against his policies. In her interview, she discussed feeling as if attending these protests had become more dangerous recently due to the possibility of violence erupting, as it did in Charlottesville. However, one of the photos she submitted of a place she felt as if she belonged was of a protest march (Photo 6), suggesting a complex relationship between danger and belonging. As discussed in Section 4.1.4., participants' feelings of belonging in dangerous places and situations can be themselves political acts in order to "claim" these spaces and make them less dangerous; feeling this way at a protest, then, may even be an act of protest itself.

Photo 8: Photo submitted by Selena of a protest march in Manhattan. Emphasized in the frame is a sign reading "Resist!", a common anti-Trump slogan. Selena submitted this photo as a place she felt belonging in, despite also discussing feeling in danger there.

Feelings of more danger and less belonging in the future

Many participants, even ones who did not report having any change in their feelings of safety, danger, and belonging over the past year, discussed feeling as if their feelings might change in the future. Specifically, participants were worried that their environments would become more dangerous, and that they would feel less of a sense of belonging, in the future. This sentiment was always connected to worries about political events, specifically the election of Donald Trump.

This attitude was best summed up by Kevin: "There's a rhetoric against immigrants these days, probably not as much in New York City because we are very diverse and supportive of immigrants, but if I were to move from New York after college […] I would imagine a change in the way people speak about immigrants, and the way people act towards immigrants, so that's one thing that's been bugging my mind. The future of attitudes towards immigrants, that's definitely a part of how I see myself feeling belonging in American society in the future." It is notable, once again, that Kevin discusses this increased lack of belonging, increased sense of danger to his ontological security happening outside of New York City, rather than within it.

It is also worth discussing an episode recounted by Angie when she was asked how her feelings of safety and danger would change. She described how her mother was in the application process for receiving legal permanent residency in the United States when Trump was elected. Although her mother managed to successfully receive her legal permanent residency, Angie reported being terrified that the election of an anti-immigrant president would cause her mother to be denied residency and deported back to Colombia. Recounting this story was a very emotional act for Angie, bringing her to tears. This strong emotional salience can be

coupled with the feeling that political changes would change American society, and specifically the parts of American society that are open and accepting of migrants, in unpredictable ways. It is notable, after all, that my interviews took place in the very early months of the Trump administration; therefore, participants' feelings of apprehension about the future can be connected to not knowing how this new presidential administration could influence their lives.

4.2. Overall patterns of emotion and practice

Now that the results of the interview, participatory mapping, and photo submission tasks have been presented, along with the quantitative data the complements them, it is possible to return to and answer this thesis' research question, as presented in Section 1.3. That research question concerned how young migrants in New York City perceive their environments in terms of safety, danger, and belonging, and how this influences their daily practices of movement. The empirical results of this thesis, when placed in the context of this research question, will be summed up and presented based on the research question's three sub-questions. These concern which areas participants feel they belong in, how this relates to safety and danger, and why; what participants' daily patterns of movement are, and how this relates to their emotional perceptions of their environment; and how these have changed due to recent geopolitical events.

4.2.1. Locations in which participants feel belonging, safety, and danger

Participants' emotional perceptions of the spaces around them—specifically with regards to the areas in which they felt belonging, safety, and danger, and the aspects of those areas that produced those feelings—was extensively described in Section 4.1. From the empirical data on this subject, several trends emerged which can be taken together to paint a picture of participants' subjective perceptions of their environments.

There were a diverse set of areas in which participants tended to feel belonging. The most common of these were their home and home neighborhoods, their educational institutions, and large public and civic spaces. Furthermore, the aspects of spaces which contributed to participants' feelings of belonging were, for the most part, familiarity with the area; the diversity of the area; the presence of friends and family; and the ability to speak their native languages. However, it is perhaps more important to note the factors that did not have any effect on participants' feelings of belonging. These included perceptions of safety and danger; while many participants claimed that feeling safe was important for them to feel belonging in an area, many also claimed to be able to feel belonging in areas they felt to be dangerous. Furthermore, in terms of quantitative data, it did not appear that the economic status or the crime rates of an area had any influence on whether participants felt they belonged there.

However, the most notable factors overall in terms of participants' feelings of belonging, and their relationship to safety and danger, had to do with familiarity, and with participants' feelings of safety and danger within New York City as a whole. Familiarity was the factor that participants most often linked to their feelings of belonging in a place; as a corollary to this, when participants were deeply familiar with a place, they tended to feel belonging in it. This, in turn, can be related to another pattern in participants' responses: when asked about places in

which they felt like they did not belong, many participants discussed places outside of New York City where they themselves had never personally been. This pattern also, in a way, applied to participants' ideas of time as well as space: when asked about their feelings of belonging, many participants expressed worries that they would feel less belonging in the future, but did not claim to be experiencing less belonging in the present. This may also be related to participants' feelings of safety and danger, since, much like their feelings of not belonging, participants also tended to claim they felt danger in places they had never been, and places that were outside of New York City. Furthermore, when asked about places in which they felt safe, many participants claimed that they were able to feel safe in the entirety of New York City, regardless of which area they were in.

4.2.2. Participants' daily practices of movement, and how this is influenced by their emotions

Participants' daily patterns of movement tended to be fairly regular. Participants would wake up early, commute (often for long periods of time, and almost always by public transportation) to their workplaces or educational institutions, and spend most of their days there. They would then go home in the evening, being sure not to stay out too late. Participants' recreational and social activities often occurred at their educational institutions with other students, or occasionally at parks, restaurants, and large public spaces.

In terms of how these patterns of movement were influenced by participants' emotions, it is notable that all of the areas which were part of participants' daily routines tended to be areas in which participants felt strong senses of belonging. This can be taken together with the idea of participants' feelings of belonging in places being linked with familiarity in those places. Specifically, it could be argued that participants felt as if they belonged in the areas they visited during their daily routines of movement because they were familiar with them. The exception to this trend was public transportation, which participants spent a large amount of time on and were very familiar with, but did not report feeling belonging in and often reported feeling danger in. However, due to the fact that public transportation is in motion, and has different passengers in it at all times, it is possible that participants would not be able to gain the same sense of familiarity there that they would in other places.

This idea can be extended by once again bringing in the concept that participants generally felt as if they were in danger, and that they did not belong, in areas in which they had never been. Participants' patterns of movement generally did not take them to places they did not feel belonging in, and to places they felt in danger in, and the places participants did regularly visit as part of their routines of movement were generally thought of as places of belonging and safety. However, the relationship between their patterns of movement and their emotions is not straightforward. This is because, from the data collected in this thesis, it cannot be easily determined whether participants chose their patterns of movement based on the emotions they felt, or whether the emotions participants felt about different places were a result of their patterns of motion.

However, there are some pieces of information from the data collected in this thesis that can shed some light on this issue. For one, participants were not entirely in control of their own patterns of movement, since these patterns were often somewhat determined by the locations of

participants' educational institutions and where participants lived, both of which were (in the cases of participants who lived with their parents) not chosen by participants themselves. As well, it was noticeable from looking at participants' recreational habits that participants were not unwilling to visit areas they found dangerous. Therefore, in both of these instances, it can be said that participants' patterns of movement were not being dictated by their emotions. Overall, however, it is likely that the link between emotions and patterns of movement is more complex and reciprocal than this.

Finally, one thing of note is that very few participants mentioned that their patterns of movement had changed over the course of the past year. Furthermore, those participants who did mention their patterns of movement changing did not connect this change to any change in their emotions or emotional perceptions of space, but rather to things like moving house or starting a new career. This is notable because of the geopolitical changes that occurred over the year prior to this study; specifically, it suggests that those changes did not influence participants' patterns of movement, in regards to how they relate to emotions.

4.2.3. The influence of politics on participants' emotions and practices

These aforementioned geopolitical changes and events—specifically, the election of Donald Trump and the accompanying emboldening of anti-migrant and racist elements within American society—were especially relevant to my participants, as they were all migrants and almost all people of color. And indeed, my participants were highly politically aware. My participants often mentioned political issues, and thought deeply about the way these political issues would influence their lives.

Overall, what was notable about my participants' emotional lives, and emotional perceptions of space, was their lack of fear, and their strong feelings of belonging towards their city. This is in contrast to a political and discursive regime that attempts to create a climate of fear for migrants, and to create an American society in which migrants do not belong. In many ways, participants' assertions that they belong in their city, and that they are not afraid, can be taken as reaction to these discourses. Furthermore, the fact that participants did not generally change their daily practices of motion due to the political changes of the past year can be seen as an assertion of their rights to move freely and to occupy space in the face of discourses against the rights of migrants.

Another element of participants' emotional perceptions of space that can be related to politics is their perceptions of New York as a space of safety and belonging, versus the rest of the United States as a space of danger and of not belonging. This can be connected to different popular perceptions in American culture: the idea of New York as a "city of immigrants" due to its long immigrant history (as discussed in Section 1.2.), and the idea of areas outside of New York as comparatively hostile to immigrants and as supportive of anti-migrant politicians such as Donald Trump. Therefore, by specifically asserting their belonging and safety in New York as opposed to the rest of the United States, my participants are casting their lot in with the portion of American society that is seen to be like them.

5. Discussion

Following the summary of the results presented in the previous section, it is now necessary to develop the ideas raised when discussing those results. First, I will present an overview of participants' emotional and affective senses of place in New York City. Then, I will argue that this sense of place, coupled with participants practices of movement, constitute the formation of a specific habitus for young migrants in New York City. I will then link this to political issues, arguing that the formation of this habitus is a political act.

5.1. Participants' emotional and affective senses of place in New York City

As discussed in Section 2.2., the theoretical concept of sense of place is a very important one for this thesis. Following Hay (1998), sense of place is taken to mean both participants' perceptions of the spaces they are in, and their feelings of attachment and belonging to those places. Furthermore, following Murdoch (2005), the space in which participants foster their senses of place is understood as an area of social contestation and conflict. My participants' senses of place in the space of New York City—and, by extension, the senses of place of young migrants in the city as whole—can be investigated in two complementary ways: by looking at their patterns of emotion and their patterns of affect. As discussed in Section 2.2.1., emotion refers to the ways people feel, and the ways in which those feelings influence how people perceive and act in the world around them (Anderson and Smith, 2001; Davidson and Milligan, 2004). In the context of this thesis, the feelings of belonging, of safety, and of danger that participants discussed in their interviews can be considered emotions. Affect, in contrast, refers to people's unconscious or pre-conscious reactions to the world around them, and how these reaction are expressed through bodily motions and actions (Castree et al., 2013). In this thesis, the idea of affect can be investigated mainly by looking at participants' practices.

The first way to understand young migrants' senses of place in New York City is to understand their emotions, and how their emotions relate to their environments. As described throughout Section 4., and summarized in Section 4.1.5., there was a strong general trend that emerged in terms of participants' emotional senses of place. Participants saw all of New York City as a safe place for themselves—or, perhaps more accurately, they saw themselves as being able to be safe anywhere within New York City. Related to this, participants did not generally report feeling as if they were in danger, or feeling afraid, on a regular basis; furthermore, the places they did report as locations of danger tended to be places they had never been to, but imagined as dangerous. As well, these places that were imagined as dangerous tended to be outside of New York City.

Participants also found belonging in a diverse and sometimes contradictory range of places. They claimed that safety was important for their senses of belonging, yet were also able to feel belonging in dangerous areas. They felt belonging when they could speak their native languages, and (in many cases) when they felt connected to their home countries, yet they also overwhelmingly felt belonging in diverse areas, with people from all different backgrounds rather than just from their own backgrounds. Some of these contradictions, in terms of multiculturalism and connection with home countries, can be linked back to the work of Wise

(2005, 2010), who discusses both the difficulties and benefits of everday inter-cultural encounters in diverse areas. Yet in terms of belonging, the most noticeable trend—and one that was free of contradiction—was that participants felt belonging when they had a close community of people around them, such as friends, classmates, family, or (in some cases) religious communities; and that participants felt belonging in places they felt familiar with.

These two aspects of belonging as an emotion relate to participants' affective lives as well. Specifically, participants' feelings of belonging in different spaces come from an active process of building familiarity and community that they have engaged in; in many ways, participants seek out and build their own spaces of belonging. They do this in several ways. For one, participants become familiar with the areas around them through their daily practices of movement. Participants, in general, had set routines of movement throughout the city each day, and found that the areas they visited on those routine movements tended to be places they felt belonging in. This was because visiting those places helped them gain familiarity with them, and this familiarity led to feelings of belonging. As such, this was an affective pattern in which participants, desiring belonging in a new environment after migration, build a sense of place for themselves in which they belong in their new home city. This parallels a pattern of behavior observed by Koskela (1997) and discussed in Section 2.2.1., in which women can make public spaces less dangerous for themselves by actively incorporating these spaces into their daily routines, thus rendering them familiar. Furthermore, in terms of space, this belonging can be found anywhere, and indeed the large, diverse range of spaces my participants specified as locations of belonging bears this out.

In terms of the idea of community building as an aspect of belonging, participants also built social networks for themselves, through their educational institutions, recreational activities, and in some cases religious groups. This, too, was a practice which served to create feelings of belonging for them, since participants tended to link belonging to the presence of a strong community; as well, it can once again be linked to Koskela's 1997 frameworks for risk mitigation in public spaces.. This desire for—and action in order to find—community can be seen as an affective pattern leading to more belonging for young migrants. It can also be related to Bourdieu's ideas of capital, and the transition of capital from one form to another that occurs during transnational migration. Specifically, as discussed by Erel (2010) and Ryan (2011) different forms of social capital are highly important for migrants, and it is important for migrants to foster migration-specific forms of social capital. Both of these affective patterns can be seen as well in how many participants recalled that, upon first migrating to New York City, they had difficultly feeling belonging, but found more of a sense of belonging when they gained familiarity with the environment and found a social group they fit into. As such, through both of these patterns of affect, participants create a sense of place in New York City in which they feel belonging.

Another set of affective patterns that contribute to participants' senses of place had to do with participants visiting large public spaces, and participants being willing to go to places they found dangerous. Participants often discussed spending recreational time in large, busy, public areas, and participants also discussed being willing to spend recreational time in places they found dangerous. Furthermore, they also discussed these places as places of belonging. This affective pattern asserts the rights of participants to inhabit spaces which are considered integral

parts of New York City's public life, and asserts the rights of participants to move how they want to throughout the city even in the face of threats and danger. In this way, these affective patterns create a sense of place in the city in which young migrants have a right to all the city has to offer, and indeed can claim whatever spaces they so desire in the city for themselves. This can be related to the ideas of Becerra (2014) and Veronis (2007), as discussed in Section 2.2.1., who discuss how migrants use the physical occupancy of public spaces as a way to assert their rights within the contested social space of their home countries.

It is particularly important to note that Becerra (2014) specifically discusses the holding of religious events in public spaces as a way for migrants assert their rights to space; this can be tied into some of my participants' strong feelings of belonging related to religion, since these feelings of belonging related public to religious observance can be seen as a way to claim space. This can be seen in Photo 7 in Section 4.1.4., which shows a religious observance in a public space, and which was identified as a photo of a location of belonging by the participant who submitted it. Furthermore, this religious service was Muslim, a religion which is currently marginalized in US society due to anti-Muslim political discourses.

What, however, do these ideas of safety, danger, and belonging, and their associated affective dimensions, mean in terms of participants' senses of place in New York? Through their emotional perceptions of space, I would argue that participants foster a sense of place within New York City that makes the city into a place of safety and belonging, and one in which participants feel a close attachment to. This sort of sense of place is especially important for young migrants, who due to their history of migration may have trouble finding a home and a rooted experience of living in their host countries—from a Bourdieusian perspective, this sort of experience can be related to the difficulty migrants have translating their capital from one field to another, as discussed by Erel (2010) and Sayad (2004). Furthermore, it is a way for migrants to assert their rights to space in the face of social conflicts and exclusion. By finding—and, in some cases, creating—these feelings of safety and belonging within their adopted city, young migrants in New York foster as sense of place that gives them a home in their new environment, even in the face of discrimination and the difficulties of cultural adjustment.

This sense of place is created through the construction of imagined geographies, as discussed from a theoretical standpoint in Section 2.2.4. These sorts of imagined geographies work in two ways. Participants imagining all of New York City as a place in which they could feel safe—despite not having visited the whole of such a huge city—creates a sense of place in which participants feel secure in their adopted home. Similarly, participants finding spaces of belonging in diverse places throughout the city, and actively fostering this sense of belonging, creates a sense of place in which belonging is always available to them wherever they go, even though participants cannot know this about new places they go. Taken together, these emotional perceptions of space create an imagined geography of New York as a place of safety and belonging for participants.

It is important to note that this imagined geography is based on real experiences and knowledge from participants, and by discussing it as an imagined geography the intention is not to discount the fact that participants do feel safety, belonging, and connection to their homes New York City. However, extending these feelings to all of the city does constitute an imagined geography, one that works in order to create a positive sense of place for participants. This

imagined geography, furthermore, is related to the recent political changes in the United States. In the face of these changes, many of which entailed and were related to outright hostility to immigrants, participants' needed to preserve their ontological security, a concept discussed with relation to the migrant experience by Croft (2012) and Noble (2005). This was done by creating a New York City which was safe from the political changes which threatened this security.

There is a complementary imagined geography that participants construct, however, of the rest of the United States outside of New York as a place of danger, and a place in which they would not belong. This imagined geography, in contrast, is generally based on word-of-mouth and media depictions of other parts of the United States as being hostile to and dangerous for migrants. This imagined geography is also directly related to politics. Participants, when faced with American political and discursive regimes that are hostile to immigrants—which, as discussed in Section 2.2.2., become a part of people's everyday lives through the phenomenon of banal geopolitics—create an imagined geography which locates those dangerous and unwelcoming forces outside of New York City—in other words, outside of their homes. This, in turn, bolsters participants' senses of place within the city, since through this imagined geography New York City is constructed as separate from these threatening forces.

5.2. Formation of specific migrant habitus

As discussed in the previous section, young migrants, through their emotional and affective perceptions of their environments, create a sense of place for themselves within their adoptive cities. But how does this specifically relate to their experiences as migrants? In this section, I will argue that these emotional and affective patterns, as well as the practices related to them, constitute the formation of a specific migrant habitus. I will do this by showing that these emotions, affects, and practices are directly related to the young migrant experience, more so than any other categories of identity such as race, gender, and culture. I will then show how these emotions, affects, and practices work together to form a coherent form of habitus specifically related to the experience of migration and of being a young migrant.

The main indicator that there is a single experience of being a young migrant that cuts across other categories of identity is the fact that, despite a great deal of diversity between different participants in my sample, there were very similar patterns of emotion and practice that occurred for all different participants. As discussed in Section 3.2., my sample of participants varies greatly in terms of race and national origin, as well as (in as much as information about this was available) socio-economic status. In addition, my sample was also a fairly even split with regards to gender. However, despite these differences among participants' backgrounds and identities, there were a great deal of similarities in participants' emotional responses to space and their patterns of movement; these were the trends in participants' responses discussed throughout the Results section.

These two factors—the diversity of the sample with regards to identity, and the similarities among participants' responses—point to there being a point of commonality among the experiences of participants. This point of commonality is most likely the one that led to participants' selection for research in the first place: the fact that participants were young migrants. Therefore, the patterns of emotion, affect, and practice observed in this study are most

likely related specifically to this young migrant experience rather than any other. It is worth noting that there were other factors which tied the sample of participants together; notably, almost all participants were university students, and those who were not were recent university graduates. However, so much of what participants reported feeling and doing can be related to their experiences as young migrants that it is clear that their young migrant experience is the most important one in understanding their practices, emotions, and affects, and thus their formation of habitus.

Having established that there is a young migrant experience that cuts across different identity categories, the question is now: is there a habitus connected with this experience, and if so, what is it? I will argue that there is, by showing that the patterns of emotion, affect, and practice that are common among participants are related specifically to their status as young migrants. This migrant habitus has been previously described throughout the previous sections, in terms of the patterns of emotion, affect, and practice that participants exhibited throughout the thesis research process. However, it must be noted again how this habitus specifically relates to participants' migrant experiences.

As previously mentioned in Sections 5.1.1. and 5.1.2., many of the practices and emotional patterns exhibited by participants were geared around the realities and issues related specifically to being a migrant. These issues, specifically, include dealing with anti-migrant prejudice and discrimination as well as anti-migrant political discourses; dealing with transitions and translations of capital between different social fields; and negotiating social spaces that were complex of contested due to these anti-migrant social forces and transitions of capital, and finding places to call home within those spaces. Participants' practices and emotions were related, directly or indirectly, to these issues, and therefore by extension to participants' experiences as migrants. Therefore, these practices and emotions can be said to constitute a specific young migrant habitus. Furthermore, this follows Bourdieu's 1977 conception of the formation of habitus, since he argued that habitus arises from one's personal experience of existence within social fields, and the experience of being a young migrant can be seen as an example of this.

For one, migrants are a class within society that experiences prejudice, discrimination, and in some cases violence at the hands of anti-migrant and ethno-nationalist forces in their host countries. This has been especially true in the contemporary United States, as the political atmosphere has become increasing hostile toward migrants in recent years. The migrant habitus is, then, shaped by these social forces; this can be seen in such patterns of emotion and affect as participants' imagined geographies of the United States, and their attitudes toward safety and danger inside and outside of New York City. Furthermore, the migrant habitus is a way of resisting these social and political forces, through such means as the claiming of public spaces, the promotion through practice of multicultural spaces, and the construction of politically-motivated imaged geographies; this political dimension of the young migrant habitus will be discussed further in Section 5.3.

Transnational migrants have also had to face the experience of moving from the social field of their native countries to the new social fields of their host countries. This transition, in turn, necessitates the translation of their forms of capital from one field to another, in which this capital may not be valued the same way. Specifically, from a Bourdieusian perspective,

researchers such as Erel (2010), Landolt and Thieme (2018), Ryan (2011), and Sayad (2004) have investigated the various ways capital transitions and transforms between different fields during the experience of migration. They have found that some forms of capital are lost, such as social capital connected with social networks in home countries; others can be devalued, such as cultural capital based around home country cultures; while other forms of specifically migration-related capital are gained and built during the experience of migration. These sorts of capital translations can be seen in the empirical data on my participants; for example, many participants reported having difficultly fitting into US society until they had learned English, but also finding value in retaining their native language skills. This can be seen as a translation of cultural capital in the form of language skills, as discussed by Bourdieu (1977b). Participants' focus on the importance of social connections with friends and family can also be seen as an attempt both to transition some forms of social capital from their home countries (their connections with their families) while also building new forms of social capital in their host countries (the connections with their friends in New York City).

Finally, following the idea of space as a zone of social contestation, transnational migrants have the unique experience and challenge of finding a place for themselves in the new spaces of their host countries. In many cases, migrants must actively assert their belonging within these social spaces in the face of the aforementioned anti-migrant prejudice, and the devaluation and loss of their stores of capital. From an emotional standpoint, this can lead to migrants experiencing difficulties finding a sense of place in which they feel belonging, attachment, and a sense of home in their host countries. This is perhaps especially true for young migrants, who have transitioned from one field and one social space to another at a crucial part in their development. So much of the migrant habitus is shaped this aspect of migration, and by this social forces behind it; the migrant habitus is both a product of these forces, and a way for migrants to ensure their happiness and livelihoods in the faces of them. My participants' construction of the spaces around them as spaces of safety and of belonging, through their emotional perceptions of space, their affective patterns, and their practices of motion, constitute this part of the migrant habitus.

5.3. Migrant habitus as a political act

As previously mentioned, the habitus of young migrants in New York City is both shaped by and works against the social forces that these young migrants currently experience, and have experienced in their lives. In this section, I will focus specifically on the political forces and discourses that effect participants' lives, and participants' reactions to these forces. Specifically, I will argue that, in many ways, the migrant habitus is in fact an act of political resistance against anti-migrant political and cultural discourses and discrimination. This is possible because habitus is "both structured and structuring" (Crossley, 2003). In other words, habitus is both formed by the social realities of one's experience—such as the discrimination faced by migrants—but also can serve to challenge and change these social realities. Furthermore, Crossley (2003) links this specifically to the study of social and political movements, arguing that different forms of habitus can be employed by actors within social movements to restructure social space. I will show how the young migrant habitus is used to do this by discussing key

political elements in migrants' habiti: their relationship to fear, their attitudes toward diversity, their practices with regards to public space, and their imagined geographies. I will also discuss how this political habitus interacts with other forms of political action and resistance.

Participants' migrant habiti can be said to be shaped by social forces within the fields they live in, and therefore in turn these habiti can be said to be influenced by the geopolitical events behind these social forces. Furthermore, due to anti-migrant social forces the existence of migrants within the fields they live in—most specifically, the field of contemporary US society—is one in which they tend to have little power within these fields. Some migrants within the social space of contemporary US society, and within the fields they inhabit in this society, have little in the way of social and cultural capital; others have had to transform and translate their stores of capital in various ways, or have had to actively build up these forms of capital after migration. This complex situation with regards to capital can be due to the discrimination they face, and the discourses in contemporary US society that construct migrants as lesser than native-born US citizens; it can also be due to the experience of inter-field transition that is migration. However, in many ways the habitus connected with the young migrant identity, as described in Section 3.2.2., is a way both to build capital within the field of US society, and to disrupt this field in order to make it less hostile toward migrants.

5.3.1. Lack of fear

As discussed in Section 4.1.5., participants did not regard many places within New York City to be dangerous, nor did they report feeling as if they were in danger often during their daily routines. In general, participants did not express or exhibit signs of fear; rather, on the contrary, they were very self-assured about their lives and prospects for the future. Furthermore, in terms of the emotions focused on in this thesis, participants in general felt safe wherever they went and throughout their daily lives.

This general lack of fear among participants stands in contrast to the atmosphere of fear generated by political and popular discourses in the contemporary United States. As discussed in Section 1.2.2. and 1.2.3., there are many forces at work within the United States at the moment that can serve to generate feelings of fear among migrants. These forces can take the form of law enforcement and legal threats to migrants, such as the threat of ICE raids and deportation; they can also take the form of political rhetoric directed against migrants, such as President Trump's repeated threats to limit legal immigration and curtail pro-migrant programs; and they can also take the form of popular anti-migrant discourses, some of which can in turn be translated into active patterns of prejudice, violence, and discrimination.

Participants were very aware of the existence of these anti-migrant forces, and had in many cases experienced discrimination at the hands of these forces themselves. For example, Angie discussed witnessing police harassment of non-white individuals, and the possibility of her mother being deported. Other participants discussed racist and anti-migrant popular discourses, and the actions associated with them, that they had come into contact with via the media; for example, several participants discussed their reactions to the 2017 white supremacist rally in Charlotteville, Virginia. Many other participants also discussed discrimination on a non-governmental, personal level, taking such forms as unfriendly acts and affective patterns people

had directed towards them that participants believed were linked to their race or migrant status. As such, it can be said that participants lived their lives in a social field that included within it these anti-migrant forces. This, in turn, can be taken as an example of banal geopolitics, since these forces are a manifestation of geopolitical events that have been translated into an everyday social context and thus make up a part of participants' daily lives. In fact, as discussed in Section 1.2.2., man of the rhetorics employed by the Trump administration have little actual impact on government policy, but rather function to create the sort of fear among migrant communities that has been discussed above.

One major way in which this habitus works to bring about changes in their social fields in the contemporary United States is in relation to this atmosphere of fear. Specifically, migrants' general lack of fear within New York City, as it is an emotional perception which influences their practices and affects, is an integral part of their habitus. Furthermore, this part of the young migrant habitus serves as a reaction against and a resistance to the political and popular discourses that serve to create a climate of fear for migrants. In this way, migrants' lack of fear serves to disrupt—and has the potential to reorganize—the social field of US society that these migrants live in, by making this field a less fearful and dangerous environment for migrants, and this increasing migrants' place within it.

For migrants, to experience fear and to feel in danger within a social field can have a number of social consequences, many of which can serve to decrease and devalue migrants' economic, social, and cultural capital. As Schmitz et al. (2018) point out, fear has an important role in any Bourdieusian idea of social domination, since fear can lead one to avoid acting in certain ways, and therefore any dominant social regime that desires to prevent people from certain actions, and in so doing them cut them off from sources of capital and exclude them from social fields, can do so be instilling feelings of fear in them. Specifically for the case of migrants, fear of social discrimination may limit their social opportunities, thus decreasing their potential social capital; similarly, fear of discrimination in terms of employment or opportunities may limit their potential avenues for accumulating economic capital. As well, feeling in fear of legal punishment and social discrimination may unconsciously make migrants devalue themselves and their own cultural and personal backgrounds, thus devaluing their stores of cultural capital.

These above points can be gone into in more depth. Specifically, with regards to social capital, if migrants live in fear of discrimination from people around them (the kind of discrimination participant Lola described at the hands of a coffee shop clerk—in other words, discrimination in daily, interpersonal contexts), they may be reluctant to form new social connections, thus decreasing their opportunities to build social capital. In much the same manner, if migrants live in fear of discrimination in their work environments, they may be unable to chase down opportunities to accumulate economic capital. Finally, on a more abstract level, discourses that create atmospheres of fear for migrants may cause migrants to personally (and in many cases unconsciously) devalue both their own identities as migrants, and things associated with that identity, such as their native languages and their connections with their home countries. This may, in turn, cause them to devalue their own stores of cultural capital. Such a process was observed by Peck (2006), in the context of women's communication strategies in workplace environments; she found that, because women's styles of communication were figured as inferior

in the dominant discourses of these environments, women believed they had less cultural capital than they actually did. In these ways, discourses that promote fear among migrants serve to keep them in less elevated positions within the social field of US society.

Following this, the question becomes: how do migrants resist these forces that keep them subjugated within social fields? Since these forces work by generating an atmosphere of fear for migrants, the way that migrants resist these forces is through a lack of fear. And, as has been discussed previously in this thesis, the habitus exhibited by young migrants in New York City features a notable lack of fear. Participants did not generally report experiencing danger in their daily lives, and regarded the whole of New York City as someplace they could feel safe; the sort of fear that would prevent participants from building their economic and social capital was absent from participants' lives and habiti. In fact, participants talked enthusiastically about pursuing career opportunities and building social connections in their adopted city of New York. Furthermore, the devaluing of migrant capitals that was posited earlier as a consequence of a social atmosphere of fear was also absent from participants' lives and habiti, as participants very much valued connection with their home countries, the opportunity to speak their native languages, and the presence of diverse and pro-migrant communities. The lack of fear that is found prominently in the migrant habitus studied here, therefore, serves an avenue of resistance against the effects of discourses and social forces that would serve to socially marginalize these migrants.

This lack of fear, if it is a resistance to anti-migrant forces within social fields, is then in turn an act of political resistance. This is because these anti-migrant social forces are the everyday expressions of geopolitical forces and events. This is an example of the idea of banal geopolitics, being as it is a translation of political forces into the realm of the everyday. This sort of banal geopolitics was found in participants' discussions of the Trump administration and the far-right, anti-migrant, and white supremacist forces his election has emboldened. It is in this last element that the key to understanding the relation between the lack of fear exhibited in the young migrant habitus and political resistance lies. The election of Donald Trump, and subsequent events such as the Charlottesville white supremacist rally, have served to greatly publicize anti-migrant rhetorics, and give a much greater platform to anti-migrant political discourses. This, in turn, should make the social forces that follow these political forces (as described in the previous paragraph) much more powerful, and create an atmosphere of fear in the daily social lives of migrants. However, by reacting to these forces with a habitus that is lacking in fear, migrants in effect render these political forces powerless to marginalize them. In other words, the migrants studied in this thesis, through this lack of fear, are saying that despite the emboldening of anti-migrant forces, they maintain their right to exist—on an equal level with others—in the social field of US society.

It is important to remember, as discussed previously in Section 3.2.2., that the migrants involved in this study only represent a small sub-section of the total migrant population of New York City. Specifically, all of the migrants interviewed are young, spoke English, and were highly educated. Therefore, it is important to be reflexive when drawing conclusions about migrants as a whole from this population. This is particularly true when discussing issues of cultural capital, because (due to the aforementioned language abilities and educational attainment) participants in this study had higher stores of cultural capital than some other groups

on migrants living in New York City. To use the terminology developed by Koskela (1997), the migrants studied in this thesis adopted an empowerment strategy to deal with the prospect of fear and risk in social spaces; it is possible that these migrants were only able to adopt this sort of strategy due to their unique situations and stores of capital, and that other migrant groups would have had to adopt different fear-mitigation strategies.

5.3.2. Multicultural spaces

Another way in which migrants assert their presence within and rights to inclusion within contemporary US society is through their usages of space. Several different aspects of the migrant habitus that relate to the use of space, and which serve as avenues of political resistance, can be observed from the empirical data in this thesis. The first of these is migrants' preference for diverse and multicultural spaces. This was one of the most common factors which participants discussed with regards to their feelings of belonging, as discussed in Section 4.1.1. The quantitative data on the areas participants found to be locations of safety and belonging bears this out, with almost all of these areas being highly diverse in terms of race and ethnicity, and with many of these areas having high migrant populations.

The thing that is notable about this preference for diversity is that it does not seem to be related to any desire for participants to be around people of their own background or people from their home country. While for some participants a desire for connection to one's home country was important, and being around others from that country was equally important, there was never a sense from participant responses that they only wanted to be around people that shared their own national origin. Rather, participants (sometimes explicitly, as in the case of Kelly describing the environments at her different workplaces) said that they preferred being in and felt belonging in environments that had people from a wide range of backgrounds in them. Furthermore, even when participants did mention feeling belonging around people of similar background to them, it was never a matter of desiring only to be around people of their own ethnic group and national origin, but rather of desiring to be around people from their broader region and linguistic family. For example, Joel discussed feeling belonging around, not just other Jamaicans, but anyone else from the Caribbean; similarly, Miguel and Angie discussed feeling belonging around, not just people from their home countries, but Spanish speakers in general.

This pattern of emotion, and the affects and practices associated with it, is an important aspect of the young migrant habitus, and one that once again serves as an avenue for political resistance. This is because this preference for diverse spaces is a rejection of ethno-nationalism, and an endorsement, through practice and affect, of multiculturalism. As discussed in Section 1.2.3., Donald Trump in many ways practices ethno-nationalist rhetoric. Although the sort of ethno-nationalism Trump promotes is specifically based around a white American national identity, ethno-nationalism as a discursive style can be employed in the service of any ethnicity or national identity. Therefore, it is conceivable that migrants in the United States could react to Trump's white American ethno-nationalist rhetoric with ethno-nationalist sentiments of their own, related to their own home countries and ethnic identities. Translated into practices and habitus, this would take the form of a preference for and a feeling of belonging with only people

of migrants' home countries and ethnic identities, and a desire to avoid and a feeling of not belonging with anyone of any other background.

However, this sort of habitus, and the sentiment behind it, would not be a full rejection of Trump's ethno-nationalism. Although it would be a resistance to Trump's conception of the United States as a white ethno-state, it would not be a rejection of the fundamental ideal of ethno-nationalism, that ethnic groups should stay within their own national and social boundaries and not intermingle. Rather, in many ways, it would be in agreement with that idea, and so therefore would in fact reinforce the political discourses espoused by the Trump administration. However, the preference for, and the feelings of belonging within, diverse and multicultural spaces that are emblematic of the young migrant habitus habitus are instead a complete rejection of the aforementioned discourse of ethno-nationalism. This is because these practices promote the intermingling of people from different ethnic and national backgrounds. Furthermore, they promote a conception of public space—and a conception of national citizenship—that is open to people of all ethnic and national backgrounds, and in which having a diverse mix of people from different backgrounds is desirable. These sorts of multicultural spaces are of the sort described by Vasta (2013) and by Wise (2010, 2005) as places of hope and belonging for migrants.

The young migrant habitus fosters these spaces through a combination of emotions, affective patterns, and practices. Through practices, this habitus serves to create spaces within the contemporary United States which are diverse and open to people of all ethnic and national backgrounds, through the action of people from all of these different backgrounds sharing space together. These spaces can be physical spaces, such as parks and restaurants, or they can be social spaces, such as educational institutions and workplaces. Crucially, and following from this, all of US society can also be said to be one of these spaces. Furthermore, through the emotional and affective patterns of considering these sorts of diverse places to be locations of belonging and safety, migrants reinforce the idea that these spaces are desirable, and are important parts of US society. This, therefore, is an example of the migrant habitus serving as a rebuke against the ethno-nationalist discourses of Donald Trump.

It is worth noting as well that this aspect of habitus also serves to increase migrants' stores of social and cultural capital. Fostering diverse spaces allows migrants to interact socially with a wider range of people, thus increasing their opportunities to build social capital; these sorts of opportunities would not be available to them if they could only interact with people of their own ethnic groups and national origins. These sorts of diverse spaces, being as that they have as part of the ideals behind them a valuing of people from all different cultural backgrounds, also serve to increase the value of migrants' cultural capital. This is because they cause stores of cultural capital that are not from US society, but are rather related to migrants' home countries and societies (such as native language proficiency), to be valued just as highly as forms of cultural capital from US society. These opportunities to build capital serve to increase migrants' position within the social field of contemporary US society.

5.3.3. "Claiming" public spaces and institutions

The other practice with regards to the usage of space, which was emblematic of the migrant habitus, and which can be regarded as an avenue of political resistance, is migrants'

practices with regards to public spaces and institutions. Specifically, migrants appearing in and using these spaces and institutions can be seen as a way of "claiming" these spaces, and asserting their rights as migrants to occupy these spaces; this sort of migrant action has been described in other contexts by Becerra (2014) and Veronis (2007). This can be seen in migrants' practices, emotions, and affects towards three kinds of public space. Similarly to the kinds of space discussed with regards to multiculturalism and diversity in the previous section, these are both physical spaces and social spaces. They consist of public areas such as parks and landmarks; institutions such as schools and workplaces; and finally civic spaces and institutions.

Participants, throughout the interview, participatory mapping, and photo submission tasks, exhibited practices which involved spending time in public spaces. These could be during participants' recreation time or during their daily routines, and could be by themselves or with friends and family. Furthermore, connected with these practices, participants expressed strong feelings of belonging toward these places. It is notable that these feelings of belonging, and these practices of spending time in these spaces, existed in spite of participants feeling in some cases that these spaces were dangerous. Furthermore, participants reported spending time with family and friends in these areas; since the presence of these communities increased feelings of belonging, bringing these people into these spaces can be a way of making these public spaces into spaces of belonging. Furthermore, this is one of Koskela's (1997) danger mitigation strategies, suggesting that participants also brought these people into these public spaces to make these spaces feel safer. In these ways, these practices and emotions serve to "claim" these spaces in spite of several obstacles.

Crucially, these obstacles include the prospect of facing discrimination and prejudice in these public spaces. These forms of discrimination are much the same as discussed in Section 5.3.1.; the can come from both the interpersonal actions of other people within the city, or from the actions of police. This sort of discrimination, furthermore, can be linked back to anti-migrant political discourses; even more specifically, this discrimination can also have as its aim the prevention of people outside of the white native-born American social group from occupying public spaces, and in so doing being visibly part of the city. It is worth noting as well that many of the public spaces migrants discussed spending time in, such as Times Square and Central Park, are world-famous spaces that are associated in the public imagination with New York City; in many ways, occupying and claiming these spaces can be taken as a metonymy for claiming the space of New York City as a whole. By continuing to spend time in these spaces, and by asserting through emotion and affect that these spaces can be spaces of belonging for migrants, these migrants resist these forms of discrimination.

Another type of space which migrants claim through their practices, affects, and emotions is that of private institutions. These institutions, in the case of this thesis, for the most part were educational, and consisted of universities and schools; this was due to the fact that almost all of the research participants in this thesis were university students. This sort of institutional space can refer both to the physical spaces in which these institutions were housed, such as university buildings, but can also refer to the social spaces and fields of these institutions. Participants expressed great attachment to both of these types of space; they often claimed their school buildings to be very safe spaces, and referred to their educational institutions as institutions and organizations in which they felt strong senses of belonging. Furthermore, they reinforced this

through their practices, spending great deals of time in and around these areas. It is worth noting, in fact, that many of my interviews were even conducted in these buildings.

These patterns of emotion and practice can also be seen as a pattern of migrants claiming the right to occupy and exist within these institutions. This works in much the same way as the claiming of public space outlined in previous paragraphs: by spending time in and expressing belonging in spaces, migrants assert their rights to exist in these spaces in the face of political forces which advocate for the exclusion of migrants from these spaces. However, in terms of the institutions discussed here, there is an additional dimension. That dimension is that these institutions, following Bourdieu, constitute fields. Therefore, migrants asserting their rights to exist in these spaces is also an example of asserting rights to enter and exist in social fields within US society. Furthermore, it is notable that the social field of higher education is one that allows migrants to increase their stores of cultural (and eventually economic) capital, and thus gain a stronger position within the field of American society as a whole. This, in turn, allows migrants to take less marginalized places within American society, which is a rebuke to political forces that would further seek to marginalize migrants.

The final sort of space occupied by migrants through their practices, emotions, and affects is the one with the most direct relation to politics. This type of space has to do with the civic infrastructure and institutions of New York City and the United States as whole. Many of the spaces and institutions previously discussed in this section, including public parks and state-funded universities, are also part of the United States' civic infrastructure; furthermore, some locations participants specified as places of belonging, such as museums, bridges, and state buildings such as New York's city hall are also part of this civic infrastructure. Migrants claim these spaces in much the same manner as the other types of space described in this thesis, by spending time in them and by expressing belonging toward them. Yet these practices and emotions carry with them a further political meaning.

This is because, by occupying and claiming these spaces, and asserting their rights to them, migrants are asserting their right to be part of US society by appealing to ideals of civic nationalism. This idea—that it is through participation in the civic institutions of a country that one becomes part of that country—is used by migrants through this habitus; specifically, migrants asserting their rights to the use of civic space can be seen as a form of migrants asserting their rights to participate in these aforementioned civic institutions, and in so doing assert their right to be present in the United States. It is notable as well that civic nationalism can be contrasted with the idea of ethnic nationalism that (as previously discussed) is a key part of Donald Trump's rhetoric. By asserting their right to be part of US society through civic nationalism, migrants are implicitly rejecting the framework of ethnic nationalism.

Therefore, through the patterns of practice, affect, and emotion emblematic of the young migrant habitus, migrants assert their rights to exist within different kinds of space throughout New York City. In so doing, they also assert their rights to live—and to live without persecution and marginalization—within the city, and within the United States as whole. This is, in turn, a rejection of the anti-migrant political rhetoric espoused by the Trump administration.

5.3.4. Imagined geographies

Having looked at the spaces migrants spend time in, and their practices and emotions about these spaces, it is now important to look at the spaces migrants *do not* spend time in. In other words, it is important to look at migrants' attitudes toward and perceptions of, not just the spaces they visit as part of their daily practices of motion, but also other spaces which they are aware of and which are of significance to them, but which they do not have direct contact with. From the empirical data, it can be seen that there were several patterns of emotional and affective perception of these spaces that were emblematic of the young migrant habitus. These patterns of emotional and effective perception, in turn, serve to create imagined geographies of New York City and of the United States; furthermore, and these imagined geographies are another avenue of political resistance for migrants.

These imagined geographies are constructed around two different types of space. As such, they take different characters, and serve different political ends. The first of these imagined geographies has to do with the perception of areas within New York City; specifically, it is constructed through participants' perceptions of places within the city that they have never been as dangerous. This was a pattern of emotion that was observed among many participants, as seen in Section 4.1.5.: when asked about places within the city they found dangerous, they cited places which they had never been to, had no plans to visit, and had no connection to. This perception of danger was based on the word-of-mouth reputations of these areas, and on media reports about these areas. It constitutes an imagined geography, therefore, since it is a construction of the characteristics of an unknown area without any firsthand experience of that area, based on cultural and media discourses.

This imagined geography of New York City was constructed in a personal, particular way by each individual participant; however, all of these imagined geographies followed the same basic pattern. It constructed a New York in which locations of danger, although they exist, were separate and other from the daily lives of participants. Dangerous things happen in the city, but only in places that are outside of participants' spaces and lives. But what function does this imagined geography serve? The answer to this can be found by looking at another emotional perception that was an integral part of young migrant habitus: the perception, also discussed in Section 4.1.5., that New York City as a whole is a safe place, and that it is possible for migrants to feel at home wherever they are within the city. Specifically, this imagined geography is a way for participants to integrate within their minds the discourses and media reports they hear of danger in New York City, with this perception of the city as a generally safe place. Hearing reports of danger within the city could cause participants to feel that the city is not a safe place; however, if participants construct these dangers as being somehow different, other, and separate from themselves and their lives, then their perceptions of the city as safe will not be threatened. As such, participants construct these dangers as being separate from themselves and their lives through their imagined geographies of the space of New York City.

This sort of imagined geography is related to politics, because protecting the emotional perception of New York City as being safe important politically. As discussed in Section 5.3.1., feelings of safety and lack of fear within New York City are an important avenue of political resistance for migrants, since they are a way of resisting against anti-migrant forces which create

an atmosphere of fear in migrants in order to further marginalize them. Therefore, by constructing an imagined geography in which danger is separated from participants' daily lives, the idea of New York City as a safe place is maintained, and thus it remains useful as manner of political resistance.

The other form of imagined geography that participants constructed was based around areas of the United States that were outside of New York City. It is a construction of an imagined geography of the entire US, in general, besides in New York; furthermore, it is arguably more politically important for migrants that the imagined geography of areas within New York City. As also discussed in Section 4.1.5., many participants cited areas outside of New York City as places they felt would be dangerous, and places they felt as if they would not belong, despite the fact that these participants had not visited these areas. Specifically, some participants discussed the whole of the United States outside of New York as a place in which they would not feel safety or belonging, while other participants cited specific regions of the United States as places that elicit these emotional reactions.

As in the case of areas within New York City, these perceptions of areas outside of New York City were once again based on word-of-mouth reputations and media reports about these areas. However, the specific sorts of reputations and media reports that caused these feelings, in this case, is politically relevant. Specifically, these perceptions of danger and of lack of belonging outside of New York City were, in a large part, based on news and word-of-mouth reports of racism and discrimination against migrants in these areas; these include Joel's description of an incident of interpersonal racism in the American South, and Selena's discussion of the recent Charlottesville white supremacist riots. Therefore, a part of the imagined geography of the US outside of New York City consists of the construction of these places as being dangerous due to the risk of hate crimes and discrimination.

However, there is another dimension to these imagined geographies that relates even more explicitly to politics. This dimension has to do with the geographical patterns of anti-migrant sentiment—and of support for Donald Trump—within the United States. As described by Chavez (2016) and seen in Table 2, in terms of region, Americans who live on the West and East Coasts of the country tend to be the most positive toward immigrants and immigration, while those who live in central areas are comparatively less positive towards immigrants and immigration. Notably, New York City lies within the East Coast region. Similarly, as seen on the map of 2016 presidential election results (Figure 5), counties that supported Trump also tended to be in this central region of the United States, while counties that supported Trump's opponent Hillary Clinton tended to be on the coasts—these latter counties include those that make up New York City.

The number of immigrants to America nowadays should be...	Region				
	East Coast	North Central	South Central	West Coast	Row Total
Reduced a lot	996 (27.7%)	601 (27.6%)	451 (29.2%)	419 (19.1%)	2467
Reduced a little	867 (24.1%)	554 (25.4%)	368 (23.8%)	552 (25.1%)	2341
Remain the same	1251 (34.8%)	799 (36.7%)	521 (33.8%)	938 (42.7%)	3509
Increased a little	326 (9.1%)	171 (7.8%)	118 (7.6%)	205 (9.3%)	820
Increased a lot	151 (4.2%)	54 (2.5%)	85 (5.5%)	81 (3.7%)	371
Column Total	3591	2179	1543	2195	9508

Table 2: Attitudes toward immigration based on US region of residence, from Chavez (2016).

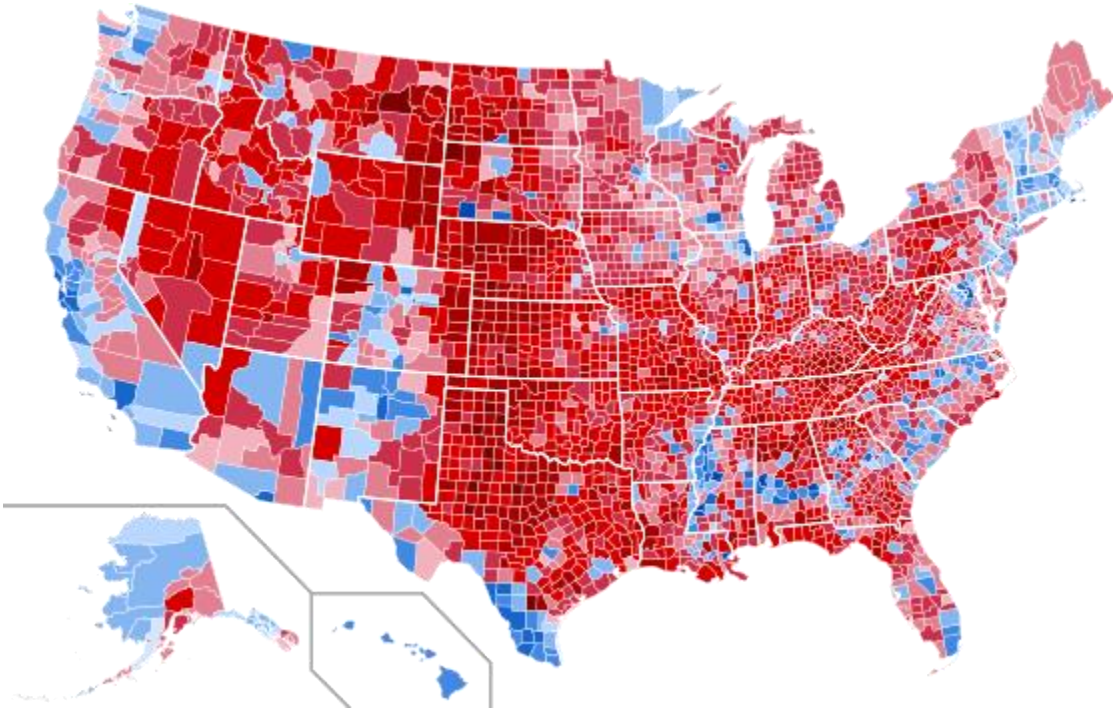


Figure 5: 2016 presidential election results map by county, with support for Trump in red and support for Clinton in blue (Inqvisitor and Zifan, 2016).

Participants were aware of these regional political differences, both in terms of attitudes towards migration, and in terms of support for Trump. Furthermore, in popular discourses about political attitudes in the United States, the nuances of these regional differences tend to be glossed over and reduced to stereotypes. This can be partially attributed to the increasing political polarization of the United States (Layman et al., 2006). Furthermore, due to the way presidential elections are decided in the United States, within-state differences in political behaviors are often erased, both on the level of actual election results and in the media reporting of those results. So, for example, while Figure 5 shows Clinton doing well in large parts of Texas and the southern states, the popular discourse around these regional differences figures these areas as exclusively and overwhelmingly supporting Trump, and supporting the anti-immigrant rhetoric he espouses. This is because the picture of the 2016 election results that is

most commonly reported in the media is Figure 6, which erases the variation in political opinion within states.

Figure 6: 2016 presidential election results by state, with red indicating support for Trump and blue indicating support for Clinton. (New York Times, 2017)

Therefore, migrants' imagined geographies of areas outside of New York City as being places of danger and of not belonging has another, political meaning. These areas are constructed as dangerous and unwelcoming because they are perceived as being the locus of the political and social forces that migrants are struggling against. Therefore, when migrants construct imagined geographies of these places as dangerous and unwelcoming, they are rejecting these places, and placing themselves as separate and opposite from these places. This, in turn, is an implicit rejection of and separation from the anti-migrant attitudes and policies they associate with these places. Furthermore, the aforementioned association of these places with media and word-of-mouth reports of prejudice and hate crimes serves to further reinforce this, by further justifying the consideration of these places as dangerous, and by providing "proof" of the real-life hostility towards migrants and people of color that these places are constructed to be loci of.

This othering of the rest of the United States besides New York, as well as being a rejection of the perceived anti-migrant sentiments found in these regions, also serves to help bolster migrants' senses of ontological security, and their identities within American society. Migrants' ontological security was greatly threatened by the election of Donald Trump, as the unexpected election of such a powerfully and publically anti-migrant politician served to make migrants much less sure that the United States would remain an open and accepting place for them. By casting those parts of the US that supported Trump as "other", and contrasting them with their homes in New York, migrants deal with this ontological insecurity by separating

themselves from it. Similarly, this othering of parts of the US that are perceived to be anti-migrant also serves to secure migrants' identities as people existing within American society, since they no longer have to share this existence with people who are against their presence within it. By separating themselves from anti-migrant sentiments through the construction of imagined geographies, migrants protect themselves from discrimination and marginalization within the field of American society, by constructing that field in such a way that it does not include those who discriminate against them.

There is one important further thing of note about these imagined geographies. This is that participants did not mention the West Coast of the United States when talking about their feelings of belonging in the United States as a whole. This is interesting because, as can be seen in Table 2, people living in the West Coast tend to have even more positive attitudes toward immigration than people on the East Coast; furthermore, as seen in Figure 5, counties along the West Coast tended to support Clinton over Trump. Yet participants tended to figure the entirety of the rest of the United States outside of New York as hostile toward migrants, without mentioning this possible other factor (the exception to this was Miguel, who mentioned the California city of San Francisco as another city which would be accepting of migrants).

This points to the fact that, on a deep level, these imagined geographies were not about areas that are pro-migrant versus areas that are anti-migrant. Rather, they are about migrants' homes—in this case, New York City—versus the perceived threats to these homes. New York City is someplace in which participants discussed feeling safety and belonging, and had a great deal of attachment to and love for. The anti-migrant political sentiments that have recently been increasing in the United States serve to threaten this feeling of belonging, attachment, and home in New York City, through the possibility that these national political discourses, through the processes of banal geopolitics, will be translated into anti-migrant discrimination and exclusion in participants' daily lives. By constructing an imagined geography of the United States in which these anti-migrant forces are spatially treated as belonging outside of New York, and of being other and separate from participants' daily lives, this political threat to participants' senses of belonging and home is protected against.

5.3.5. Alternative to mainstream political discourse

There is one final factor to note about the relationship of the migrant habitus towards politics. This is that, in many cases, the ways that this habitus serves as a means of political resistance serves as an alternative to more mainstream channels of political action. Beyond that, though, the ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that are exhibited in the young migrant habitus also do not fit in with or correspond to popular discourses—both pro-migrant and anti-migrant—of the migrant experience, both in the personal and political sense. The discursive constructions of migrants and migration, and the political projects that are related to these discourses, do not capture the reality of the migrant habitus, and the migrant habitus offers prospects for political action that go beyond these discourses.

First, it is notable that many of the mainstream pro-immigrant political projects that are active and well-publicized in the contemporary United States and in New York City were not mentioned by participants, and those that were mentioned were only mentioned very rarely. For

example, the IDNYC program, discussed previously as a pro-migrant project by the New York City municipal government in Section 1.2.2., was never mentioned by any of the participants. Similarly, the DACA program, a pro-migrant project by the US federal government that was also previously discussed in Section 1.2.2., was also never mentioned by participants; this is despite the fact that this program was in the news during the time the study was taking place, as it had come under attack by the Trump administration. The Sanctuary Cities movement, a pro-migrant organization of local municipal governments in the US of which New York was a member and which was also discussed in Section 1.2.2., was mentioned, but only by one participant, and only in passing.

Furthermore, although many participants mentioned the Trump administration and its anti-migrant policies, and expressed opposition to those policies, very few of them mentioned engaging in any mainstream form of political opposition. None of them mentioned voting or supporting pro-migrant political candidates. The former may be related to the young ages of participants, or the fact that many may not have been able to vote due to citizenship issues; however, it is still notable that representational electoral politics did not seem to be a major part of participants' lives or ways of political action. The only participant who did mention engaging in political action was Selena, who discussed participating in anti-Trump and pro-migrant protest actions.

These observations, taken together, could be taken to mean that participants were not politically engaged. However, from the interviews, and specifically the way participants discussed the political realities of their lives in the contemporary US, it was clear that participants were very politically aware. Furthermore, it was also clear that participants desired political change, and specifically to impact contemporary politics in order to improve their own lives as migrants within the US. A more accurate interpretation of participants' disengagement from mainstream politics is that participants preferred to act politically through the practices, emotions, and affects of the migrant habitus, as described in the previous four sections.

There are many possible reasons behind this. For one, there is the aforementioned fact that many participants, due to their age or citizenship status, can be barred from voting and other mainstream forms of political action. More broadly, it is possible that mainstream political polities and candidates may not appeal to participants, perhaps due to a lack of focus on migrant issues or unsatisfactory policies on these issues. Finally, participants may judge that enacting change through their habiti may simply be more effective than other forms of political action; this may be because it can lead to concrete change on the level of participants' individual lives and in their individual communities, rather than on the more abstract national level of mainstream politics.

Perhaps more fundamental to migrants' forms of political engagement, however, was the fact that participants did not engage with the discursive constructions of migration and migrants that are common in contemporary US society. These discourses, as described in Section 1.2.3., include those which construct migrants as threats to national security, and those which construct migrants as threats to the US economy and the employment of native-born Americans. They also include (ostensibly) pro-migrant discourses such as those which construct the US as a "nation of immigrants", as well as those discourses which pit "good" migrants worthy of US

residency against “bad” migrants who are not. All of these discourses, both pro- and anti-migrant were not mentioned in any capacity by any of the participants.

It is also notable that participants did not generally mention any of Patler and Gonzales's (2015) three ways in which migrants can “earn” citizenship in their host countries. These three ways, as discussed in Section 1.2.3., are through cultural assimilation, participation in civic institutions and rituals, and narrative of victimhood. In the interviews, participants never mentioned assimilation into American culture as something that had happened to them, or something that was a goal of theirs; neither did they ever paint themselves as victims or express their own migration narratives in terms of victimhood. Participants also did not explicitly mention civic participation in their interviews; however, as discussed in Section 5.3.3., some of participants’ practices with regards to space can be seen as being related to civic nationalism. Taken together, these represent another pattern of conscious disengagement with dominant discourses; participants’ practices with regards to civic space, however, can be seen as an unconscious, affective engagement with the discourse of civic nationalism.

This, once again, cannot be taken as a lack of knowledge of these discourses, since these discourses abound in the contemporary US news media, which participants showed that they were highly in touch with. Furthermore, these are discourses which touch on the lives of migrants, since they influence how migrants are perceived in the minds of non-migrants. Rather, this lack of engagement with these discourses can be seen as an implicit rejection of them. The rejection of these discourses has multiple political implications. First, it signals another disengagement from mainstream politics, and thus carries the same sorts of implications as previously discussed. As well, a disengagement from those discourses which construct migrants in a negative light serves as a rejection of these anti-migrant sentiments. This can be taken as analogous to the rejection of fear as part of the migrant reality, as discussed in Section 5.3.1., since both of these are rejections of attempts by anti-migrant forces to discursively marginalize migrants.

However, participants were disengaged with not only anti-migrant discourses, but also pro-migrant ones; this suggests that this disengagement has a deeper meaning even than this. Finally, then, it can be seen that this disengagement is a rejection of any attempt by outside cultural forces to discursively construct migrants and migrants’ lives. Rather, participants, by rejecting all popular discourses around migration, defend their rights to construct their own lives and realities. This self-construction, in turn, comes through the migrant habitus, and its components of practice, emotion, and affect which come together to build a migrant reality which offers possibilities for political liberation outside of mainstream political actions and discourses.

6. Conclusion

Over the preceding sections, I have presented a cross-section of the different spatial subjectivities and practices of different young migrants living in New York City. I have done through the use of different methods: verbal, semi-structured interviews; participatory mapping tasks; and photo submission tasks. I have also compared these sources of data with quantitative data on the spaces discussed by these participants. From this data, I have discerned a specific sort of habitus associated with the identity of being a young migrant in New York City. This habitus encompassed dimensions of emotion, affect, and practice. Furthermore, I have discussed how this habitus serves as a form of political action and resistance against anti-migrant social and political forces and discourses.

Broadly, the results of this study serve to highlight migrants' agency in acting within social and political structures. Despite the fact that migrants are a marginalized class within contemporary society, and despite the fact that the experience of migration and the anti-migrant discourses that permeate US society serve to further marginalize them, the young migrants who participated in this study have managed to find—and in many cases, actively create—spaces for themselves in which they feel belonging and safety. They have done this for the most part not through any overt political action, but rather through their everyday and in some cases unconscious emotions, affects, and practices. Nonetheless, through these means they have managed to restructure social spaces in such ways as to make them more accepting and open toward migrants. Furthermore, they have managed to renegotiate the power relations within social fields to put themselves—and migrants in general—on a more equal footing with non-migrants. Therefore, on a political level, these results offer a vision of hope for migrants, in that they illuminate another way in which migrants can oppose anti-migrant political projects, such as the ethno-nationalism of Donald Trump, as well as anti-migrant discourses in general. They also show a way advocates for migrant rights can further support migrants, by supporting and aiding these migrants' practices which serve political ends.

From a theoretical standpoint, this study also shows the interconnectedness between people's internal and subjective lives (emotions, affects, and subjective representations of space such as imagined geographies), their personal lives (daily practices, patterns of movement, and social and institutional connections), and their existences within larger-scale geopolitical realities. This, in turn, points to the necessity of the sort of "flat" geographic ontology famously proposed by Marston et al. (2005), in which the interconnected and non-oppositional nature of different spatial categories makes the concept of scale useless as a tool of analysis. It is important to note the ways that this study points toward a flat ontology may have been a result of its theoretical underpinnings in Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, since practice theories tend to be ontologically flat by their nature (Schatzki, 2016). Nonetheless, this study points to the interconnectedness and interrelatedness of internal, the everyday, and the geopolitical, and so thus provides more evidence calling into question the necessity of considering these to be different scale in the first place.

Finally, this research study also presented an opportunity for a few young migrants living in contemporary New York City to express themselves about their experiences within the urban environment of New York and within contemporary US society as a whole. Although these

people only represented a small cross-section of migrants living in New York City today, to say nothing of the whole of the US, it is my hope that this research gave some measure of voice to migrants in the US today. It is also my hope that, in so doing, I was able to aid in the empowerment of migrants against the social and political forces that oppose them and seek to marginalize them.

6.1. Suggestions for further research

Taking the methods of this study as a starting point, there several ways that future research can expand on the findings of this thesis. These can involve different locations of study and sampling strategies, as well as different methodological approaches.

Although New York City was taken as the location for this study due to its high migrant population and its reputation as a locus for migration in the US, it could be interesting to repeat the methods of this study in different parts of the United States. Other major cities with high migration rates but different histories of migration and different migration demographics, such as Los Angeles could be studied; as well, it could be interesting to study the subjectivities of migrants living in areas that receive less migration and have lower populations of migrants, such as those in the American Midwest. Conclusions from these studies could be used in comparison with the conclusions on imagined geographies found in this study, since these imagined geographies concerned other areas of the US besides New York City. As well, this stud was focused entirely on US society and US politics; it could interesting to repeat this sort of study in different countries, since these countries may have different societal attitudes toward migration and different political discourses around it.

The reasoning behind choosing specifically young migrants in this study was provided in Section 3.2.; however, it could be interesting to focus on older migrants, and their subjectivities and practices of spaces. This could be especially interesting when considering issues of politics, since these migrants will have a different perspective on political issues due to their having lived through different political eras and regimes. It could also be interesting to compare participant responses across different age ranges, to see how age influences migrant subjectivities. Finally, a longitudinal study following the changes in migrant subjectivities over time could be interesting, especially in comparison with changing political landscapes. A somewhat related concept to age is age at the time of migration; it could also be interesting to conduct a study with a sample focused on participants with one set age at the time of migration (within in certain range).

As well, and as previously mentioned in Section 5.2., all of the participants in this study were either current university students or university graduates, and education figured highly in their emotions and practices; it could be interesting to study migrants who did not have this educational background, due to the possible differences in their subjectivities. Finally, this study was conducted in English, and as such only attracted English-speaking participants; it would be worthwhile to run a study on non-English-speaking participants to see if their practices and perceptions of the city are different.

More fundamentally, the sampling strategy in this study focused on finding participants with a broad variety of racial, ethnic, and socio-economic backgrounds. As well, in this study,

participants also lived in a diverse range of areas throughout the city, and had a diverse range of places of work and education. It could be interesting to focus on a narrower cross-section of the migrant population, however. For example, further studies could focus on migrants of a particular racial or ethnic group or national origin; they could also focus on migrants living in a specific neighborhood within New York City, or migrants with a particular workplace or place of study. The latter sampling strategy could be augmented by focusing on particular types of neighborhoods, as characterized by the quantitative data discussed in Section 4.3.; for example, a comparison could be made between migrants living in neighborhoods with high migrant populations versus migrants living in neighborhoods with low migrant populations. These sorts of study could reveal nuances and differences among migrant groups that were not visible from the broad perspective taken in this study.

In terms of methods and methodological issues, the biggest suggestion for further research has to do with the photo submission method utilized in this study. Although valuable data was found using this particular research method, it could be useful to repeat this portion of the study using a photo elicitation method. This is a method in which, rather than simply asking for photos to be submitted by participants, the photos are discussed during the interview between the participant and the researcher (Harper, 2002). This would have provided more context and background for the submitted photos, and could also have prompted more in-depth discussions and recounting of incidents during the interview process.

Finally, one important dimension of data that was missing in this study was a comparison between the subjectivities and practices of migrants and the subjectivities and practices of non-migrants. This study provided information on the habitus of migrants, but there was no indication that this habitus was in any way different from that of non-migrants living in the same areas; therefore, it could be valuable to conduct the same sort of research on non-migrants in order to establish this comparison. By doing this, it could be possible to see the specific ways in which migration and the identity of being a migrant influences habitus, and how habitus interacts specifically with the political realities of being a migrant.

6.2. Concluding remarks

The reality of being a migrant has always been a difficult and complex one. This has been true throughout history, as can be seen from the historical background discussed in Section 1.2.; it can also true in different places throughout the world, as can be seen from the different studies of migration mentioned in Section 2.1. In many ways, the struggles faced by migrants in contemporary New York City—against racial and ethnic prejudice, against hostile political regimes, and against the difficulties of adjusting and finding a sense of home in a new place—are emblematic of this rich migrant history.

Yet I would argue that shedding light on the personal, subjective realties of migrants within the spaces of their new countries, as this thesis has done, is a valuable addition to this migrant story, both in the context of history and in the context of contemporary geographic knowledge. These subjectivities are important parts of migrants' lives, and of the geographical reality of migration as a whole. Furthermore, as this thesis has shown, migrant subjectivities have the potential to be politically liberatory. As participant Putri said, in the quote that begins

this thesis and gives it its title, “Everybody belongs here, because they want to.” The power of migrants to, through their subjective, emotion, affective, and practical lives, to define the terms of their own lives the spaces around them is a powerful form of political and social action. It is a way for migrants, despite their marginalization and their many struggles, to find belonging, attachment, acceptance, and ultimately, a home.

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Appendix 1. Description of sample

- P1
    - Pseudonym: Shimam
    - Age: 22
    - Age at migration: 4
    - Gender: male
    - National origin: Bangladesh
    - Current area of residence: Flatlands, Brooklyn
    - Occupation: Student at New York City College of Technology in Downtown Brooklyn
- P2
    - Pseudonym: Nikita
    - Age: 21
    - Age at migration: 4
    - Gender: male
    - National origin: Russia
    - Current area of residence: Flushing, Queens
    - Occupation: Student at school for the deaf in Upper West Side, Manhattan
- P3
    - Pseudonym: Selena
    - Age: 24
    - Age at migration: 8
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: Jamaica
    - Current area of residence: Rosedale, Queens
    - Occupation: Editor at technology company in Fresh Meadows, Queens
- P4
    - Pseudonym: Kevin
    - Age: 18
    - Age at migration: 11
    - Gender: male
    - National origin: Indonesia
    - Current area of residence: Lower East Side, Manhattan
    - Occupation: Student at Hunter College in Upper East Side, Manhattan
- P5
    - Pseudonym: Lola
    - Age: 20
    - Age at migration: 16
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: Dominican Republic
    - Current area of residence: Crown Heights South, Brooklyn

    - Occupation: Student at Borough of Manhattan Community College in Tribeca, Manhattan
- P6
    - Pseudonym: Catherine
    - Age: 18
    - Age at migration: 14
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: Dominican Republic
    - Current area of residence: East New York, Brooklyn
    - Occupation: Student at Borough of Manhattan Community College in Tribeca, Manhattan
- P7
    - Pseudonym: Miguel
    - Age: 23
    - Age at migration: 15
    - Gender: male
    - National origin: Dominican Republic
    - Current area of residence: Fort Greene, Brooklyn
    - Occupation: Student at Borough of Manhattan Community College in Tribeca, Manhattan
- P8
    - Pseudonym: Zoe
    - Age: 23
    - Age at migration: 17
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: China
    - Current area of residence: Sunset Park, Brooklyn
    - Occupation: Student at New York City College of Technology in Downtown Brooklyn
- P9
    - Pseudonym: Abhishek
    - Age: 25
    - Age at migration: 23
    - Gender: male
    - National origin: India
    - Current area of residence: Ozone Park, Queens
    - Occupation: Student at New York University in West Village, Manhattan
- P10
    - Pseudonym: Joel
    - Age: 21
    - Age at migration: 18
    - Gender: male
    - National origin: Jamaica

    - Current area of residence: East Flatbush, Brooklyn
    - Occupation: Student at Borough of Manhattan Community College in Tribeca, Manhattan
- P11
    - Pseudonym: Putri
    - Age: 21
    - Age at migration: 5
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: Indonesia
    - Current area of residence: Bay Ridge, Brooklyn
    - Occupation: Student at Hunter College in Upper East Side, Manhattan
- P12
    - Pseudonym: Diego
    - Age: 20
    - Age at migration: 13
    - Gender: male
    - National origin: Peru
    - Current area of residence: Fresh Meadows, Queens
    - Occupation: Student at Hunter College in Upper East Side, Manhattan
- P13
    - Pseudonym: Anna
    - Age: 20
    - Age at migration: 10
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: Trinidad and Tobago
    - Current area of residence: Kew Gardens, Queens
    - Occupation: Student at Hunter College in Upper East Side, Manhattan
- P14
    - Pseudonym: Kelly
    - Age: 23
    - Age at migration: 9
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: China
    - Current area of residence: Fresh Meadows, Queens
    - Occupation: Program coordinator at Alzheimer's non-profit organization in Midtown, Manhattan
- P15
    - Pseudonym: Angie
    - Age: 26
    - Age at migration: 9
    - Gender: female
    - National origin: Colombia
    - Current area of residence: Elmhurst, Queens

- Occupation: Student at Borough of Manhattan Community College in Tribeca, Manhattan

Appendix 2. Interview guideline

Introduction

- Introduction of yourself
- Explanation of interview subject & principle
    - In this interview, I will ask you about the places you go regularly, what your feelings of belonging, safety, and danger are about these places, and how this has changed over time.
    - Not short question – short answers, but narrations
    - You do not have to answer question you do not like
    - Ok to record the interview?
    - Explanation of anonymization

Personal questions

- Age
- Age at migration
- Reason for migration
- Nationality
- Places of living
- Place of living today
- Living together with
- Place of school / work
- Education (whole educational biography)/ Job
- Language spoken at home
- Job of parents

Practices

- Describe the places you go on an average day.
    - Which of these places feel the safest? And why? Which feel the most dangerous? And why? Which are the places you feel you belong the most? And why?
    - Has this routine changed over the past year? How and why?

Anecdotes

- Where and with whom do you like to spend your leisure time? Why there?
    - Good and bad experiences at these places?
- Or: which places in the city do you like? Why?
    - Good and bad experiences at these places?
- Describe a time you felt a feeling of belonging.
    - Where was it? What were the features of this place?
    - Why did you feel a feeling of belonging? Always?
    - Related to people you belong to? Related to people you go to the places with?
- Describe a time you felt you didn't belong.
    - Where was it? What were the features of this place?
    - Why did you not feel a feeling of belonging? Always?
    - Related to people you go to the places with?

    - Related to particular experiences? Memories?
- Describe a time you felt especially safe.
    - Where was it? What were the features of this place?
    - Why did you feel safe? Always?
    - Related to people you belong to? You go to the places?
    - Related to particular experiences? Memories?
- Describe a time you felt you were in danger.
    - Where was it? What were the features of this place?
    - Why did you feel you were in danger? Always?
    - Related to people you belong to? Related to people you go to the places with?
    - Related to particular experiences? Memories?

Subjective definition of concept

- How do you define belonging?
    - Are these places you feel you belong? What does belonging mean to you?
    - Are these places you feel you don't belong? What does not belonging mean to you?
- How do you define safety?
    - What makes a place feel safe to you?
    - Are places you feel safe the places you feel you belong in?
- How do you define danger?
    - What makes a place feel dangerous to you?
    - How does feeling in danger in a place relate to your feelings of belonging in it?

Change over time

- How have your feelings of belonging changed over the past year?
    - Are there places that feel safer? Places that feel more dangerous?
    - What events prompted this change?
    - Your feeling of belonging to society – changed over time? Why?
    - Communities you feel that you belong to? Why? Spatial practices of these communities?
- Are there moments you feel like "I'm not born here"? "I'm not part / I do not belong to the US society"? In which moments? Why? Changed over time?
- Are there moments /situations you feel to belong to ….. (nation of birth)

Future:

- Do you think your feelings of belonging, safety and danger will change in future? How? Why?

Evaluation/small talk

- Is there anything else you'd like to mention?
- Was there anything that bothered you during this interview?
- Small talk

Mapping task:

- Ask participants to draw map showing pattern of movement throughout the city on an average day (in black), indicating:

- Safest areas (circle in blue)
- Areas with feelings of belonging (circle in green)
- Most dangerous areas (circle in red)
- Places in which patterns of movement have changed over past year (draw in purple)

Personal Declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent, work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

Zürich, April 2018

Aidan Bonner