The London School of Economics and Political Science

Spectral Latinidad: the work of Latinx migrants and small charities in London

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis asks: what is the relationship between Latina/o/xs and small-scale charities in London? I find that their relationship is intersectional and performative in the sense that political action is induced through their interactions. This enquiry is theoretically guided by Derrida's metaphor of spectrality and Massey's understanding of space. Derrida's spectres allow for an understanding of space as spectral, and Massey's space allows for spectres to be understood in the context of spatial politics. This theoretical interaction is illustrated in an ethnographic account of the relationship in question. I propose that Latinidad be understood as a spectral subjectivity that is spatialised largely in consequence to its relation to charity work, especially that which is performed by small-scale charities in London. The spatialisation of Latinidad through charity work is explored in relation to three scales: individual, organisational, and the urban setting. The empirical chapters that explore these relations are Chapter 5 which focuses on the individual scale, specifically users and volunteers of small charities and the ways they spatialise Latinidad through recreational and educational work, emphasising how these practices are haunted by structural inequalities in housing, health, and labour conditions. Chapter 6 focuses on the organisational scale, specifically on the work small-scale charities do to spatialise Latinidad through educational, recreational, and advocacy work. Chapter 7 focuses on charity work in London's urban setting which allows for an examination of the *urban border*, that is practices that seek to regulate migrants' experience of urban space; the urban border herein is instantiated in policy trends that characterise charity sector politics in relation to the state and the market. I conclude with a chapter reflecting on the political potentiality of Latinidad as a spectral subjectivity—the ability to forge coalitions across ethnic and geographical imaginaries, and its limitations as survival mechanisms that expand notions of what it means to be Latinx in London.

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Lastly, thank you to my family for your support. May we have better times ahead, and may we laugh, cry, and do the necessary healing work to care for our spectres.

For my sister, Leticia.

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List of abbreviations

ACE   Arts Council England
ACEVO   Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations
BAME   Black and Minority Ethnic
CAB   Citizen's Advice Bureau
CASA   CASA Latin American Theatre Festival
CBT   Cognitive Behavioural Therapy
CDD   Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir
CEDIMAC   Centro para el Desarollo Integral de la Mujer A.C.
CLAUK   Coalition of Latin Americans in the United Kingdom
CLI   Centre for Latin American Identity
CMDPDH   Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos
DCLG   Department for Communities and Local Government
E&C   Elephant and Castle
EHRC   Equality and Human Rights Commission
ESOL   English for Speakers of Other Languages
FULA   Futuro Latino Americano
GLA   Greater London Authority
GLC   Greater London Council
ICE   Immigration Compliance and Enforcement
IMF   International Monetary Fund
IRMO   Indoamerican Refugee and Migrant Organisation
LADPP   Latin American Disabled People's Project
LAH   Latin American House
LARC   Latin American Recognition Campaign
LAWRS   Latin American Women's Rights Services
LCSS   London Council of Social Service
LGBTQ+   Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, plus
LHASC   Labour History Archive and Study Centre in London
LMA   London Metropolitan Archives
LSE   The London School of Economics and Political Science
LVSC   London Voluntary Service Council
MSU   Migrant Services Unit
NAFTA   North American Free Trade Agreement
NCVO   National Council of Voluntary Organisations

NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHS	National Health Services
NLI	No Longer Invisible
NPL	Naz Project London
NPO	National Portfolio Organisation
OLA	Onward Latin American
OVV	Observatorio Venezolano de Violencia
PbR	Payment by Results
QMUL	Queen Mary, University of London
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
TEUK	Telefono de la Esperanza UK
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Mi corazón me recuerda que he de llorar -Jaime Sabines (2014: 20) Mi corazón me recuerda que he de llorar por el tiempo que se ha ido, por el que se va. Agua del tiempo que corre, muerte abajo, tumba abajo, no volverá. Me muero todos los días sin darme cuenta, y está mi cuerpo girando en la palma de la muerte como un trompo de verdad. Hilo de mi sangre, ¿quién te enrollará? Agua soy que tiene cuerpo, la tierra la beberá. Fuego soy, aire compacto, no he de durar. El cielo sobre la tierra tumba muertos, sobre el mar, los siembra en hoyos de arena, les echa cal. Yo soy el tiempo que pasa, es mi muerte la que va en los relojes andando hacia atrás.	My heart reminds me that one must cry over time that has passed, that continues to pass. Water in the currents of time, death beneath, tomb beneath, will not return. I die every day without realising it, and my body gyrates in the palm of death's hand like a true teetotum. Thread of my blood, who will roll you up? Water, embodied, I am that which the earth will drink. I am fire, compacted air, I will not last. The sky over the earth drops the dead, over the sea, and sows them in holes of sand, throws limestone powder over them. I am time that passes, it is my death which departs in clocks moving backwards.[1]

Her performance focused on the words in the flow of a silent rhythm. Her movement, palpable yet controlled, accentuated the metaphysics of nature intertwined with

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[1] My translations.

violence and death, as this famous Mexican poem by Jaime Sabines (2014: 20) invokes. This was the fourth poem of the night in my first poetry open mic night, and I was already enthralled. I turned to him to see if he shared my sentiments. That is when I noticed tears running over the scar on his cheek. He quickly turned to wipe the tears away. I wanted to reach out to him, but I felt there was a psychic barrier, so I turned away to allow him a moment of privacy. Before the next performer went on stage, I asked if he wanted to leave. He declined, saying he wanted to enjoy the rest of the poems. We left 'Latino poetry open mic night' at around 9:30PM. I went with him from Vauxhall to Croydon on a bus to make sure he made it home safely. I was sure he could make it on his own, but I felt this was a particularly emotional night for him. It was nice to sit with him in silence, knowing and not knowing the reasons for his tears.

One of the charities where I volunteered introduced Domingo to me as an elderly man who wanted to learn English but needed a gentle approach because he experienced anxiety. He had been here for more than 30 years and was still at a beginner's level, so I understood the exercise was not about learning the language but rather an act of socialising. We became friends, and after our sessions on Wednesday afternoons, I would invite him out to 'Latin Open Mic' night at Tia Maria's. Most often, he would decline, but this particular night his daughter was going to be out with her two children whom he babysat while she was at work, so he decided to join me. He seemed to really enjoy all the performances, but I imagined this performance triggered in him memories that might have surprised him. I wanted to ask, as I felt it was important information for him to express outright—the reasons for his tears. But I just sat there in silence with him until we arrived at West Croydon rail station. His house was a few blocks away from one of the new buildings that was still in construction, so I let him go on his own so I could catch my train home to Lewisham. This opening vignette is meant to incite key concepts that are at work in this thesis. The primary one is that of spectres and how they haunt the lives of migrants, from the historical to the everyday structural conditions they survive.

The materiality of the spectres that haunt him are perhaps most evident in his scar which was too deliberate to be an accident and too messy to be cosmetic or surgical. It is a remnant of violence pronounced by the way he wore it: apologetic of its involuntary exposure and resentful of the attention it garnered. I never asked him about it directly but

from piecing together fragments of his story, I gather it was simultaneously meant to be a warning and a silencing mechanism. In the mid-1980s, he was a student activist in Lima, Peru, speaking out and organising protests against the government and Sendero Luminoso[2]. To this day, he does not know which faction scarred him, but he expressed multiple times feeling like he was one of the lucky ones because many of his colleagues, also activists and organisers, disappeared. He felt like he disappeared with them, or that he should have. And so, like the narrator in the poem, he becomes time in/as embodied elements (fire, water, earth, wind) flowing backwards, reaching for an absence that is ever too present while simultaneously being all too absent, too intimate. Perhaps this was the trigger for his tears, these words that reminded him of his wife who disappeared shortly after the scarring incident. Through a series of migratory pathways with the help of his networks, he ended up in London with his infant daughter. With the help of small charities in Croydon, he managed to negotiate everything from single-parenthood to mental health. What follows in his story is intertwined with the broader narrative that concerns this thesis: the material conditions that Latin Americans negotiate in London and how small charities help to alleviate marginal socio-economic positionalities.

1.2 Intersections between spectrality, Latinidad, and charity work

My thesis clusters around the intersections between migration, spectrality, and charity work. Spectrality is a condition which, at the core, for me, serves as a simple metaphor to express socio-economic marginality in London. This metaphor is further theorised upon in Chapter 2, drawing from relevant literatures which inform a theoretical framework. I understand these concepts to be rhetorical and performative which is to say that they produce and are produced by an identifiable set of discourses and practices. As concepts, they are not static: they symbolise processes that influence the organisation of space on various scales. This is not to say that these concepts exist in a vacuum with one another; clearly, space production is polymorphic and includes a myriad of factors from

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[2] *Sendero Luminoso* is a communist revolutionary faction in Peru most active in the 1980s. While Domingo espoused militant leftist ideological political stances, he was against Sendero Luminoso's violence against peasants, many of whom were Indigenous Peruvians or of indigenous descent, such as himself.

the material to the symbolic. But I am interested in how the particular relationships between these three concepts contribute to the formation of contemporary urban life.

My key assumption here is that charity and spectrality work hand in glove which is to say that charity necessitates spectrality. For charity work to exist, at least in its current form, it needs to serve (or believe it is serving) the interests of spectral subjects. If the spectral subject were removed from this equation, charity work would cease to exist, or at least be forced to reconsider its purpose. Perhaps, this can be categorised as a binary opposition in the poststructuralist (Derrida, 1982: 5) sense of the term in that this relationship is interdependent and intertwined deeply through cultural, social, political, and economic structures. Border theorists, such as Anzaldúa (1987) and Kristeva (1991), have argued that the migrant is a key figure in (re)structuring beliefs, practices, and performances of Self and Other, the familiar and the strange, the citizen and the migrant. Transnational migration has become increasingly relevant in considering these dynamics, particularly labour migrations from the Global South to the Global North. These migrations contribute to transformations of urban life (De Genova, 2012; Hall, 2013). I argue that this includes the relationship between charity and spectrality. This is especially true because working class migrants from the Global South often find themselves surviving spectral conditions in urban settings. In specific terms, this means that the migrant is changing the ways in which charity is practiced and spectrality is addressed and experienced in urban spatial dimensions.

To localise this research project, I focus on Latin American (hereafter Latinx[3]) migrant spectrality and the charity organisations that work to alleviate such spectrality in London. The particularity of this context speaks to the larger processes of migration, spectrality, and charity work. The core research question I ask in this thesis is: what is the relationship between Latinx migrants and small charities in London? This pithy question opens up a multiplicity of issues that concern methodologies; this goes beyond simple

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[3] There are various iterations of this term: Latina/o, Latin@, and Latinx – as the latest development in critical theory challenging gender binary norms. Through the course of writing this project, I have used all three terms but ended up going with the advice of my research participants: 'it's a matter of personal choice' (Lucila, 24 Oct 2018, personal communication). More rationale for this usage is further explained later in the next section.

binary framings such as the private and public, life and death, the citizen and the migrant, as an example of the myriad of 'oppositional' constructs the question conjures.

This research project is important because the intersections between migration, spectrality, and charity work make up part of the core character of London as a (dis)organised, (dis)embodied, and contested cityscape, and they have, to a large extent, not been explored or explored critically. To the field of geography, this project seeks to contribute an urban ethnographic account of how these processes are produced, experienced, practiced, and mobilised. Specifically, this study will contribute to the literatures on the geographies of London, migration, spectrality, and charity work. The notion of spectrality, in its specific rhetorical and performative constellations, is relatively unexplored and often taken for granted in the field of geography, and this study seeks to address this gap and challenge common assumptions. In what follows, I define the terms while discussing the importance of the research topic in its specific context.

1.3 Intersections between spectrality, Latinidad, and charity work

The definitions and justification of the above concepts in this research project are informed by one another. As previously stated, the concepts of migration, spectrality, and charity work are understood to be rhetorical and performative. This means that the definition of each concept comes into being and is contested through a set of intersectional processes, i.e., cultural, social, political, and economic processes. There are multiple definitions circulating, thus the definitions provided here are starting points for a lengthier discussion of how these concepts are experienced and mobilised in London. The concepts I am working with are taken from the research questions and displayed in an order that can help to define the research context and its importance. After I explain London as a research context, I move on to what I mean by Latinx migrants and how this population fits within this research context. After establishing what constitutes a relationship from a transnational economic perspective, I develop a working definition for the concept of migrant spectrality and discuss how that relates to charity work. There is no clear-cut way to present these terms without some overlap.

Like many other Western liberal democracies, Britain has experienced dramatic structural changes in the past few decades. The contemporary 'post-Industrial' socio-

economic panorama is characterised by different configurations of bilateral trade agreements, market deregulations, spending cuts across public sectors, welfare reforms, criminalisation of the poor, various forms of union busting, and an overall rise of inequality (Silverstone, 2011; UK Home Office, 2012; Jurado and Brochmann, 2013; Parkin, 2013). More than any other city in the United Kingdom (UK), London has been one of the central contestation grounds for the politics engendered in these structural shifts. In relation to these struggles, London has emerged as a 'global city', whose key components include greater levels of immigration, class and labour polarity, spatial and socio-economic inequality, and prominence on the world stage (Sassen, 2001). Increasingly, migrants have played a significant role in the shaping of these cultural, political, and economic contestations in the city.

Migrant life in London is vibrant on multiple scales from the everyday to the official and everywhere else in between. Aside from the flashy opulence, the growing labour market in London also attracts migrants from around the world. These labour migrations primarily fulfil gaps in the 'top-end' and 'bottom-end' of the labour market. Migrants on the 'bottom-end' of this market experience harsher levels of insecurity, as the inequality between 'skilled' and 'unskilled' workers is exacerbated giving rise to the 'working poor', a term that describes groups of people (not exclusively migrants) that work two or more jobs to make ends meet (Datta *et al.*, 2006; Goos and Manning, 2007). Given the socio-economic disparities between the Global South and Global North, perhaps it is no surprise that workers from the Global South are over-represented in the 'working poor' population of this labour market. The types of work they perform, especially in the services sector (cleaning, caring, and hospitality), are vital to London's everyday maintenance.

Despite these contributions and their growing presence and impact on London's economic, socio-political, and cultural lifescapes, working-class migrants from the Global South continue to be marginalised, even criminalised, in public discourse and policy (Silverstone, 2011; Parkin, 2013). An overwhelming amount of research shows that these migrant populations work in precarious conditions and are susceptible to exploitation en route, at home, and in the workplace (Pai, 2004; Datta *et al.*, 2006, 2007; Evans *et al.*, 2007; Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008; Anderson, 2010; Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2013). While this may be a harrowing picture for migrants, London also provides opportunities

for political action as evidenced by the long tradition of migrant organising around labour issues (Wills *et al.*, 2010). How Latinx migrants fit into these dynamics, the kinds of organisations they bring with them, and how these forms and methods of organisation shift over time are explored in this thesis.

I will sometimes use the term 'we' to signal my 'insider' status within Latinidad as a research group made up of Latinxs in London. I use the quotation marks to signal my 'outsider' status as a researcher with a particular agenda. Latinxs in London now constitute a significant migrant population from the Global South. This should not imply that we are a representative group of the Global South; that would entail having to generalise vast differences across continents that make up the Global South. Instead, in line with Sivanandan's (1976) notion of identity politicisation in Britain, I group Latinxs together based on geography and culture in an effort to politicise our identifications, meaning recognisable experiences and performances of Latinx identity across difference in London. Gunaratnam (2013) also offers critical insight in working with racial and ethnic categories when she encourages an approach that simultaneously works with and against the categories produced at different scales. Similarly, Muñoz (1999) offers the concept of 'disidentification' as a method of working on and against racial categories ultimately as an overarching political project of world making – expanding categories until they collapse while simultaneously using these categories to relieve pressures of the everyday.

There are different ways in which racial and ethnic categories can be used as a political analytic. For me, this entails employing the term Latinx as a way to link up the critical transnational conversations around this term and its various iterations and constellations[4]. This is not without its problems: the term has much academic currency in the United States and there are various iterations which conflate vast difference across geographies, unreflexive of implicit cultural and epistemic imperialism insofar as geography and socioeconomic positionality dictate the terms of representation, not just in theory but also in cultural markets and various productions of the term. For the purposes of this thesis, I employ the term strategically for political solidarity while simultaneously employing politics of 'negative difference', theorised further in Chapter 2, to disrupt

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[4] This includes pan-Latinidad, Latin American, *panlatinidad*, *mestizaje*, *latinoamericano*, etc. (for example as exemplified in the works of García Canclini, 1990; Palou, 2014).

homogeneity in iterations of what Latinidad may mean. Moreover, in using the term I draw from the usage of the term in practice as the term was employed by my research participants, users and volunteers of charity organisations, charities and other migrant organisations, marketing campaigns, informal group discussions, intellectual gatherings, etc. Again, the term is not without its problems, but my usage is grounded in both theory and practice that links critical conversations across geographies.

Geographically, Latinx migrants, as a transnational category, make up significant numbers compared to groups distinguished by specific nationalities from the region. Reliable statistics of the population have been difficult to obtain. Latin Americans are not currently recognised as an official ethnic category in the United Kingdom, but while London is the only city that recently started including Latin Americans in their surveys, though not as an ethnic category, but, rather, by country of birth (Office for National Statistics 2011). It was previously thought that the population of Latinxs was more than 1 million (McIlwaine, 2007; Cock, 2009). More recent figures, however, provide a more conservative number of 250,000 in the United Kingdom. As the population increases, so does the academic interest and there is a growing list of studies that have paid attention to Latin American migrants in London (Román-Velázquez, 1999; McIlwaine, 2005; Sveinsson, 2007; Wright-Rovolledo, 2007; McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011). This geographical categorisation is beneficial in that it politicises minority and marginalised subjects based on the complex factors that instigate their experiences with spectrality in London. Grouping Latinx migrants geographically, however, risks conflating the rich diversity that makes up Latinidad, and that is why employing a cultural component was useful and necessary to tease out the tensions engendered in these politics.

Culturally, Latinxs may be placed under the umbrella of Latinidad, a Spanish language term that signals different characteristics that are shared by Latin American peoples and their descendants without reducing similarities to one singular trait. It is an intersectional socio-cultural construct that, as an analytic, has been developed more in the context of the United States (Padilla, 1985). The concept has been pushed further by queer of colour theorists, such as Rodríguez (2003) and Rivera-Servera (2012), to describe it as part of a geographical experience wrapped up in the complexities and contradictions of migration politics intermeshed with (post)(neo)colonial, race, colour, gender, sexuality,

ability, legal status, class, nation, language, and politics of location. All this may also include similarities and differences in cultural performances, i.e., ethnic hybridity, foods, music, languages, belief systems, rituals, etc. Latinidad provides ample conceptual and empirical grounds for the study of responses to migrant spectrality in London. In and of itself, Latinidad, as a theoretical construct and lived experience, may constitute a response to spectrality. That is to say, its enactment in quotidian spaces signals a possibility of solidarity, a sharing of understanding identity, place, and belonging forged in difference and similarity but always in relation to 'host' cultures and official and unofficial border structures. Of course, all this carries the burden of romanticising this particular identity as necessarily resistant, when in fact it may be limited depending on the types of intra and inter migrant group solidarity. This identity construct operates on the ground in London in relation to spectrality, thus a cultural component plays a big part in migratory experiences.

Migrants' performance of culture in a foreign place is precarious in the sense that this performance is subject to border structures—official and unofficial migration rules and regulations. As a contextual condition, middle- and working-class migrants may also experience spectralised. This is not to equate the experiences between these two social groups, only to point out that their relation to privilege and marginality can vary starkly, but they are unified by economic and cultural factors by which their labour and lives are often made disposable. This labour structure, characterised by neoliberal economic policies of privatisation and militarisation (in some circles discussed as securitisation linking the migrant to discourses of terrorism), expects and demands migrants to provide a flexible labour supply in terms of mobility, knowledge, concentration, and time (Hardt and Negri, 2000; Lazzarato, 2006; Harvey, 2010). Their political consciousness may vary, but they share the experience of marketplace exploitation most often leading to downward social mobility. Migrants from the Global South often occupy middle class positions in their countries of origin which is often lowered by the kinds of jobs (unskilled labour) they perform in the Global North. Aside from economic precarity, migrants may encounter precarious conditions out of (a sense of) displacements, increased securitisation of borders, criminalisation, and privatisation. But these experiences are not unique to Latinxs in London; working class native populations, migrants from Eastern European countries as well as those from across the Global South share these experiences.

Discourses about charity work, Third-Sector, non-profit sector, volunteer sector, and civil society are sometimes interchanged. However, charity work has its own trajectory that has a longer history in England and is more closely linked to religious institutions and practices than what is known as non-profit or civil society work. A question pertaining to theory that emerges from this particular focus is about the implications of categorising charity work under civil society work. For now, it is worth noting that this has had legal implications that are evident in the Charities Act 2011 which was revamped tremendously to consolidate civil society work and expand the government's role in regulating this work. Under the Charities Act 2011, most of the charities that pertain to my research are unincorporated charities. This refers to a large number of small-scale charity organisations though they are registered with the Charity Commission.

Charities play an important role in London's cultural political economy, as is evident with a broad overview of the contemporary dynamics. The Charity Commission (2014) reports that in the UK, the total number of registered charities is 164,097, all of which have a combined income of over 64 billion pounds. In London alone, the number of registered charities is 5,537. The number of charities that work with migrants is always intersectional thus difficult to ascertain. Those that work specifically with Latinx migrants in London, though not always exclusively, is between 12 and 23 (these numbers are likely higher because much depends on the projects charities take on). The work of some of these organisations sometimes overlaps with support of Latin American refugees. While some of these organisations are dedicated to specific subpopulations (disabled peoples, for instance), their work broadly addresses education of language and culture, protection of health, and the relief of poverty, and physical and mental distress. The work they do is vital in helping Latinxs survive London. More than survive, they can sometimes provide opportunities to produce and share cultural performances that help to carve out unique spaces of commonality, particularly through recreational, educational, and advocacy work, as will be argued in this thesis. In what follows I outline the leading research question providing more background into the reasons that led me to the research project, my preliminary research activities which led me to this question, and the rationale for the study highlighting the overarching themes that I seek to address in this document.

1.4 Research question and rationale

My preliminary fieldwork led me to ask one simple yet important question: what is the relationship between Latinx migrant and small charities in London? I arrived at this research question through my work with two small-scale charities, namely CASA[5] Latin American Theatre Festival (hereafter CASA) and Latin American Disabled People's Project (hereafter LADPP). CASA is an arts-based charity organisation dedicated to bringing Latin American theatre to London; this includes bringing theatre troops from Latin America to perform for London diverse audiences. LADPP is a service-oriented charity organisation that focuses on working with Latin American (not exclusively) disabled peoples and people who care for them.

When I started working on this research project, I wanted to explore the role of performance in relation to the experience of precarity. Performance was understood in relation to traditional understandings related to theatre, dance, and music. I sought to understand how Latina/o migrants and charity organisations made use of performance methods to carve out spaces in London. To get a better sense of the field, I started volunteering with CASA. This was meant to be a pilot project that would eventually expand to other charity organisations that organise festivals in London. My participant observation work consisted of attending CASA's weekly organisational meetings, building a database of Latina/o related charity organisations in Britain, and participating in the Community Theatre project. Additionally, I joined one of their projects that consist of a community theatre group that produces a play to be premiered at the end of the festival.

My volunteer work allowed me to better understand where CASA was located within broader charity organisational frameworks. When I started working with them, they were undergoing the process of applying for National Portfolio Organisation (NPO) status which would have allowed them to secure funding for three years in a row as opposed to the more insecure year-by-year funding from Arts Council England (ACE), one of their main funders. This is a new funding model that was introduced during the London Olympics 2012. For CASA, the effects of this funding model meant that they had to obtain NPO status or be forced to rely on funding from private corporations, amongst other

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[5] CASA is not an abbreviation, this is how they are colloquially known and how choose to call themselves, all in capital letters.

funders. The imposition of this business model was a common theme to affect small-scale arts charity organisations. CASA began adopting a more business-like approach to their organising; this was made evident when they discussed their advertising target groups. In one meeting, the office manager suggested that poor working-class migrants, those that worked two or three jobs, should not be a target audience group because they would not be able to attend the shows anyway. The concept of charity work as business became a theme that I would latch onto because it was a source of tension within CASA, and likely other small-scale charity organisations as a consequence of organising charity work around particular business models.

My participation in the community theatre project allowed me to meet fellow Latinx migrants with whom to socialise and build rapport. The people I met came from Colombia, Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, and Nicaragua. Participating with this group was a therapeutic experience. When I initially pitched my research project to The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), I expressed my interest in conducting research primarily as an artist trained in performance studies. After starting the PhD programme and dealing with medical treatment for a chronic health condition I manage, I lost touch with these practices and sensibilities. My participation with this group allowed a sense of relief. It provided a space in which I could work through philosophies that come with the core of human performance, or of performing humanity. These existential thoughts and emotions are common psychological side effects of any PhD programme, but when combined with daily high doses of steroids and other immunosuppressant medication, as was my regimen during the early periods of my research project, these factors are intensified and become part of everyday life. The ritualised practice of group bonding became a source of strength, and I formed close friendships with individuals who agreed to participate in this research project. At the end of the 2014 summer break, I decided to stop volunteering for CASA, as their demands for my time were too great, especially considering my writing responsibilities.

My work with CASA provided me with useful information that allowed me to expand the scope of my research topic on a conceptual level. I wanted to explore charity work at large, not just the kind that arts charities do. This is when I decided to volunteer for LADPP as an English teacher. Their services include helping Latinxs in London

procure services, providing information, training, advice, and advocacy, social and cultural events, as well as volunteering opportunities. In most cases as in my own, the volunteers were also 'service users'; volunteering for LADPP was useful to me in the sense that it helped me create bonds with people experiencing similar yet different forms of precarity than my own. I connected with my students from my one-to-one and group English language classes. When I lived in Beijing, China, before arriving at London for my doctoral research, I taught English and developed my own curriculum to suit the needs of beginners, intermediate, and advanced English language students. I used this curriculum to teach my students, and it proved useful. The courses were designed using language to communicate basic or complex information ranging from identity, location and surroundings, to contemporary political discussions in London and the world. These courses continued to be helpful, when I started doing official fieldwork with service users and volunteers of small charities.

My interest in the intersections between migration, spectrality, and charity work came out of the observations I made during my work at CASA and LADPP. CASA employed a top-down approach to organising the festival; they were hesitant, if not resistant, to make the festival accessible to poor migrants. LADPP operates with a different organisational logic where a majority of their trustees and volunteers are also 'service users'; their constitution calls for a democratic approach to decision making which, in some instances, involves these service users and volunteers. This should not imply that LADPP is free of constraints and similar tensions, but I am suggesting that their negotiation with the broader structural changes that charity work has undergone in the past few decades is different and more in tune with how migrants understand their needs and how a charity organisation may be of service to them. Moreover, this is not meant to be read as a critique of CASA; a top-down approach to organising the festival works for them because of their organisational structure and their actual engagement with service users; these observations of both charities are merely to point out differences in their approach to organising that are also different for all the other charities with which I worked – they each have their own organisational culture and differences in the work they do, but they are all united in their work in helping to better the lives of Latinxs in London. This difference speaks not just to how charity work responds to precarity but also how precarity itself is understood: CASA

and LADPP are distinct organisations and they both negotiate structural changes differently; my starting point for comparing their function were the structural politics that govern them – that they both work with Latinx migrants in London adds more relevance to multi-scale story this thesis seeks to tell. This was the catalyst for the focusing on the relationship between charity and migration at large using Latinxs and small charities as an entry point into broader historical and theoretical debates.

The rationale for this thesis is that, while sufficient qualitative and quantitative work has been produced to document the presence of Latin Americans in London, addressing their struggles and how they negotiate such struggles, this thesis seeks to add to these accounts by focusing on the relationship between these Latin Americans and small charities. Early on in my research, it was evident that small charities had played a large and important part in their development and ongoing struggles. This relationship is worth documenting (and celebrated) as it speaks to broader issues of subject formation, agency and empowerment, and power negotiations on various scales. This relationship also speaks to the broader politics that impact the work of small charities, or small organisations which are registered with the Charities Commission. The small organisations that I surveyed in my ethnographic research mostly identify as migrant organisations; in this thesis, I refer to these organisations mostly as small charities not to deny them their identity as migrant organisations but rather to link them to London's and the UK's political economy that regulates charities at large, and which government induced changes in the past few decades have impacted mostly small charities including migrant organisations and other organisations that work with issues of age, disability, sexuality, health, race and ethnicity, and gender. The following describes the specific ways in which these elements are explored throughout this thesis.

1.5 Thesis structure

This introduction (Chapter 1) includes a selected vignette from my fieldwork that hints at the broader issues and politics in London. This vignette spawned the driving metaphor of spectres that is fleshed out throughout the entire thesis. While the story is an individual story, it is a sample of other case studies that appear in the empirical chapters. It also opens a discussion about the intersections between spectrality, Latinidad as an ethnic

category, and charity work. I go on to discuss London politics to provide spatial background to the thesis, focusing on migration, labour, housing, and health issues. This leads to the research questions and a delineation of the argument which is that Latinidad is a spectral subjectivity that is largely spatialised because of its relationship to small-scale charities in London. This chapter concludes with the overarching thesis structure.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework guiding this thesis. I begin with an account of spectres in relation to ghosts as they have been historically conceived of in western cultures and Latin America. Derrida's theorisation of spectres in relation to Marx's spirit of critique is then examined to delineate the multiple purposes and functions they play in contemporary human dramas. I then turn to Massey's understanding of space to propose that space is imbued with elements of spectrality and vice-versa. Aside from her manifesto *For Space*, this includes the concept of power geometries to think about socio-economic positionalities as a central focus for spatial analysis—for the purposes of this thesis, this means focusing on socio-economic marginalities that shape certain migrants' experiences of space. This argument leads to a discussion on the technologies which seek to spectralise subjects. To reiterate, the metaphor of spectralisation in this thesis is employed to understand social positioning in relation to the market and the state in migratory contexts. I conclude this Chapter with a section delineating different philosophical debates around charity and other iterations of that term and its functions. These theories are sutured with postcolonial, decolonial, radical queer theories which interplay with the notions of 'border imperialism' and the 'urban border', an extension of national borders which limit the (quality of) life migrants can experience in the city.

In Chapter 3 I provide an extensive literature review which begins with the introduction of the geopolitics that make London an important site to study the relationship in question (between Latin Americans and small-scale charities). This is followed by providing the migration context in London, much of which includes several published works from academics in my field (Massey, 2007; Evans *et al*., 2007; Gordon 2014; Wills *et al*., 2010; Datta *et al.*, 2006; 2007; 2009 ; De Genova 2012; also reports from UK Home Office, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, and Migration Observatory amongst others). The next section focuses on the world of charities as interventionist technologies, highlighting the key debates with reference to notable academics (Anheier, 2005; Billis,

2010a; 2010b; Bradley, 2009; Ishkanian and Szreter, 2012; Powell, 1987; and more government documents such as the Charities Act 2011 and its history). This is followed by a discussion of the history of Latin Americans in London, tapping into the relevant literature (McIlwaine, 2005; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2011; Cock, 2009; Datta *et al.*, 2007; Evans *et al.*, 2007; Román-Velázquez 1999). The chapter's conclusion ends with a reiteration of how these trajectories intersect and why these intersections matter.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion of the methodology and methods employed to carry out this research. The Chapter focuses on key debates around urban ethnography primarily centring around the entry point of an ethnographer—macro to micro versus micro to macro scales. An urban ethnographic lens is then employed to pay attention to how different scales across time and space communicate with one another and intersect on the site of the body, in this instance the migrant body—with particular focus on age, disability, health, gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality because these were particular issues my research participants had to negotiate in their interaction with the city. This leads to a discussion on autoethnographic and ethnographic methods in relation to my own positionality in this research project. This is followed by a description of the ethnographic work conducted, including brief samples of archival data, participant observations, interviews, and data analysis using thematic analysis in nVivo software.

The first empirical chapter, Chapter 5, examines the scale of the individual in relation to the group, that is Latinx users and volunteers of charity organisations in London. I focus on the work that they do to spatialise Latinidad. The notion of spatialisation is guided by Massey's understanding of space and the spatialisation of subjectivity. Two major forms of work are surveyed: recreational and educational. Each form of work, I argue, relieves pressures they experience from structural conditions affecting their experience with labour, housing, and health issues. This Chapter consists of various short stories from individuals that provide examples of my arguments. I conclude the chapter with a discussion on how important it is to note that Latin Americans are active agents in the spatialisation of their own ethnic subjectivity, how despite their experiences which seek to spectralise them (erase them through structural inequalities) they continue to work on issues that link them to their native geographies but also keep them grounded in London political landscapes.

The second empirical chapter, Chapter 6, focuses on small-scale charity organisations and the work they do to spatialise Latinidad. Like the previous chapter, I argue that recreational, educational, and advocacy work helps to relieve pressures from structural inequalities surrounding labour, housing, and health, and serves to expand notions of Latinidad. To describe the diversity of this work, this Chapter seeks to balance the tension between depth and breadth by providing three in-depth accounts that showcase the work of two charities (CASA and Latin Elephant) and the umbrella coalition project run by Latin American Women's Rights Services (LAWRS). To showcase the breadth of the recreational, educational, and advocacy work these migrant organisations do, I draw from archival data from the annual reports of eight charities, including the three charities featured in the previous sections. The recreational work of CASA is examined through their 2015 annual theatre festival, drawing out themes that were chosen to do the cultural work necessary to spatialise Latinidad. The educational work of Latin Elephant is featured by drawing on an arts project designed to document Latinx migrants uses and meanings of place at Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre. The work of Coalition of Latin Americans in the United Kingdom (CLAUK) showcases the advocacy work of the coalition which brings together several leaders of different organisations serving the needs of Latinx migrants in London. All together, these in-depth accounts and the archival data showcases an array of the multiple forms of work that these charities to spatialise Latinidad.

The third empirical chapter, Chapter 7, focuses on the scale of the urban border, or technologies that seek to open and close migrants' experience of urban space. For this Chapter, the spectrality of the state is explored in relation to successive government policy trends that have impacted negatively the breadth and depth of small charities in particular. There are five policy trends which are identified in this chapter as evidencing central governments working towards a spectral mode of governance thus impacting the work of small charities; these include: 1) implementing austerity measures, 2) marketising welfare service delivery, 3) adopting a prime provider model in welfare service delivery, 4) shifting away from grants towards contracts, and 5) advancing a surveillance regime. The chapter concludes with a summary of how this chapter argues charities, even small-scale ones, work to produce the urban border.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis by summarising the flow of the metaphor throughout the empirical chapters and how Massey and Derrida work together to develop challenges it presents to the understanding of space. The chapter begins with a summary of arguments presented in each Chapter and explain how the empirical findings contribute to my theoretical contribution of delineating this metaphor on a spatial dimension, how the methodological approach to the leading research question is innovative, and what this contributes to geography as a field and to critical studies at large. The limitations of the research are discussed next; these include the single focus on one ethnic group and not several, thereby being able to make empirical generalisations. This discussion leads to the future studies that are opened in this line of enquiry, following what came before and charting new research trajectories that are already at work with other ethnic groups in London and across Britain.

Chapter 2: Spatialising spectres: conceptual framework

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter provides the theoretical grounding for the key argument made in this thesis. The core argument is that Latinidad needs to be understood as a spectral subjectivity that has developed in relation to charity work in London, particularly that of small charities. In order to delineate this argument, a brief overview (Section 2.2) is provided of how spectres have been understood in western societies, particularly England, and in different regions of Latin America. I then turn to Derrida (Section 2.3), as he provides the most in-depth account of spectrality in relation to political economy, especially that which engages Marx's spirit of critique; in this regard, this section includes several critiques and responses of his conceptualisation of spectrality. Next, Massey's conceptualisation of space (Section 2.4), including her concept of power geometries to conceptualise space in relation to socio-economic conditions, is outlined in order to place in conversation Massey and Derrida, thus proposing a Massey-Derridean framework of analysis that I term 'spectral analysis'. A spectral analysis (Section 2.5) considers the benefits of a Massey-Derridean framework, which includes conceptualising spectrality as spatial and to consider the spectrality of space. This is done through an exploration of Harsha Walia's concept of 'border imperialism' as technologies of spectralisation and how Latinidad may be implicated in these border geopolitics. Finally, I turn to current debates about charity, and note the ways in which it has functioned as an advocate for the spectre and how it is becoming itself a spectral technology in the negative sense of the word (Section 2.6).

2.2 Spectres at large

My conceptualisation of spectres is related to the common understanding of ghosts noting that different cultures and geographies have variant deployments and relations to such figures. Because these figures are often constructed as faith-based, they can also be dependent on the scale of the individual and their faith in ghosts, understanding that the subjectivity of an individual is always-already interrelated with their environment. The relation to ghosts should not mean an equation with ghosts; for me spectres have a broader

theoretical spectrum than ghosts as post-death human embodiments. However, using ghosts as a starting point is useful, as the two figures speak to similar politics of life and death, or what is commonly referred to in critical theory as biopolitics and necropolitics[6]. In this section I trace several deployments of these figures as they have been conceptualised historically across different geographies, focusing on those geographies pertinent to my research (namely England and Latin America). This brief history helps to showcase the different technological functions ghosts and spectres have had in different space-times which in turn help me to provide a more in-depth understanding of Derrida's spectres. This overview is centred heavily on performance as in theatrical productions with the underpinning assumption, as Conquergood (2002: 240) argues, that performance reflects and informs cultural geographical practices.

In classical Greek tragedies, spectres took the form of the Chorus—a homogenous, non-individualised group of actors who danced, spoke, and sang in unison. The Chorus had different functions in a theatrical production, some of which are still debated by performance historians, but one thing remains certain: they were present to the audience, could consume and produce affective registers in relation to the story and the actors, but could not be sensed by and could not change the circumstances of the actors engaging in human drama (Kirkwood, 1994). German poet and critic August Schelegel (2004 [1846]: 49-50) argued that, for the Greeks, the Chorus represented the 'personified' version of the poet as metonymic of the voice of humanity, as defined by the nation, as well as the 'ideal spectator' whose function was to mirror and instruct the audience on desired affective states (e.g., pity, sorrow, joy, wariness, trust or mistrust, etc.). The notion of personification, or the anthropomorphising of a metaphysical presence, is what links the spectral to the ghost, thus to the emotional and psychological, which can be related to the sub- and un-conscious in a Freudian sense (Weiner, 1980: 206). The use of the Chorus as a plot device which

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[6] The term 'biopolitics' has been developed theoretically in works by Michel Foucault and Foucauldian studies to denote the state's power over life, with specific reference to the work of Giorgio Agamben (2005). Mbembe (2003) uses the term 'necropolitics' as a corrective to Foucault's understanding of biopolitics arguing that the term is differentiated because the state's power to expose citizens and its others to death needs specific analysis. These theoretical understandings are not incongruent with my theoretical conceptualisation of spectres, but I use Derrida's understanding of such figures to deploy them using a geographical cultural focus on Latinxs. Derrida helps me link these figures to Marx's spirit of critique which does not equal to a traditional Marxist analysis.

sought to produce a reflective and productive space for the audiences and performers in dramatic plays (dramas, comedies, or tragedies) changed. Theatre historian Alan Hughes (2012: 94) argues that the use of the Chorus shifted from theatre plays to other forms of performance such as music or performance art. However, an alternate reading of this argument can be that the Chorus, as an individual-holistic character expressing and reflecting holistic-individual voices, shifted forms in plays as the focus on characterisation and dialogue shifted over time, as is evident in England during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras.

Understanding the Chorus as spectral thus present in ghostly forms allows for a reading of these figures as continually present in theatre plays, as is most evident in Shakespeare's plays. Literary critic John Mullen (2016) argues that Shakespeare radically altered the use of ghosts as a plot device to comment on abstract theological and philosophical debates, which remain influential in cultural mediatic productions including in film and television. Mullen provides several examples of the function of ghosts in Shakespeare's plays. This includes ghosts as evidence of psychological torture and revenge in *Richard III*, the first play in which Shakespeare uses the trope of the ghost, where victims of Richard III visit him on the eve of battle to recount the treacherous ways in which he killed them and to foretell his loss in battle the following day; similarly, the same ghosts visit the Earl of Richmond, Richard III's opponent, to tell him to 'live and flourish' (5.3.131, cited in Mullen, 2016).

During the Elizabethan and Jacobian eras, the function of ghosts was to haunt the imaginary of their relations: the ghost of Julius Caesar haunts Brutus in *Julius Caesar*; the ghost of Hamlet's father haunts Hamlet and other characters; and Banquo's ghost haunts Macbeth in *Macbeth*. The purpose of the haunting in the plot of these plays consisted of the character seeking revenge, but so as to not be incongruent with religious beliefs of the time and geography, Shakespeare relegated these figures to dreams or the wild imagination of a troubled mind. This is particularly evident when ghosts appear to one character but not another in the same space-time. In *Hamlet*, Shakespeare uses this figure to comment on theological debates of his time: Hamlet wonders if the apparition of his father's ghost is the work of the devil assuming 'a pleasing shape' (2.3.598—600, cited in Mullen, 2016). For the living, a ghost represented a haunting of the afterlife, seeking vengeance, disturbing

any semblance of reality, and inducing existential psychological states of introspection. Contrary to his contemporaries and classical Greek Chorus, Shakespeare's ghosts spoke, expressed desires, interacted with and influenced the outcome of the human drama of both spectators, actors, and characters in terms of philosophy, theology, psychology, and politics, all of which remain influential in different aspects of western cultures. In England, and London in particular, this is perhaps most evident in the built environment that evidences memories that are constantly contested.

Throughout Latin America, the purpose of spectres and ghosts differs amongst the vast geographies, its cultures, and histories. In Mesoamerica, the historical region which includes what is now central Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and northern Costa Rica, Aztec, Maya, Perépechua, Nahua, and Totonaca cultures had similar rituals which exemplified their relationship with the dead and their ascribed purpose. Most notably, Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead), has played a significant role in materialising religious beliefs through rituals that symbolised a convivial relationship with ghosts, their purpose was to revitalise the living as long as they honoured their presence with offerings such as altars, foods, candles, flowers, and bread. In central America, Guatemala and El Salvador for example, similar rituals are performed although in smaller scales where the purpose of ghosts is to remind the living to live amongst one another hence the tradition to gather on the same dates at the cemeteries, decorating graves and spending the day amongst family. In South America, Peru and Ecuador for example, particularly in rural areas, ghosts are thought to come back to partake in a feast which their relatives organise on the first and second of November.

Overall, these traditions have morphed with the influence of Spanish colonisation which changed the dates of the ritual from early summer to November to coincide with Christian traditions, a common practice in Roman colonisation of Pagan peoples in Europe. The purpose of ghosts in Latin America has generally been one that is associated with a joyous occasion in observance and reverence to these figures. This is not to homogenise or romanticise their relationship with ghosts, but rather to mark geographical difference and relation in practices of ascribing purposes to ghostly figures in cultural practices. In North America, Northern Mexico and the bordering southern United States, for example, Día de los Muertos was not a common practice until the early 1900s. Their conceptualisation of

the spectral was closely related to animism where they attributed mountains, rivers, lakes, and other natural topography with a certain power and quality that demanded reverence. The difference to underscore here is that the spectral includes but also transcends human form, as opposed to the ghost that remains a human figure. There are overlaps between the geographies and cultures highlighted, but another point to underscore is that spectres, even in ghostly form, remain powerful figures that exert certain kinds of agency and desire. As such, they are neither powerful nor marginal, but they do carry a certain propensity for negotiation of both positions, depending on who, how, and why they are conjured. For me, Jacques Derrida (1994) has provided one of the most comprehensive blueprints for conjuring spectres.

2.3 Deconstruction and the spectres of Marx, seeking purpose

In the film, *Ghost Dance*, Jacques Derrida appears in a segment, commenting on ghosts and memory: of particular concern were the ghosts of Kafka, Marx, and Freud. When asked if he believes in ghosts, he affirms this belief by casting himself in the film as a ghost whose presence, he argues, is multiplied by the technology, spectralising his body and voice. Cinema, he states, 'is the art of ghosts, a battle of phantoms […] Cinema plus psychoanalysis equals the science of ghosts' (*Ghost Dance*, McMullen, 1983). In his later engagements with Marx, he develops further this theory of the art and science of ghosts, noting that the 'medium of the media'[7] (including cinema) was increasingly displacing the political economic frontier between the private and the public (Derrida, 1994: 63). This displacement is the work of conjuring spectres, for to conjure also means to exorcise, to call into presence and to chase into absence in the absolute beyond the liminality that characterises spectral spatialities.

For context, Derrida was responding not only to Francis Fukuyama's 'endist' philosophies which proclaimed the victory of global free market economies over communism, but also to the media production of such a work on worldwide cultural markets (Derrida, 1994: 85-7). With the fall of the Berlin wall and subsequent dissolution

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[7] Here, the 'medium of the media' refers to 'news, the press, tele-communications, techno-tele-discursivity, techno-tele-iconicity, that which in general assures and determines the spacing of public space, the very possibility of the *res publica* and the phenomenality of the political' (Derrida, 1994: 63).

of the Soviet Union, Fukuyama became liberal democracies' golden philosopher, selling optimism that validated capitalist ideological formations championed by such political philosophies. Derrida was invited to give a series of lectures for a conference titled, 'Whither Marxism?' which asked its attendants to ponder on the death or direction of Marxism. These lectures became the basis for the book, *Spectres of Marx: the State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, which also marked the first time Derrida engaged Marx at length in any of his writings. With this work, Derrida sought to align his lifelong project of deconstruction with Marx's spirit of critique, most evident in historical materialism.

Derrida (1994: 16) underscores the eschatological themes, or what he calls the 'apocalyptic tone in philosophy', found in Fukuyama's optimist proclamation of the death of Marxism[8]. In a sharp rebuke to Fukuyama's preposition of the end of Marxism, Derrida simply points to the multiplicity of spectres of Marx and claims that despite the attempt at rhetorical and material suppression through different forms of violence, spectres return, such is the threat and promise of the revenant. For Derrida, spectres can be thought of as technologies dependent on the production and consumption of the optical and the optimal. The relationship between the optical and the optimal is key to understanding Derrida's conceptualisation of spectres as figures whose presence transcends the politics of visibility (optical). Derrida and Moore (1974) historicise the relationship between sight (optical) and knowledge in western philosophy, noting that sight has been structured as the primary mode for the production and consumption of knowledge. An extension to this historical understanding of the optical is to link it to the optimal; that is to say the optical allows for knowledge to be optimised—funnelled through the particularities of an optical experience, thus increasing the efficiency of the perpetual consumption of visual data stemming from different sectors of society including the market and the state.

To back up this extension, one can underscore the intentional and accidental relationship between the optical and the optimal. Much of this is rooted in how these two

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[8] Derrida (1994: 16) notes this theme is found commonly in works which he nicknames the 'classics of the end', or the canon of the 'modern apocalypse' which include end of History, end of Man, end of Philosophy, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, and Heidegger. These philosophical canons were more pronounced after World War II with various political factions across the world vying for power conjuring these themes to buttress their arguments.

words become intertwined, despite having different etymological roots. This relationship is best evidenced in the ways in which the scientific method conflates the Latin *opticus* and *optimus*; that is to say, the scientific method values the empirical as the *opticus* (modern: optic), the merely visible and thus *optimus* (superlative of good) not just in terms of the optimal internal operational mechanics of an apparatus but also in the optimal ways in which this apparatus lends itself to be disseminated. The logics these two words compel are embedded in contemporary methods of structuring the world—economically, sociologically, and politically[9]. The strong relationship between these two concepts can best be exemplified in the old adage: 'seeing is believing' which signifies that the optical is equivalent to the optimal, optimal insofar as belief subdues doubt thus improving the performance of sense making. Spectrality, understood in this way, becomes subject to its own trappings: belief becomes dependent on sight – one must 'see' the ghost in order to believe that the ghost exists and so spectrality becomes a permanent horizon, a borderland which denies access to its own existence in order to continue to exist. But, one can also link these histories back to Shakespeare, as Derrida does, in order to unpack some of the structural components that make up a spectre so as to better understand its functions.

Borrowing from Shakespeare, Derrida's spectres can be thought of as assemblages of the past with their own sense of agency and desires, seeking reparative and transformative justice. Derrida (1994: 9-15) ascribes three key components to the structure that make up spectres: mourning, language, and work. For spectres to appear, there must be a corpse for *mourning* to occur, a sense of lingering injustice in the present; to make its claims be known the spectre then chooses a vessel that speaks its *language*, a familiarity with the context from which the spectre emerged; the vessel then must *work*, this requires a politicised reframing of time as nonlinear, implying that the future, as it pertains to justice, *is now*. Understanding the nonlinearity of time allows Derrida to make a significant twist in the way spectres are to be understood: they are not only figures of the past but are also of the future. As such, inherent in the notion of spectres is a sense of responsibility in relation to justice:

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[9] Foucault's (1975) concept of the panopticon deals with many of these concepts but engaging Foucault would open up a different set of theoretical strands which are not necessarily incongruent with Derrida, but they remain tangential for the theoretical strand of this project.

No justice […] seems possible or thinkable without the principle of some *responsibility*, beyond all living present, within that which disjoins the living present, before the ghosts of those who are not yet born or who are already dead, be they victims of wars, political or other kinds of violence, nationalist, racist, colonialist, sexist, or other kinds of exterminations, victims of the oppressions of capitalist imperialism or any of the forms of totalitarianism. Without […] this responsibility and this respect for justice concerning those who are not there, of those who are no longer or who are not yet *present and living*, what sense would there be to ask the question "where?" "where tomorrow?" "whither?" (Derrida, 1994: xviii, *italics in original)*

Derrida's notion of justice does not refer to any specific laws, national or otherwise; he understands justice in relation to the responsibility one has towards human life which is no longer or is not yet. For him, Marx's historical materialism issues this injunction which he deems a responsibility one must carry and carry out. In this way, Derrida's spectres are remnants of humanity whose main purpose is to endow life, that which is present and living, with the inheritance of *work*, as inheritance is always a task (Derrida, 1994: 68). In this sense, whether *we* like it or not, *we* are inheritors of Marxisms in the plural[10]. The plural points to the different geographies where various spectres, or interpretations, of Marx have been conjured – produced and consumed, the struggles to maintain their force or to suppress them, and how world trajectories have been defined by this power struggle.

Despite his repudiation of Fukuyama's work and its dissemination, Derrida encourages the conjuring of these figures, because to examine them means to understand the work they are being called to perform, or why they are being conjured. In the case of Fukuyama, an analysis of his conjuring of communism (as if there was only one) and liberal democracy (as this political philosophy is also always-already spectral) points to, Derrida (1994: 86) argues, a 'sleight of hand trick' which frames in competition liberal democracy with communism and in so doing claims victory of the former over the latter. The trick relies on championing economic empiricism, or the optical, to make official the failure of Marxist states, while also discrediting similar logics that would expose the frailty and

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[10] *'We'* primarily refers to scholars but also includes humanity at large.

cruelty of capitalist states as evidenced in *that* which it seeks to spectralise, including its own attempts to will power over life and death, that which is no longer and that which is not yet. I use the word *that* as opposed to whom because my focus in this thesis is on the work of these spectres, not as identity but rather as functions of power negotiation. Again, the phrase *not yet* is of great importance to this power negotiation, as it opens up different potentialities for analysis which includes critical readings of that particular moment of incorporation when the *not yet* changes to *being* or *is now*; this concerns the arbitrary definitions when life and death are pronounced and avowed which are questions of agency and sovereignty not just for human life but also of that which is constantly denied entrance into this frame of protection, e.g., the environment, to use one broad term, or an embryo[11] to use a more specific term, both of which signal political struggles over axiomatic rights to space-time, including the body and its external lifeblood streams (water, air, etc.).

The famed encounter between deconstruction and Marxism had mixed reviews, with avowed Marxists primarily remaining critical and sceptical of Derrida. Many of these critiques and rebuttals are outside the theoretical framing for this project[12]; my primary concern is the function Derrida ascribes to spectres. However, because this theorising of spectres engages theoretical strands with rich histories and broad usages, some points in this conversation are worth noting, as they point to where spectres can map onto my theoretical framing. One of the main critiques of Derrida's encounter with Marxism is his lack of engagement with key concepts Marx offered, namely labour, mode of production, social class, etc. (Eagleton, 1999: 87-9). In this account, Derrida produced a common understanding of spectres as empty vessels, devoid of substance for concrete political action or intervention, kind of like a Greek Chorus, one might argue. Lewis (1999: 137-9) charged Derrida with failing to distinguish between the multiple spectres of Marx, or Marxisms to which he referred, thus homogenising different and sometimes differing Marxist praxes, and of the concepts only cherry-picking the spirit of self-critique. Spivak (1995: 65-7) charged Derrida with ignoring women's issues which concerned economic

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[11] Here, I refer to a spectre in the future, that which is denied life as a consequence of violence, broadly defined. I am not advocating for the protection of an embryo, but I point to it as an example of one of many sites of political struggle around spectres and how they shape juridico-political structures.
[12] Jules Townsend (2004) synthesises these critiques and rebuttals; some of the debates are couched in academic politics that go beyond the text.

and social relations including reproductive labour and care work; further, Spivak noted that there was no systematic analysis of how the 'ten plagues' that haunted the New International[13] were interconnected. Spivak (ibid.) also noted that Derrida failed to distinguish between different forms of capital, thus ignoring a key element of the spectral in one of Marx's key concepts of commodity fetishism, or that which makes modes of production spectral.

Many of these critiques are warranted, but most of them reflect the critics' own criteria for evaluation. Derrida's starting point was deconstruction, while his critics were starting from their own orientations to Marx and Marxism. Derrida (1999: 213) responded to most of the critiques launched against him, noting that not using key Marxist concepts did not mean he rejected them. His interests were finding different modes of reading Marx through an eclectic lens combining elements of phenomenology, existentialism, psychoanalysis, ethics, and linguistics. This is what the metaphor of spectres called for, plurality with *différance*, which signals the difference and deferral of meaning. This allowed him to disavow any sense of proprietorship to Marx and his theoretical oeuvre. His critics were right to read his understanding of spectres as hallow entities, but not closed for engagement for they represented structures that could be charged with meaning through collective political action, for which he did not have a blueprint as he felt this would go against his project of deconstruction, inherently a non-concept, non-theory, non-method, which insisted on the negative, the spectral one might say, as a source of value.

This evasion of meaning is a critique that still haunts Derrida's deconstruction, but many of these critiques can benefit from casting Derrida as a comical figure in cultures of theory. His insistence on evading meaning went so far as to reject associations with post-structuralism, despite his work primarily being categorised under such school of thought. I have learned to read Derrida as a kind of jester similar to Sacha Baron Cohen's characters (Borat, Bruno, Ali G) who are always putting on a joke but not everyone is in on it. He has been accused of intellectual elitism and hiding behind elusive language to avoid making a

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[13] The New International is ostensibly what Derrida called deconstruction in the spirit of Marx, not Marxism. This distancing of Marxism stemmed from the academic politics of critique. Derrida held that Marxist strands in the United States were territorial and proprietary of Marx to the point of being dogmatic and sectarian. The ten plagues that haunted the New International were underemployment, deportation, economic wars, contradictions of free markets, foreign debt, arms trade, nuclear weapons, inter-ethnic wars, organised crime, and international law and institutions (Derrida, 1994: 100-5)

solid argument. But, pointing to the impossibility of representation and the non-fixity of meaning is the core principle work of deconstruction, a process already in existence upon the very inception of any structure; it is about what the text is already doing to itself (Aravamudan, 2007: 462). In Marxian economic terms, this could be called 'creative destruction' which points to how capitalist societies accumulate and annihilate wealth, though broadly it can also be interpreted as the simultaneous production and consumption of any given commodity, or a text, in Derridean terms. All this is not to dismiss Derrida's critics; indeed, there are good points to address, but for this purpose Massey's understanding of space provides useful critiques.

2.4 Deconstructing Massey's space: the spectrality of space

Placing Massey and Derrida in conversation with one another helps to propose a more nuanced theory of spectrality and space. The main argument I put forward in this section is that space can be understood as spectral. A Massey-Derridean theoretical nexus allows for this understanding and helps to respond more responsibly to some of the critiques Marxists waged against Derrida's engagement with Marx. Simultaneously, Derrida's spectres help to confront what I perceive to be Massey's dismissal of death, the necropolitical. Before expounding on these arguments, Massey's understanding of space is fleshed out; this includes Massey's concept of power geometries in relation to socio-economic positionalities and how these relate to migrants.

Massey's primary concern is the conceptualisation of space and their social and political effects especially as they impact socio-economic experiences of place. Beginning with ruminations of the ways in which space factors in stories as surfaces for human agency to exercise and negotiate, Massey (2005: 2) notes that these stories reflect the ways in which story tellers wish to wield and tame space, an imagination of how the 'world is being made' and not as it is: 'The proposition turns geography into history, space into time'. To counter this common conceptualisation, Massey, (2005: 9) proposes that space be understood as consisting of interrelationality, multiplicity, and open to possibility. This counter conceptualisation of space is a political project that seeks to position space as 'coeval' to time, noting the ways in which space has been historically framed as object and time as subject in philosophical accounts, as told by theorists in structuralist and post-

structuralist schools of thought (Massey, 2005: 36-54). In her critique of structuralists, she takes issue with the ways in which time and space are conceived of as oppositional forces, where space is ascribed the characteristic of fixity and closedness, as opposed to dynamic and interactive. Massey (2005: 38-40) extends this critique to the ways in which this understanding unfolds politically: the arrangement does not allow for heterogeneity outside the presumed fixed and closed structure. One of the political ramifications for this mode of framing space is that it produces a singular universal, a standpoint one might argue, from which to maintain a semblance of purity as exemplified in a closed and fixed structure.

This particular standpoint, characterised by socio-economic positionalities, is always-already relational – from the local to the global and versa, not fixed in terms of its directionality but rather a plurality of relations which are produced through the interaction between capitalist neoliberalism, for example, to more local forms of economic symbol exchange. This has to do with how the logics by which and through which economic systems are understood as being a product of spatial arrangements – not as a pregiven but as a dialogic and interactive. This leads Massey (2005: 101-103) to call attention to her concept of 'power geometries' particularly in the ways in which power geometries are responsible for subjectivities and all their inherent agency and marginalisation these may embody. In the context of this thesis, this is situated with Latinx migrants who negotiate these power dynamics in their home countries with respect to their own local, regional, national, and international geopolitics; in the migratory routes they took to arrive in London even if that was not their intended destination; and in London which is the primary focus in this thesis including the structural conditions that impact housing, health, and labour, as well as those politics which impact the 'charity' work that migrants do from an organisational scale and scope.

When it comes to post-structuralism, Massey (2005: 42) argues that it has achieved a dynamisation and dislocation of structuralism's structures, leaving open the possibility for political spatial analysis. For her, the key problem is that the radical critique in post-structuralism has been focused on reconceptualisation of the temporal, leaving space relatively unattended or characterised as closed or omnipresent (e.g., capitalist neoliberalism). She also takes issue with the re-inscription of binary oppositions, which once again characterises time as subject and space as object, as evident in de Certeau's neat

characterisation of the world as a struggle between power versus resistance, structure versus agency, etc. (Massey, 2005: 46). The key argument to take away from her critique of post-structuralism is that despite the radical re-conceptualisations of time, space, as she states (Massey, 2005: 48):

> 'cannot be that realm referred to by Foucault: the dead, the fixed; nor can it be the realm of closure, or static representation. Space is as impossible to represent as is time […] Levering space out of this immobilising chain of connotations both potentially contributes to the dislocations necessary for the existence of the political, and opens space itself to the more adequate political address'

Her orientation to the political is deeply spatial, and her understanding of space is deeply political. The account of historical and philosophical manifestations of the ways in which space has been relegated to the spectral is impassioned and convincing. Yet the notion that space cannot be thought of dead needs to be questioned, because if space is, as she argues, multiplicitous, this needs to include all the political potentialities opened up by life as well as death and the spectral figures that emerge from such conceptualisations. Her critique of deconstruction then becomes important to engage in an attempt to understand how these theories can benefit from being in conversation with one another.

While deconstruction does not have a set of steps to follow, it does consist of a 'double movement' including a simultaneous reversal and displacement (Derrida, 1982: 41). Massey (2005: 49-54) appreciates this double movement, as it has the potential to overturn power structures embedded in a text, or any given structure, as well as work towards new language dislodging the power of the binary to encapsulate subjects within its presupposed hierarchies. As previously noted, another core concept of deconstruction is *différance,* which Massey recognises to be a spatial concept insofar as difference requires spacing, recognising and valuing difference. For her, Derrida implicitly works towards the same goal: recognising space as coeval to time. Yet, her primary concern is that deconstruction constructs difference negatively, which can be 'politically disabling' as there is constant focus on internal fragmentation, especially when it comes to identity (Massey, 2005: 51). This focus on difference in *différance* reproduces rampant subjectivities unable to grasp political solidarity or internal coherence, save for the arduous

work of perpetual self-fragmentation. In her response to Massey's reading of deconstruction, Astrid Nordin (2012) notes that Massey's critique seems to apply to some of the work using 'deconstruction' more than Derrida's own early writings on his concept. In other words, to understand deconstruction, one must understand *différance*, and *différance* must include both difference and deferral; any application or critique, including Massey's, must take seriously the politics of deferral. Spectres are prime examples of figures, metaphors if the reader feels more comfortable with that framing, that inform and reflect the politics of deferral.

The threat and promise of spectres are that they will appear; indeed, their haunting is dependent on producing affective registers in relation to this threat, this promise. Yet, paradoxically, by their very definition, if they were to appear, they would disappear—cease to become spectres[14]. Under the framework of deconstruction, meaning is deferred, it is spectral, yet this does not collapse into an existential and homogenous conceptualisation of space. This is the primary reason why I propose a reading of space as spectral through a Massey-Derridean framework. This reading requires a combination of key elements Derrida and Massey propose for their understanding of spectres and space, respectively. To recap, the three key components of Derrida's spectre are mourning, language, and work; Massey's three characteristics of space are interrelationality, multiplicity, and open to possibility. When combined, the results allow for a politics aligned with both theorists' lifelong projects.

From this engagement, my first proposition is that space can be understood as spectral. This argument implies a characteristic of death. When Foucault declares that for too long, space was treated as 'the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile' (1980: 70, cited in Massey, 2005: 49), one must ask the famous 'so what?' question. This is not to dismiss the value of his critique but rather to question the association between the dead and the immobile. Indeed, the majority of Foucault's work is dedicated to the advocacy of spectres living in archives; this allows him to critique the categories humans have used to define humanity (criminal, insane, homosexual, etc.). The 'so what?' question is answered

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[14] My argument is not that these figures do not exist, I am just noting that they require different theorisation. One might call these figures 'zombies' (Peck, 2010) or 'vampires' (Kennedy, 2017) which engender related but different set of politics or orientation to the biopolitical and necropolitical.

thoroughly in Massey's manifesto for space. Indeed, the gamut of critical theories (e.g., feminism, post-colonial theory, disability studies, Critical Race Theory, Marxist critique, etc.) can be read as an endeavour to challenge the devaluing of space as imagined in colonial bodies, women, trans* and feminine bodies, the old and disabled, the migrant, the working poor, the underemployed, etc. In making these connections, I am not pushing for an understanding of these bodies as dead. Spectrality, like space, includes death but like space, the spectral is dependent on the politics of presence and absence. Once again, the optical is equated with the optimal thus bodies which are structured in relation to the optical are valued as optimal or endowed with a certain utility to the functions of any given structure. That which is not optimal is relegated to a spectral spatiality that is robbed of its value and framed as antithetical to the very existence of the structure that produced it. The oppositional framing of spectres as antithetical to life devalues their presence through absence in discursive and material formations. Thus, critical theory must consider the spectrality of space in order to avoid re-inscribing[15] the same kind of theoretical violence Massey points to in her manifesto for space.

My second proposition is that if space is to be conceptualised as spectral, then one must mourn space through language and work. For Derrida, this is the work of the academic who must adhere to the force of that which once was and that which is not yet. Derrida's spectres are primarily words, human language and discourse, hence the peculiarity of the moments when he ascribes a kind of psychological disorder to Marx, noting that he was 'obsessed' with spectres (Derrida, 1994: 132, 174-5). Townsend (2004: 141) questions the value and utility of Derrida's move to pose ad hominem questions about Marx. Adding to Townsend, one can argue that Derrida employs double standards to Marx's 'obsession' with spectres as opposed to his own. This is not to re-inscribe the fallacy of an ad hominem observation but rather to point to Derrida's own limitations in his conceptualisation of spectres: they remain all too human. Spectres, too, are words and beyond, as Massey (2005: 130-7) shows. This means that spectres must exceed the confines of human structures, like the indigenous peoples of North America. This must include that which is not yet, not yet

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[15] Nordin (2012) makes this observation much more assertively. I want to leave room for ambiguity because Massey's focus and advocacy was on a positive reconceptualisation of space. Her critique of deconstruction can be thought of a misreading of spectrality or the dead rather than a re-inscription of the violence she arduously works to identify and interrupt.

epistemic, ontological, or axiological. Life and death exist simultaneously and across spectrums beyond the human. As such, power must be understood, exercised, and negotiated with such depth of responsibility, with such radical openness to possibility, and with such response to Marx's inheritance.

Overall, my contribution to theory stems out of the imagined encounter between Derrida's spectres, and Massey's space serves as a productive platform to consider the spectrality of space and the spatiality of spectres, beyond the human. It is not my intention to theorise grandiosely about such concepts, space and spectres already conjure tough questions that need to be engaged. In doing so, I propose principles, or perhaps non-principles, in the spirit of political deconstruction, that can inform a critique using the spectrality of space as a starting point. To be clear, I agree with and will use the characteristics of space and spectres I outlined and extracted from Massey and Derrida. When applied to critique they become much more tangible and urgent. The following section reviews how spectres have been used in geography so as to provide a mapping for my theoretical contribution and empirical findings.

2.5 Technologies of migrant spectralisation and spectral Latinidad

Spectral spatialities are produced through a variety of technologies. What has been observed in the literature are cultural political logics that inform these technologies of spectralisation. Indeed, while spectral spatialities are not inherently marginal nor powerful, negotiating subjectivity from this particular position is becoming increasingly difficult though not impossible; indeed, Chapter 5 showcases collective moments of powerful subject formation. Because the core group of my research participants include migrants, it is important to examine some of the structural conditions that seek to spectralise their subjectivities. For this task, I turn to Harsha Walia's (2013) concept of border imperialism that highlights different border structures that seek to spectralise migrants.

In arguing that Walia's theoretical framework constitutes a way of critically reading border structures as technologies of spectralisation, I am not suggesting that Latinx migrants experience each of the conditions outlined in this section; Walia's concept is about structures rather than about a particular group of individuals. There are limitations to this theoretical framework, as it is informed by a North American politics of migration,

themselves interconnected to migrations from Latin America to London or Europe, but still, this is a different geopolitical context that receives more attention in Chapter 3, the historical chapter. Walia (2013) identifies four different but interrelated border structures (discourses and practices) that induce precarious conditions, or for the purposes of employing my understanding of space in this thesis project: marginal socio-economic positionalities. The four border structures that Walia suggests are a series of symbiotic relationships between specific social, political, economic, and cultural processes. These symbiotic couplets are as follows: (1) displacements and secured borders, (2) criminalisation and privatisation, (3) politics of exclusion and inclusion, and (4) denial of citizenship and migrant labour exploitation.

Before describing these border structures, there are a few areas of concern that need to be addressed. For Walia (2013: 25), borders are both literal and figurative, shifting in shaping and scale but most always being (re)constituted in social relations, much like the symbiotic relationships she points out in her concept. In accordance with poststructuralist critique, what matters in these set of border structures is the migrants' lived experience, i.e., the effect and relation rather than the intention, or whether or not these border structures are intentionally arranged in this way. Also, for her, the control and organisation of borders with these specific relationships constitute imperialism by the western states that are interrelational but not monolithic. Walia's concept points to social, economic, and cultural processes that have been empirically documented in border and migration studies. This should not imply that I am taking these relationships for granted or ascribing them onto my research site. I am, rather, using them as an informed and generative framework to draw out nuances and particularities specific to London as opposed to North America, the geopolitical context from where her analytical framework stems.

The first border structure unpacks at the relationship between displacements and secured borders. Acknowledging that there are different and sometimes competing actors, this symbiotic couplet sheds light on practices employed by western states to displace peoples either through direct occupation or neoliberal treaties and the concurrent securitisation and militarisation of their borders. The primary example of displacements of Latin American peoples from an international perspective is Structural Adjustment Programmes that have been criticised widely for exacerbating poverty and debt, the

problem they were designed, in theory, to alleviate (Williams, 1994; Chant and McIlwaine, 2008; Dijkstra, 2011). The effects of these policies have been identified as a cause of Latin American migrations, legal and otherwise, especially to the United States (Chant and Craske, 2003; Alvarado and Massey, 2010). As a result of increased militarisation of US borders, Latin Americans are choosing different destinations to migrate. After the 2008 economic downturn, the United Kingdom and particularly London has been a major host to Latin American migrants (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011). In terms of securitisation, Graham (2011) provides an in-depth account of how post 9/11 migration politics influenced the proliferation of surveillance technologies to observe, track, and target dangerous subjects in urban settings. While Latinxs are not a migrant group that has been documented as being under surveillance, the politics of surveillance and the current environment thereof in the UK does impact the performance of small charities and their users and volunteers.

The second border structure points to the relationship between criminalisation and privatisation. The criminalisation of migrants, especially in the United Kingdom and in Western Europe, can be discursively traced to criminalisation of the poor, especially in the United Kingdom (Hall *et al.*, 1978; Weber and Bowling, 2008; De Giorgi, 2010; Vollmer, 2011; Anderson, 2013). The construction of the migrant as criminal cluster around ideologically laden terms, such as 'illegal immigrant', 'clandestine' which rhetorically reduce the complexity of migration experiences by ascribing them with certain quality of criminality, anti-sociality, and secrecy. These discourses circulate on a social level but also go beyond into the realms of policy and criminal law, thus leading critical migration scholars to coin the term 'crimmigration law' to point out these intersections (Aas, 2011; Aliverti, 2012). These studies conducted have been useful but have yet to link the role of private capital in urban settings influencing these intersections. Once again, Graham's (2011) concept of military urbanism is useful, as it points out alliances between the state and the private security sector that benefits from the discursive formation of the migrant as criminal. Perhaps the most obvious example of privatisation of the UK borders is the system of detention centres managed by private security firms like Mitie, GEO Group, G4S, Tascor and Serco which detain an average of 28,000 migrants under the Immigration Act per year for the past four years, a number that has tripled since 2001 (Mallourides and

Turner, 2001; UK Home Office: National Statistics, 2014). Some of these centres have a history of violence that includes poor health conditions, racism, physical and mental torture, sexual abuse, and even murder or death (Hughes and Verkaik, 2010; Casciani, 2011; Independent Monitoring Boards in Prisons in England & Wales, 2012; Sambrook, 2014). During my fieldwork, I encountered two cases of people detained and placed in these detention centres, however they do not make it into the overall story for this particular project.

The third border structure highlights the pervasive yet often subtle relationship between the politics of inclusion and exclusion. While contradictory, these politics are two sides of the same coin where, as Hampshire (2013: 1) notes, 'according to some, immigrants are rejuvenators of ageing populations, motors of economic growth, and saviours of the European welfare state; to others they are to blame for native unemployment, wage depression and welfare costs, not to mention social and cultural disintegration'. These modes of constructing the image of the migrant have material consequences, as experienced in the division of labour markets that produce false divisions between desired and undesired subjects. This is to say that even at the most privileged level of migration, the migrant body is dehumanised, reduced to 'its' (in)ability to perform and fulfil certain market-related functions, needs, and desires (Vickers, 2014). Cultural theorists have been making similar arguments in relation to politics of representation and inclusion. UK popular culture, for instance, has been a prominent arena for the production of inclusionary politics which are often criticised for reproducing stereotypical, one-dimensional images of migrants devoid of transcultural competency (Ahmed, 2010). Many of these cultural projects, Ahmed (2012) documents, are deployed institutionally under the banner of diversity, a buzzword with little to questionable commitment underpinning the necessity of these philosophies in practice. How these politics of inclusion and exclusion work for Latinx migrants in London requires further exploration, but the role charities play in these politics are worth examining with a critical gaze.

The fourth and last border structure that Walia outlines scrutinises the relationship between denial of citizenship and labour exploitations. The migration pathways to the United Kingdom are labyrinthine and hostile. Perhaps the most telling factor is that the terms like 'migrant' and 'immigrant' are not defined officially under the law, they are

extra-legal discursive constructions. The 'right to abode' and the lack thereof is how migrants are categorised; those who do not have this right are labelled as 'Persons Subject to Immigration Control' (Blinder, 2013). Recent changes in legislation have lengthened the time it takes to 'move up' the citizenship strata, require landlords to verify legal migration status before renting a property (Bhaijee and Mann, 2010; Perry, 2014). Policies that make migration pathways more difficult to navigate may be perceived as state-mediated practices that maintain and, in some cases, exacerbate migrant labour exploitation. Under the new BCIA rules, time commoditises labour in the sense that working-class migrants with the 'right to abode' spend more time working in similar conditions waiting to be eligible for an immigration status upgrade. This is especially true for employer-sponsored migrants who may not wish to move jobs in fear of losing sponsorship (Harvey, 2010). Undocumented migrants from the Global South are amongst the most vulnerable group in terms of labour exploitation, including ('willingness' to work for) low wages, unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, sexual harassment and abuse, fear of being reported thus being bound to one employer. These problems are exacerbated by a variety of factors including limited fluency in English, lack of knowledge of laws and legislation, incurred debt from migration smugglers, poor psychological health, intra- and inter-community exclusion which means that access to cultural spaces is restricted as a result of work schedules or UKBA intimidation.

In this thesis, I also use Margit Fauser's (2017) concept of the 'urban borders' that are particular spatialities that are structured to govern the birth, life, and death of migrant urban spaces. Fauser (ibid.) points to the various technologies that make this a concerted effort that seeks to make the migrant strange, or in my terms to spectralise the migrant. One of the facets Fauser (ibid.) identifies is the voluntary sector or social services at large which uses organised state support and social protection based on legal status that varies for migrants depending on their (lack of) legal status. The concept of urban border is quite broad; in this thesis, this concept is primarily engaged from the perspective of Latinx charity users and volunteers. The question of Latinidad as a spectral subjectivity is engaged in the following section.

In encouraging the understanding of Latinidad as a spectral subjectivity, the Massey-Derridean approach I previously described is applied. I use the term Latinidad as

opposed to the plural Latinidades because, for me, Latinidad already implies multiplicity and difference, as evidenced in the different kinds of work that is done to articulate notions of Latinidad in London, not just on a discursive level, as Kelsall's (2012) thesis highlights, but also on a material level where multiple stories are playing out in a nonlinear fashion. Using this theoretical framework, the spatialisation of Latinidad takes place when Latinxs work to find ways of mutually coping with their own sense of spectrality and to forge networks in their interactions with spectres in the city, as best evidenced in Chapter 5 on the group or individual scale. To argue that Latinidad is spectral is not to say that Latinidad occupies a position of marginality. These politics of linking the spectral to marginality have been thoroughly disavowed in previous sections. This should also not dismiss that Latinidad can hold such marginal positions. Understood in this way, all forms of subjectivities, including ethnicities, are spectral insofar as they are discursive becomings. Chapter 3 provides a more nuanced and empirical account of the spectral qualities which this particular ethnic group has had to negotiate in their homelands and in their migratory experiences.

2.6 Charity, a spectral advocate and an advocate for the spectre

A central assumption of this project is that charity and negative forms of spectrality (marginal, subaltern, etc.) are interdependent constructs that contribute to the formation of urban space. Like spectrality, the concept of charity also has theological political links in western societies. For reasons that remain unclear, charity work seems to be most prevalent in capital cities (McIlwaine, 2009). In England, a historical root of the word is closely related to the Christian concept of 'love', a virtue that instructs believers' relationship to their god, neighbour, and self. The latter two have played a key role in the formation of an avowed secular state, where the self informs productions of citizenship and the neighbour informs the production of the foreign. During my time of research, I did not work with any church groups that provided services to Latinx migrants; I will not be able to comment on the particularities of this relationship and how they factor into civil society debates. This does not mean that my participants did not have these religious affiliations; they maintained spiritual lives most closely related to Catholicism but were not engaged in religious organisations.

The term 'civil society' is an umbrella term which encompasses community organisations, activist groups, trade unions, faith-based groups, cooperatives, as well as NGOs. The term has been used widely to signify these and other similar forms of group organisations, thus prompting debates about the definition of formal and informal. Geographers, like McIlwaine (1998a), have pushed for more nuanced and situated understandings of how the term is deployed and contested. While my project focuses on registered charities, the debates about the role of civil society in the city are worth noting. For purposes of simplicity, McIlwaine (1998b: 417) breaks this debate into two camps. The first is the de Tocqueville (liberal democratic) approach in which civil society is thought to be an autonomous space that fosters political and economic democracy and works to provide the checks and balances necessary in a healthy democracy. The second camp is the Marxist approach which Gramsci developed at length. This approach imagines civil society as a practice that may produce spaces that challenge and/or reinforce authoritarian stages. Civil society as a practice may produce spaces of resistance against ideological hegemony and authoritarian states, like in Latin America (McIlwaine, 1998b). But civil society on the ground is much more interrelated and interdependent to the interests of the state that, as Mercer (2002) points out, challenges the normalised liberal democratic notion that civil society necessarily leads to democratisation.

There are similar debates that are more relevant to what is known as the voluntary sector. These debates are important to consider when gauging the types of conceptualisations of spectrality that are deployed. The voluntary sector is a broader term than civil society in Britain. The voluntary sector can include state and market partnerships, such as social enterprises. The rise of the voluntary sector in industrialised countries is linked with the restructuring of the welfare state. This restructuring has led to the emergence of what Jennifer Wolch (1990) calls the 'shadow state', or the omnipresence of the state through the practice of outsourcing of public services. While this may be perceived as a progressive move by an overburdened state, there has been a growing dependence on state contracts and grants, as well as foundations in line with state and corporate interests (Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, 2007). In this structural arrangement, charity organisations find themselves subjected to increased professionalisation and regulation models that ostensibly distance them from their service users.

How to confront these shifts is the subject of heated debate. One school of thought pushes for a 'renewal' of the voluntary sector while the other pushes for an organisational 'decentring' (Anheier, 2005; Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, 2007). The impulse to renew advocates for an evolutionary adaptation in which the best response to precarity are partnerships with the state and private sectors. The decentring response argues for a purposeful move to the margins, away from partnerships with the state and private sectors, and, instead opting to build organisational models that are not dependent on traditional modes of capital. To put it simply, the current economic model, as Milligan and Conradson (2012) suggest, bifurcates the volunteer sector into grassroots organisations or corporatist welfare organisations. The latter organisational model has become increasingly dominant in London.

There are similar debates that concern the specificity of charity work. The general assumption is that charity work is not a perfect solution to social ills but that there is urgency and necessity for it. Oscar Wilde (2004 [1891]) wrote a less popular critique of charity arguing that, at its best, it works to keep the poor alive and, if lucky, amused. At its worst, the function of charity is to mask the structural conditions that lead to poverty. While these critiques, as McIlwaine (1998a) suggests, are similar to the ones that Hegel and Marx developed with regards to civil society being the 'base' for production and social relations, there is an important point of departure in Wilde's critique.

Wilde places a great deal of importance in the communicative aspect of charity work, how the act of giving, or doing charity work, communicates an authoritative position, a performed fulfilment of duty, a repayment of silenced debt, and an inadequate restitution that is justified with a note of sentimentality. Contemporary pop philosopher, Žižek (2010) interprets these dynamics to be the crux of cultural capitalism which he now sees highlights as being proliferated through the increasing practice of consumerist redemption, such as Starbuck's 'ethos' campaign that feature a brand of corporate responsibility. These critiques point to the idea that charity disallows its beneficiaries' access to space, or as Marcuse would say, the right to the city. The logic is simple: if the spectral subject (broadly defined, not just in relation to marginality in its most destitute form) is to have a chance at developing alternative and significant ways of living that befit their needs, then space must not be subject to authoritarian devolution by capitalist structures of exploitation. This

reasoning has close connections to Lefebvre and Ranciere's arguments that rights, including the right to space, are axiomatic.

The term charity work is used purposefully throughout this document to signal the aforementioned debates about the differentiation between work and labour, the private and the public. Some geographies of volunteerism, a broader version of charity work, have focused on the 'gendered nature of volunteering', specifically, how women are ascribed a caring mentality that is more 'suitable' for charity work than men (Fyfe and Milligan, 2003). These geographies have largely focused on rural areas and have ostensibly argued that rural ideology supports and sustains these gender roles and that, despite these dynamics, this work may be empowering to women (Little, 1997; Vacchelli, Kathrecha and Gyte, 2015). Overall, the charity sector has historical and is currently a largely gendered space, in terms of users, volunteers, and professionals. Overall, charity functions as an interventionist technology, an advocate for the spectre which, in contemporary political environment of austerity, has been increasingly been spectralised, especially small-scale charities.

2.7 Summary

This Chapter showcases spectrality as engendering the politics of presence and absence. Spectrality should not imply inherent marginalisation, rather it should signify a space for power negotiation which has itself a sense of agency and mobility, as all space does. These figures differ from the ghost but is closely related; engaging posthuman thought brings out some of the radical politics that this figure presents. It is a challenge but one that has been taken up in cultural geographies and other fields of study to some success and lessons one can draw to suture a spectral analysis with innovative forms of ethics and critique. The notion of border imperialism as a technology of spectralisation is a newer development that deserves theoretical mention as it has influenced Latin American migrations. The following Chapter reviews the historical trajectory in order to better situate these theoretical framings.

Chapter 3: Conjuring spectres: historical trajectories

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter charts converging historical trajectories of migration and charity work as they relate to Latinxs in London. Prior to doing fieldwork and based on the existing literature, I believed that an analytic framework between charity and precarity best described the situation on the ground. Latinx migrants lived precarious lives, spectral one might argue, and as noted in Chapter 2, I understand spectrality in relation to the spatialities that are produced as a consequence of power geometries, or uneven structural socio-economic conditions which impact the experience of place and space – for all subjects, not just migrants, and certainly not just Latinx migrants. The focus of this thesis is, of course, Latinx migrants who negotiate spectrality characterised by socio-economic marginality in relation to housing, health, and labour in London. When I began to do preliminary fieldwork, this assumption began to be questioned as I began working with Latinx disabled peoples. My research proposal prior to beginning fieldwork worked with the assumption that precarity was a characteristic that best fits Latinxs in London. When I officially began doing fieldwork, especially during my English language courses I began to hear stories of different forms of violence my research participants had endured in Latin America, in their migratory experiences, and in London. It was not until I began doing data analysis that the notion of spectrality began to seep into my way of reading and making sense of my data. In this sense, my understanding of spectrality is anchored in socio-economic positionalities which entail different forms of marginality in their home countries, en route, and in London. In London, these marginalities have been documented in relation to housing, health, and labour. More about this method of reading is detailed in Chapter 4, the methodology chapter, but this brief preview of my research experience serves to justify the different sections in this Chapter.

To document different forms of spectrality in Latin America, I provide a brief historical overview that characterises some of the violence Latinxs have endured in their homelands (Section 3.2). This is to document the histories and contemporary situations that Latinx migrants have to negotiate in their everyday lives as they are exposed to news about

violence through media channels or their friends or relatives. The following section is a historical overview of migration as it relates to charity in London post-World War II (Sections 3.3 and 3.4). This helps to provide historical and political context that Latinx migrants have and continue to encounter in London. The last section (Section 3.5) charts the trajectories of Latinx migrations and their experiences negotiating London's cultural, political, and economic landscapes.

3.2 Latinx Spectres: technologies of spectralisation in Latin America

After detailing my theoretical framework, it should be clear that my conjuring of the word 'spectres' is meant to signal much more than the death of any particular human body or a group of bodies for that matter. The notion of spectrality invokes technologies that produce such phenomena which includes various methods of mobilising and deploying violence on multiple levels. The technologies of spectralisation directly affect the lives of local populations, inducing in some the desire or necessity to migrate. Such technologies sediment a climate of generalised violence and fear, and damage political stability where state and corporations find new and old methods of repression and terror to subdue, intimate, and control its citizens and their others. Violence and insecurity in Latin America have reached worrying figures, as the death toll continues to rise. These histories and contemporary situations haunt the lives of Latinx migrants in London and elsewhere. These forms of violence are interrelated on local, regional, state, and transnational levels; the same can be said of the ways in which they cannot be neatly categorised as political, social, or economic for they contain elements of each in one another. In what follows, I highlight this violence in countries where it is most prominent.

In terms of political violence, most Latin American countries have experienced some form of political conflicts, armed or otherwise. In Argentina, the fourth edition of the National Truth Commission's report documented 8,961 persons were disappeared from 1976 to 1983, though the report also acknowledges that human rights groups place this number at around 30,000 (Allerbon, 2015). In Chile, during the 1973-1990 dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet, there were systematic torture and state violence campaigns where 'an estimated 2,600 to 3,400' Chileans were executed or disappeared, 30,000 to 100,000 tortured, and an estimated 200,000 forced into exile (National Commission on

Truth and Reconciliation, 1993). In Peru, political strife during the 1980s and 1990s between the state, *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), and the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement caused 69,280 deaths, over 70% of which were rural and spoke Quechua or other indigenous languages (Contreras, Ytajashi and Carillo, 2014). In Brazil, a military dictatorship ruled from 1964-1985 during which 191 people were killed and 243 disappeared, according to *Comissão Nacional da Verdade* (National Truth Commission) (Dias *et al.*, 2014). In Ecuador, a truth commission recorded 458 grave state human rights abuses from 1984-2008 including extrajudicial killings, torture, arbitrary detentions, and sexual violence (Truth Commission to Impede Impunity, 2010). These truth commission reports all have their spectres, beyond the ones they sought to materialise. Most reports make mention of US direct involvement in the operationalisation of state terror through what is now commonly known as Operation Condor. Most of this political violence was directed at leftist groups, an attempt to suppress communist or Marxist political organisations. For me, this helps to map out some of Derrida's spectres of Marx in Latin America: these technologies of spectralisation were a product of the Cold War that depict forceful and violent attempts to supress Marx's spectres, but also, as is documented in Peru (Contreras, Ytajashi and Carillo, 2014), how Marx's spectres can also be corrupted towards violent ends, noting that *Sendero Luminoso* caused 54% of the deaths targeting indigenous peoples.

Venezuela has received international attention for the violence perpetrated by the state's authoritarian regime and repressive measures against political dissent, using the army to address urban crime, committing human rights violations, and conducting extrajudicial executions causing a sense of overall insecurity in the population. The *Observatorio Venezolano de Violencia* (OVV), a Venezuelan Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) tracking violence through police sources and media reports, noted that Venezuela was the second most murderous nation after El Salvador (OSAC, 2018: 2). In 2017, the OVV reported 26,616 homicides, down from 28,479 in 2016. Violence, insecurity, corruption, kidnappings, drug trafficking, smuggling, etc. have forcibly displaced many Venezuelans and induced migratory experiences searching for better quality of life elsewhere. Colombia is thought to be the safest destination due to its proximity and, thus far, general acceptance of Venezuelan migrants, with some estimates

(Forero, 2018; OSAC, 2018: 5) placing the number of Venezuelan migrants to be between 300,000 and one million in the past five years.

Political violence in Colombia systematically targets indigenous, Afro-descendent, and peasant groups. Amnesty International (2015: 3) notes that approximately 6 million people have been forcibly displaced and at least 8 million hectares of land, approximately 14% of Colombia's territory, has been abandoned or forcibly appropriated as a result of political conflict or systematic warfare against these groups. Those forced displacements have been targeted directly as part of deliberate policy to remove people from areas rich in natural resources. Restitution of land acquired through human rights violations, corruption and intimidation is too slow a legal procedure. As Amnesty International (ibid.) mentions, only one Indigenous territory, Alto Andágueda, and one Afro-descendant territory, Renacer Negro in the municipality of Timbiquí in Cauca Department, have been the object of a land restitution ruling. Lozano Mancera (2012: 6) notes that these displacements have included state murder: specifically, between 2003 and 2012, there were 1,063 murders of indigenous peoples in Colombia in blatant or covert attempts to seize their lands.

Various countries have had and are experiencing serious problems with social violence at large which is, of course, inherently linked to economic violence. In Brazil, Murray, de Castro-Cerqueira and Kahn (2013: 2) note that between 1980 and 2010, there were a little over one million homicides in Brazil, most of which impacted young men of colour experiencing poverty. Rosenberg (2009: 2) notes that Brazil has the highest rates of violence and discrimination against LGBTQ+ groups in Latin America, and almost 90% of crimes committed go unpunished. Colombia is one of the most violent and dangerous countries in Latin America, where assassinations and kidnappings are part of everyday life. OSAC (2018a: 6) notes that illegal armed groups are well organised criminal enterprises responsible for kidnappings, extortions, assassinations, bombings, and other terrorist activities throughout the country. Overall, Amnesty International, (2012: 10) approximates that over 225,000 Colombians have lost their lives and 6 million have been forcibly displaced from their homes. While violence related to drugs is thought to be part of Colombia's history, Amnesty International (ibid) notes that in 2011 alone, more than 259,000 people were forced to flee their homes, largely as a result of the hostilities. Amongst the myriad ways in which this violence is expressed is the violence against

women and girls: as Knudsen (2016: 14) notes, between 2001 and 2009, 489,687 women were victims of sexual violence in the Colombian municipalities where armed state and nonstate actors were present.

In Mexico, forced disappearances are one of the key forms of state terror as well as that of drug cartels vying for control of key territories for drug production and trafficking (Beittel, 2013). For the state, torture and forced disappearances are common forms of terror, as was common in Mexico's 'dirty war' of the 1960s and 1970s against left-wing guerrillas, activists, and social leaders; most visible was the murder of students in Tlatelolco, Mexico City, during the 1968 protests prior to the Summer Olympics (McCormick, 2017). More recently, overall violence has caused exorbitant number of deaths and disappearances, over 250,000 in the past 12 years along (Calderón, Rodríguez Ferreira and A. Shirk, 2018). Violence against women and girls is a significant problem, with statistics at levels never experienced before, and that has been exacerbated with Mexico's post-2006 national security strategy, also known as the 'War on Drugs', where, for example, women have gotten caught up in sweeping indiscriminate arrests leading to rape or other forms of violence by the police who receive near absolute impunity (CDD and CMDPDH, 2012). Trends of femicides have reached 'epidemic proportions' where 'between 1985 and 2014, more than 47,178 women were killed in consequence of gender related violence in Mexico' (CEDIMAC, 2018: 3).

Another aspect of violence in Mexico is towards journalists and media works; more than 140 of them have been murdered along with local politicians who are often targeted in relation to organised crime groups (Ribando Seelke, 2018: 4). Palou (2014) provides historical evidence of how indigenous peoples have been structurally marginalised through mediatic productions and urban planning around the figure of the *mestizo*, the mixed European-Indigenous subject that, as a governmental construct, has privileged urban peoples with whiter skin and actively excluded darker skin rural indigenous and Afro-Mexican peoples. Some of these rural-urban tensions boiled and resulted in the forced disappearance of 43 students from a rural teacher's college in Ayotzinapa, Guererro. In London, the Mexico-London Solidarity, a group of concerned activists and advocates works on developing campaigns to bring awareness to many of these issues targeting embassies and other general audiences in public spaces.

Overall, much of the violence described is historic but also current or ongoing. They characterise spectral Latinidad in material ways which are linked to overarching political trajectories. These histories of violence can be contextualised as spectral in the sense that much human life has been lost but also in terms of how the spectral has played a significant role in how these power structures have been negotiated. This speaks to questions of who has agency, why and how it is negotiated and in relation to what structure, and how the spectral haunts continual power struggles that have defined this geography. These are the socio-economic material conditions that weigh heavy in the minds and hearts of the Latinxs with whom I worked; these are the technologies of spectrality they had to negotiate when they spoke to a loved one back home which included their sons, daughters, parents, siblings, and other relatives, as well as when they consumed mediated reporting on the ongoing violence. There are other forms of violence which are not present in this section, but as all forms of texts, they are haunted by the spectres whose presence conjures. In what follows, I turn to a brief history of migration and charity so as to provide a more in-depth historical overview of the context that Latinxs in London negotiate.

3.3 Iterations of charity work in England: state, markets, and the poor

The relationship between migrants and charity can be understood through the framework of spectrality. In Chapter 2, the theoretical framework proposed a way of reading charity work as a method of intervening in the process of the spectralisation, working to alleviate socio-economic marginality. The history of charity in England, and more specifically in London, helps to provide nuance to this claim so as not to frame charity work in a romantic uncritical perspective. The work has been and continues to be complex; it is part of an age-old debate between reformist versus revolutionist approaches to political organising. This section describes various iterations of charity work across time to showcase the roles it has played in historical state and subject formations. This section helps to anchor the organisations I surveyed in the broader historical political development of the legal framework that governs their work. In other words, one can understand the themes that emerge from this historical overview as spectres in an English historical context. To conjure these spectres, I use existing literature up until the end of World War II. After World War II, I combine existing literature and archival data to provide a more

in-depth account of how the relationship between migrants and charity work has played out. Migration factors heavily into this story after World War II when migrants from Britain's colonies began arriving in larger numbers than ever before. There are various trajectories one can follow to chart histories of charity work, but not one of them is complete. In engaging archival data, I sought out the spectral figures that the archives excluded using different rhetorical strategies.

Charity work in London can be traced back to medieval times, perhaps farther, but for my purposes, this is a good starting point to highlight the religious underpinnings that influenced its formation. The Church performed voluntary services, such as liturgy and 'good works' that included the ritualisation of life (e.g., christenings, mass, weddings, and funerals as well as education on the importance of actions and deeds being performed in accordance with Christian ethics, especially that of goodwill towards their neighbours) (Davis Smith, 1995). This religious theme carried through when a new charitable structure was formed during the rise of the Tudor merchant class, circa 16th century (Jordan, 1960). The state took interest and concern over the market's intervention in alleviating poverty. As a result, it developed a series of laws known as the English Poor Laws which culminated in the 1601 Elizabethan Statue of Charities Uses Act. These laws allowed the state to document and regulate financial activities inherent in charity work; these laws were designed to define and specialise charity work in the service of: 1) the relief of poverty, 2) the advancement of religion, 3) education, and 4) other purposes beneficial to society (Anheier, 2005). These laws have been extended and modernised in terms of language, but these four purposes still form the pillars that govern charity work and what is called the voluntary sector at large today.

While the Poor Laws were designed to formalise and secularise charity work to a certain degree, the state began to take on a gradual role in its administration and financing. An important rhetorical distinction began to emerge, notes Slack (1988), between the 'deserving poor' and 'undeserving poor'. The difference came down to perceived responsibility in the experience of poverty. This distinction was not necessarily new, but it came to play a more prominent role in the institutionalisation of charity work; it has played a fundamental role in historical and contemporary policies. For example, Andrew (1989) suggests this binary moral opposition of categorising the poor influenced the foci of charity

work after the Restoration period and prior to the Victorian era. Andrew identifies three phases; the first of which focused on education and employment of the poor (1680s-1740s); during the second phase, charity work responded to the nation's need for 'manpower'[16] in terms of military preparedness, naval expansion, and colonial settlements (1740s-1760s); the third phase intensified a focus on moral reform and discipline. Charity work took on many functions, such as policing of the poor and using them as resources, for the nation's imperial endeavours are but a few. While some of these endeavours were financed by the state, wealthy men also set up foundations and trusts so as to leave a legacy of goodwill behind (Davis Smith, 1995). This civic rivalry, or civic pride, became the impetus for social action of London's cultural lifeblood as individuals competed to set up museums, libraries, and public gardens, many of which still exist.

In the nineteenth century, there was a shift in the model of charity work which intensified models of citizenship while attempting to respond to the rapid industrialisation of the Victorian era along with its population growth in urban areas, especially London. Many of the themes from the previous century carried through with added religious and moralistic overtones, despite there being a conscientious effort to move away from religious organisations as primary service providers (Powell, 1987). This conscientious effort was evidenced in the formation of the Charity Commission in 1853 that regulated the voluntary sector in terms of registration and tax exemption status. This effort also included a revamping of the 'sector' through the Poor Laws in 1834 which recognised the voluntary sector as taking on a parallel, mutually exclusive role to that of the state (Bradley, 2009). While charity work was associated with altruistic endeavours, socialising and status gaining within community ranks also served as incentives. This also meant that charities could use their platform for campaigning and political protest. The political campaigning aspect of charity work reflected class divisions as the working class organised to express political discontent with how middle and upper classes imposed their ways of life through charity work (Davis Smith, Rochester and Hedley, 1995). This political strand of charity work argues Andrew (1989) argues came about because of mutual aid organisations such as friendly societies, trades unions, consumer cooperatives, building societies, and housing societies pushed the boundaries of what was possible, thus forging an associational core

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[16] Literally, gender wise.

that continues to serve as one of the key advantages of doing advocacy work. The following section surveys charity work post WWII.

3.4 Charity work and migrants: lessons on responding to conditions on the ground

For this section, I consulted documents from the London Council of Social Service (LCSS) including annual reports and reports for different LCSS committees. All these documents were accessed at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA). One might think of the LMA as a sanctuary for spectres, a space that institutionalises what is called history, despite the spectre existing beyond the physical borders of archives. LCSS (now the London Voluntary Service Council or LVSC) is an umbrella organisation founded in 1910 to help charity organisations coordinate and cooperate systematically amongst one another. It served as a liaison between charities and local councils and helped local organisations with research and advice on various aspects of organisational life and responsibilities. Their key function was to do advocate work in relation with local and central governments, as well as influential funds and trusts for the positive role charities had in providing necessary social services. What follows is generally categorised by decades; data analysis was conducted in order to draw out themes that related to the social groups and issues I encountered during my fieldwork. These groups include the elderly, women, disabled, migrants, and people of colour facing issues around housing, health, and labour.

The 1945-47 annual reports read as jubilant and celebratory of the hard work that was done during the interwar years but having to face new problems in terms of housing shortage and exhausted volunteers taking new jobs in the post-war economy (LCSS, 1946). The LSE began providing courses for social workers. The Old People's Welfare Committee, set up to address the needs of the elderly, reported that the housing shortage affected people disproportionately and were pressing statutory authorities to include provisions for the elderly on their laws. They also mention that 'new machines' for social welfare were in discussion. The report the following year noted that an effect of the war was that demand increased on local charities despite the state having promised to increase its social provisions (LCSS, 1947). Citizen's Advice Bureau's (CAB) structural arrangement began to change; some councils discontinued their funding and set up their own social service organisations. The London Churches Group advised the Town Planning

Department of the London County Council, now the Greater London Authority (GLA), on incorporating spaces for recreation and community activities.

In 1948, William Beveridge spoke at LCSS's annual meeting, noting that he was writing a report on the role that voluntary organisations can play in the new formation of the welfare state (LCSS, 1948). This position needed clarification, because while his famous 1942 report on social insurance was influential in forging legislation such as The Family Allowances Act, National Insurance Act, National Health Services (NHS) Act, he thought these reforms did not go far enough. In his follow-up report, Voluntary Action, Beveridge (1949) argued that while the state must treat individuals, not all individuals' needs were the same. He went on to relegate certain functions to what was termed the voluntary sector: these included informal education, companionship, help in the home, and help with dealing with individual problems, much like the Friendly Societies of the 1800s. Beveridge issued a significant critique to the ways in which the state was organising the delivery of social services; the crux of the critique, though not stated in these terms, was that social care needed a holistic approach, one that recognised that care for the elderly, youth, cultural, and recreational activities required a more in-depth personal approach. In 1949, there were mixed signals when it came to CAB whose funding was taken away while their work was being praised in the House of Commons (LCSS, 1950). During the second half of the 1940s, the reports show increasing concern over the elderly, lamenting the significant loss of a portion of the generation that would have provided care. Absent in these reports is a reflection on how West Indian migrants were already being recruited to fill labour market requirements in the care industries which the welfare state opened up.

In 1951, LCSS was invited to comment on the LCC development plan, where they took the opportunity to note that planning should not be left in the hands of the experts but that local organisations should also be consulted (LCSS, 1951). The 1953-54 annual report notes that new forms of concentrated activity were emerging, including services for handicapped peoples, plans for the rehabilitation of homeless families, and training of students in social work (LCSS, 1954). In the same year, LCSS's preoccupation with gender and gender roles becomes particularly pronounced with phrases like: 'a good woman knows that home making is a must' and others which explicitly made the claim that problems in the home translate to problems in the community and that the role of the

woman was to take care of this fallout (LCSS, 1954: 7). In the 1954-55 annual report, their influence in terms of shaping families and thoughts about family structures continues to grow as they noted that state and private funding for these programmes had increased through grants (LCSS, 1955). As an informational centre, LCSS studied and provided local charities with the tools to inform their work around issues of labour – conditions at work, holiday rights, education and training, and health service and insurance. In the same year, LCSS reports that they continued to work with homeless families and resettlements out from slums into the suburbs where they were beginning to notice new patterns of behaviour, particularly amongst youth, e.g., illiteracy and early marriages. Some of this work revealed widespread ignorance about the social and cultural background of 'colonial students', for which LCSS created an official inquiry for students in Paddington. This inquiry was expanded the following year to cover the needs to West Indians and other migrant workers with the intent of encouraging integration into their local communities.

The 1956-57 annual report shows housing to be an ongoing problem with overcrowding being attributed to an influx of migration. They note that funding for hostels for homeless families was a problem particularly for those families being displaced from slums; moreover, they highlight that government programmes were not being responsive to their recommendations, as requested by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to Central Housing Advisory Committee (LCSS, 1957). After the British Council of Churches asked LCSS to further investigate into the needs of West Indian immigrants, they found that West Indian workers, like English workers, lived in unsatisfactory conditions that led to conflict; this problem was exacerbated because local authorities rehoused them without providing any structure of integration or having any mechanism for 'community' building. In the 1957-58 annual report, LCSS notes that CAB has been witnessing many problems as a result of the government's Rent Act which allowed for decontrolled tenancies, rent increases, and landlords not making proper repairs (LCSS, 1958). LCSS also helped people dealing with resettlement by providing local organisations with information on how to be a good neighbour and advising local authorities on the complexity of the issues that must be taken into consideration in these new housing estates, beyond good architecture and design, such as interpersonal and intercultural communication. The inquiry in Paddington on the needs of West Indian students and

workers revealed housing discrimination where only half of the homes surveyed took in students from all nationalities. The exclusion of West Indian students is merely implied and never directly addressed as such in these reports; the language appears consciously removed, with a pretence of objectivity yet empathic undertones.

The 1958-59 annual report shows LCSS reflecting on the contradictions the voluntary sector had to negotiate, expressed through anecdotes: in terms of housing, they note that young families were being resettled into new housing estates, but their older relatives were being left behind; in terms of health, they note that people with mental health problems might get better, yet not be able to muster confidence to get back to 'normal life'; and in terms of labour, they note that 'coloured immigrants' might find work but they were met with prejudice and ill-will (LCSS, 1959). The reflective overtone in this report is marked with the 1958 Notting Hill riots, or what they termed 'disturbances', after which a conference was called where social anthropologist Sheila Patterson submitted a report of the social conditions these migrants faced around labour, welfare and a lack of leisure activities with housing being the most serious problem inciting much of the disturbances. Their work around mental health helped to push through the Mental Health Act of 1959, though the result was not entirely to their liking, especially the responsibility of rehabilitation resting mostly on local communities, dismissing core arguments and recommendations that these social problems required concerted efforts on the part of both the state and society. The West Indian Advisory Committee defended local authorities, noting that they were not responsible for the 'ugly incidents' that 'coloured folks' caused in August and September in Notting Hill.

In 1960, the West Indian Advisory Committee was changed to Immigrants Advisory Committee to cover other migrant groups. Housing discrimination was still one of the key problems that 'coloured immigrants' faced, and government remained unresponsive despite LCSS's recommendation to outlaw these practices (LCSS, 1961). LCSS began providing local organisations with advice on positive ways of educating children on the 'right racial attitudes to offset racial prejudices and propaganda'; this advice included organising interracial socials for white and black kids. Overall, LCSS dedicated considerable and well-meaning attention to the life and needs of migrants, especially people of colour, underscoring the importance of a welcoming presence and general

involvement; this included sending volunteers to meet trains bringing migrants from the West Indies and to provide them with practical assistance at the moment of arrival; informational material was distributed in 21 boroughs including Hackney, Paddington, and Willesden; and they began working with the Institute of Race Relations on organising a conference titled 'The West Indian Migrant and You'. The 'you' in the title of that conference is emblematic of who was being included and actively excluded from these conversations. They took a vertical top-down approach to organising where white citizens were recruited and trained to provide social services for migrants and migrants were positioned as passive recipients of charity. From a different perspective, the Charities Act of 1960 now required charities to register with the Charities Commission.

In 1961-62, there were talks about the reorganisation of local government in London, LCSS was being consulted and called to assist in the transfer of power, wealth, and welfare (LCSS, 1962). There was an interesting convergence of homemaking and mental health where LCSS proposed a different approach to working with homemakers, one that recognised mental health in relation to social pressures of gender expectations. LCSS continued to advocate for older people, wondering where they would fit in London's government reorganisation and highlighting the lack of local information as to where to find local services. The Immigrants Advisory Committee carefully critiqued the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill of 1962, warning against adverse effects this legislation would have on migrants of colour and their families, especially as it pertained to forced family separations. They made it a point to note that they did not generally comment on policy but that recommendations had been sent to the Home Secretary to properly train border guards and immigration officers on the limits of the law. Earlier in the year, they called on the education sector to do social anthropology of migrant groups in London to have better informed social work policy and training curricula. Knowledge production about race relations increased tremendously including organising conferences, reports, consultative committees in response to demand from academics, social workers, university departments, personnel officers, and people in direct contact with immigrants or racial problems.

The 1962-63 annual report notes that the restructuring of boroughs meant that the voluntary sector needed to prepare to pick up new responsibilities for health and welfare,

as it happened in 1948 with the inception of the welfare state omitting responsibilities for vulnerable groups not included in planning (LCSS, 1963). LCSS notes that some of the responsibility of care for the elderly was being taken over by the state, a move which the Old People's Committee did not agree with, because it meant more stringent bureaucracy to access care, but they noted that they would help as was required by the National Assistance Act 1948 Amendment 1962. The Immigrant Advisory Committee started recommending a change of focus to second generation migrants rather than newcomers; this was in response to expressed anxiety on the part of teachers, youth leaders, and youth employment officers who noted that racial problems and attitudes were being perpetuated as they came to maturity. In 1963, LCSS published an in-depth report on Pakistanis in Britain where the author recommended more action towards integration, action to reduce local ignorance and antipathy, anti-discriminatory action, and special action to meet the needs and problems of younger second-generation immigrants (Alivi, 1963). These efforts reflected hands-on ethnographic work which identified three phases of Pakistani migration, with the first two primarily consisting of only men who experienced exploitation by 'agents' in Pakistan who painted rosy pictures of English life to lure men into dangerous migratory experiences; they also experienced a great deal of loneliness and social isolation, lived in overcrowded conditions, and experienced intra-Pakistani discrimination by upper class students who sneered at workers. An interesting ethnographic note made by the author Hamza Alivi, a Pakistani student himself, is that workers were appreciative of his attention to their issues and were open to talking and sharing their experiences, because he approached them with friendliness and comradeship.

The 1963-64 annual report underscored the housing problems migrants were facing, noting the ways in which these problems seeped into social issues around racial tensions. One of the recommendations Alivi (1963) made in his report was that the sector make a conscious effort to integrate, educate, and train more migrants and people of colour into social service and voluntary charity work. This recommendation is particularly important when noting the ways in which migrants were framed in these reports. This is true even when they noted observations of social workers, youth leaders, or youth employment officers, for example, who are 'perturbed by the considerable degree of non-acceptable coloured adolescents' (LCSS, 1963: 22). The Immigrants Advisory Committee

notes that the number of newcomers from Commonwealth countries dropped significantly after the Immigration Act of 1962. They continue to document poor labour conditions and exploitations which were masked by official statistics on employment of migrants, and social workers noted worsening and hardening attitudes against migrants.

The 1964-65 annual report documents racial tensions continuing to rise and highlighted anti-immigrant sentiments in political rhetoric (LCSS, 1965a). In mid-January of 1965, LCSS (1965b) hosted a seminar titled Immigrants in the New London which consisted of different representatives from local authorities and the voluntary sector; the discussions were compiled and edited by Sheila Patterson in a report of the conference. For my purposes of identifying trends of the relationship between charities and migrants, this document is of particular importance because it provides an in-depth account of the internal debates between different actors involved in the organisation and delivery of welfare services to migrants in London. Moreover, it provides fascinating perspectives of the minutia which fed into broader policy changes including the Race Relations Act of 1965. Three of the main speakers included Dr M. T. Paterson, Deputy Medical Officer of Health for Westminster, Miss I. Harrison, Welfare Officer in Paddington, and Miss B. E. Drake, Children's Officer in Tower Hamlets. The event was private, there was no press, many experts and politicians were present and were encouraged to speak frankly and ask candid questions about the issues being discussed.

Dr Paterson's comments and observations showcase how debates around migrants and health were shaping up. She noted that there had been exaggeration about health tourism which did exist, especially mothers using NHS services to give birth, but that these numbers were small. She noted that while NHS services were open to all, most did not know which specific services were open to them. Local authorities, as per the Ministry of Health rules, were to visit new arrivals' reported residences to provide them with information about their rights to health. Dr Paterson also noted migrants suffered from high rates of venereal disease largely stemming from them not having normal marriage partners; she added that the fault lay with 'promiscuous European women', though not necessarily of English origin, who were spreading venereal diseases amongst immigrant men, thus the blame should not be placed on these men. Immigrant mothers were being blamed for taking up hospital beds and since they often moved from place to place, it was difficult to follow

expectant mothers to encourage them to attend the ante-natal clinics. Dr Paterson further noted that immigrant children experienced high rates of malnourishment, stating that the cause was likely that they breastfed for too long. She lamented that the custom of English mothers to use prams to take their children out on walks was not adopted, as it meant the child never got out for fresh air. Moreover, these children appeared to be 'too good, too quiet, too docile, and relatively backward', all of which presented the council with challenges to come up with new ideas about the needs of children in matters of care, play, and stimulation. Most importantly with regards to the health of children, Dr Paterson noted their child minders were a great problem because of the poor housing conditions which meant that they had to use oil stoves for heating during the winter months despite all knowing the dangers of oil stoves.

Miss Drake's presentation showcased a different attitude towards race relations, one that was more progressive and open minded about the possibilities that London's multiculturalism presented. She urged and reminded the audience of their responsibility to educate themselves about the cultures and geographies of the different migrants with whom they interacted in their professions. She pointed to London's own neighbourhoods which they could visit for intercultural encounters, the Huguenots of Spitalfields, Jewish communities and traders of Brick Lane, the Chinese in Limehouse. Miss Drake further noted that the lessons she had learned from working with migrant groups in Tower Hamlets was that they rarely used Children's Services because they depended on one another; first they turned to help within their own groups and then to their neighbours from other migrant groups. With regards to West Indian children born in London, she noted that they identified as Londoners, not as belonging to any particular island out there. She emphasised the need for more overseas migrant workers doing social work alongside white English citizens; these gestures towards integration of migrant workers should not, Miss Drake argued, be made with the intention that these workers serve as cultural ambassadors but rather work as social workers in social work and the voluntary sector.

Miss Harrison's presentation showcases a well-intentioned approach to organising social services for immigrants. She began by asking how long immigrants were to be treated as immigrants, noting that she felt perpetuating difference did not serve useful purposes for organising. She urged the audience to not treat them as special or difficult, as

that led to discrimination based on race since race was explicit in the problems of immigrants. For her, it was important not to be misunderstood: not treating immigrants special did not mean that the problems they faced did not require particular solutions, newcomers had to adapt to a highly industrial city which was suspicious and unfriendly, thus working side by side was important. Through the course of her work, she observed sexist attitudes migrant men had towards migrant women and women in general. Miss Harrison also noted that there were also problems with being at the bottom of the social housing queue, limited accommodations leading to overcrowding that impacted the children, especially as space for play and study were limited. She observed a general attitude and redundant logic on the part of social service and voluntary workers which was to not deal with the problem so as not to stir up problems; problems should be discussed frankly and freely so as destroy myths created through a lack of engagement. She felt that the work necessary to confront these issues head on involved multiple committees organised to share ideas and collaborate without pushing for any political ideology and to encourage more structural advocacy of preventative work. Lastly, Miss Harrison laboured the point that migrants should not be treated as special, because after five years after working with migrants in Paddington, she was still being inundated with referrals made simply because the person was a migrant, when in fact there were no special features to the situation; this required more time and patience on the part of social workers to talk to the person to see if bureaucracy could be avoided. Social workers, she reminded her audience, had a duty to understand the people with whom they worked, and this problem needed to be tackled at the education level where social anthropology and history of colonialism should be taught.

The question and answer session also revealed attitudes other social workers had towards migrants. Miss Woods, a Children's Officer for Haringey mentioned that she had the fortune of visiting West Indian children in their home countries and in her borough, noting that the difference was stark in terms of happiness and quality of life. Mrs Thornly from Paddington commented that Dr Paterson's observations were unfair to migrants and asked her to consider that migrants often lived in overcrowded conditions and perhaps could not afford prams. Mrs Glucksmann from Croydon highlighted the need for Family Planning services recounting an experience when she suggested to a woman who had nine

children that she might want to attend a Family Planning Clinic; the woman replied that she did not want to plan her family, she wanted to stop them! Mr Philips from the Jamaican Commission asked Dr Paterson not to insult migrant women, that they were proud of their babies and wanted to show them off, but the cold prevented them from going outside. Mr Kitching lamented that discrimination against migrants from Pakistan, West Indies, or Africa was prevalent in London, but also that he noticed they were so quick to blame things on racism whenever something went wrong. Mr Bennet believed that migrants preferred to keep to themselves and were inclined to think they were not getting a fair deal. Dr Paterson closed with the comment that dealing with difference was not new in the sector, that it was a matter of integrating staff and familiarising them with issues rather than individuals and their backgrounds which was not to imply that special officers were not needed, Roman Catholic officers should work with Roman Catholic clients, for example. But she believed that it was ethically wrong as local authorities should work on integration rather than perpetuating differences.

Overall, this event showcases some of the internal debates the sector was having about how to work with migrants. The race-ethnic background of the speakers was implicit: white citizens speaking of migrants of colour who were absent from the conversation about issues they were experiencing. The exception appeared to be the man from the Jamaican Commission, though his ethnic background was not specified in the document, and his comments were immediately rebuked by the next speaker who essentially told presumably the only person of colour in the room who spoke up not to make the issues about race. Dr Paterson reflected an 'objective' approach to social and charity work, attempting to deal with difference by not dealing with difference, viewing clients as devoid of histories and cultural backgrounds especially as it concerned colonial relations, the broken promise of empire, and the cold bleak challenges that London presented. Moreover, her approach, title, and position gave her a sense of authority in speaking about migrants and health issues, especially sexual health implying that marriage prevented sexually transmitted infections and that women (not English women, migrant women) were to blame for presumably consensual sexual relations. Miss Drake and Miss Harrison provided a more progressive and informed approach to their work, pushing for more holistic inclusion of migrants in social service and voluntary work. There was much learning that needed to take place at a

structural level from different sectors of society, including central and local governments, social service and voluntary organisations, and education bodies. However, as comments from Dr Paterson and several audience members evinces, there was considerable resistance to dismiss race as an intersectional category of analysis to the issues they were required to work through. Many of these issues and the debates they engender are resurging in the public sphere and have been amplified with greater deal of vitriol or so it seems due to its wider dissemination.

The 1965-69 annual reports reflect a conversation about the need for change in terms of its organisational culture which is especially reflected in the way they organise the information: they turn to an issue base format rather than focusing on committees based on identity. Housing, mental health, finance, and purchase protections were some of the categories they used to think through issues as they affected multiple groups (LCSS, 1966). The shift in their reports, they note, is to tackle issues based on the similar problems that committees were reporting. They note that the various events and studies they had conducted in the past few years and the feedback they received from social workers and academics led them to adopt a focus on cooperation and renewed tactics; this was especially reflected when they note that they would make concerted efforts to make sure old people were included in conversations about their issues and priorities (LCSS, 1967). This renewed tactic included a focus on recruiting and 'using' more volunteers from different migrant communities including West Indians, Pakistanis, Cyprus, and India (LCSS, 1968). These efforts seemed to have produced useful results in terms of community work being proliferated. The shift in strategy was framed as a paradigm shift in response to feedback, criticism, and engagement with local community workers.

In 1970, LCSS published a report in celebration of their Diamond jubilee, sixty years of service in recruitment, training, research, and use of volunteers. In this report, they reflect on their recent paradigm shift that sought to change patterns of community building and personal social services. They claimed that all the work and research of the 1960s worked to invalidate approaches embedded in the Poor Law concept of providers and recipients of welfare services. Urgent needs needed to be met through mobilisation of resources within the community, economic and cultural, and that community should determine its own needs and priorities. These changes were reflected in legislation,

specifically the Local Authority Social Services Act of 1970 which reflected the thinking in different reports and their recommendations such as the Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, Public Participation in Planning, Voluntary Worker in the Social Services and Community Work and Social services. While their orientation to race relations had shifted, they noted that the political climate was increasingly hostile towards migrants as evidenced in upcoming legislation and public opinion. These issues presented new challenges for the upcoming decade, but they hoped that their new methods and tools would be enough to meet new challenges.

Throughout the 1970s, their work met considerable challenges, but they remained one of the few voices that attempted to systematically placate vitriolic discourse through practice. Their previous policy of not commenting on government policy shifted radically. For example, they responded on record to government consultations, gave multiple speeches, to no avail, on the adverse effects of the Immigration Act of 1971, arguing that such a hostile approach to government policy was 'racialist', that it would exacerbate the deterioration of race relations especially at a time when people of colour, particularly teenagers, were being sent to prison (LCSS, 1971). London's housing continued to be a major concern for academics, government bodies, and voluntary sector. LCSS took issue with the Greater London Development Plan's lack of vision necessary to meet minimum standards for housing in terms of quantity and quality. Their new paradigm to community building was dubbed the 'voluntary movement', and it received the central government's attention through funding. The number of registered charities increased dramatically during this decade. The Oil Crisis of 1973 exacerbated unemployment, high cost of housing, and empty homes. There was greater difficulty in recruiting people into volunteer work. They also noted higher incidents of drug addiction, and police harassment.

One of the impacts of the Immigration Bill was that migrants were systematically denied upward mobility. In response to the economic recession, voluntary organisations expressed radical views, but they were limited in funding which caused them to increase their efforts to recruit voluntary work to address needs in advocacy for labour, housing, and education. In 1978, the first mention of Latin Americans appeared in their report with regard to work conducted by the Migrant Services Unit (MSU) which began to study migrant workers in the care and catering industries (LCSS, 1978). Part of their strategy to

get communities to develop from within had paid off, especially with migrants who were being encouraged to cooperate with one another in developing informational material aimed at minority groups, particularly workers (LVSC, 1979). In 1979, they also changed their name from LCSS to LVSC when the Conservative government gained power. The newly named LVSC began to document early adverse effects of new government policy primarily in the area of funding. They highlighted the contradictory logic in the government's wish to see a shift from statutory to voluntary social services and more reliance on self-help within the community without acknowledging that such a transition would be costly (LVSC, 1980). In 1981, the Migrant Services Unit continued their work on promoting awareness of issues migrants faced. This was the first time that a specific Latin American country was named in the report, namely Colombia, and workers in hotel, catering, and domestic work. Latinxs were a part of this broader history of the relationship to charity work. In what follows, I provide a brief history of the organisations I surveyed after which I place these histories in their historical and contemporary political situation that they, as small charities, face. This includes a review of policy trends that impact their work in relation to their service users in London.

3.5 Histories of Latinx charities and their political context

During the 1980s, LCSS history becomes entwined with the migrant organisations with which I worked. None of these organisations were registered as charities during that time; governmental pressure to register was more pronounced during the (New) Labour regime of the 1990s onwards. In 1981-83, LCSS's MSU continued to support migrant struggles around semi-skilled work in hotels, catering, and domestic work. This included direct involvement with Latin American groups, setting up a Support Group of the Latin American Advisory Committee, providing them with advice on fundraising and helping them to establish group representation within the international branch of the Transport and General Workers Union (LCSS, 1981). LCSS was primarily concerned with supporting London based issues. The same Latin American migrants involved in these trade unions were also part of solidarity networks, some of which went on to become formal charities.

Chile Democratico GB was one of the first groups to emerge from previous work done by Chile Solidarity Campaign which several British citizens set up in 1973 in

response to the brutal overthrow of the Chilean government by a military coup led by General Augusto Pinochet (Labour History Archive and Study Centre in London (LHASC), 1982). The group that was more closely associated with Chile Democrático GB was the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Latin America; when this group disbanded, Chile Democratico GB was formed as a membership organisation with a network structure that extended beyond London, across the UK. Chile Democrático later became Indoamerican Refugee and Migrant Organisation (IRMO), reflecting the changing needs of a broader group of Latin Americans arriving in London. IRMO continues to be a community-led organisation and a registered charity in Brixton which provides crucial services around housing, health, and labour needs of Latin Americans in London.

Another organisation documented in this thesis is Latin American House (LAH) which was also formed around the same time as IRMO. LAH was founded in 1983 with the purpose of working towards social inclusion and improving the quality of life for Latin Americans in London. In March 1986, the Leader of the Greater London Council (GLC), Ken Livingstone, endowed Latin American House with the rights to a building in Kilburn, for which the London Borough of Camden was legally in charge as long as the building served as a community centre for Latin Americans in London and for providing services. This particular charity only registered as a charity in December 2008, in response to Labour's push to push small charities to register. Over the years, these services have included advice on immigration, employment and housing, and English-Spanish speaking nursery, and an educational assistance. In March 2016, the rights to the building was transferred fully into Latin American House's ownership without the Borough's oversight. Their work also focuses on Latin American cultural and intellectual endeavours hosting seminars, talks, and other events to discuss 'Latinidad' in London and in Latin America.

Another group that was formed in 1983 was Latin American Women's Rights Services (LAWRS). This group was founded by a group of Latin American women who saw a considerable gap between the services available by mainstream organisations for Latin American women migrants and refugees and the demand for these services which were culturally, linguistic, and gender specific and sensitive needs and approaches. Like the other organisations of its time, LAWRS has been able to adapt to the changing needs of a growing population while still staying to their founding core values and work ethic.

They remain one of the most politically active and progressive organisations in the cohort I surveyed. Their work has focused on advocacy for the autonomy of migrant women in the workplace, homes, and their personal relationships – where they are subjected to different forms of abuse and violence. In 2011, LAWRS responded to the recommendations set out in the *No Longer Invisible (NLI)* report, particularly the one calling for a coalition to be forged to do collective organisational advocacy work. Since then, they have managed the Coalition for Latin Americans in the United Kingdom (CLAUK). During the time of writing, CLAUK campaigned in different boroughs where Latin Americans lived in high numbers for minority ethnic recognition. They also ran multiple campaigns advocating for labour rights of migrant workers in the cleaning industry, where Latinxs are largely represented. One of the latest strands of work has included advocacy for victims of human trafficking on borough and Greater London Authority (GLA) level.

In 1989, Latin American Disabled Peoples' Project (LADPP) was formed. This group emerged from a community group made up of people and carers living with disabilities and health concerns. Like the earlier organisations, they were mainly asylum seekers, refugees, or migrants from Spain and Portugal settling in the UK. Aside from their shared experiences around disabilities and health issues, and like many other Latinxs of the time, this group experienced language difficulties, lack of knowledge of the welfare system, and difficulties accessing health services. The group formally registered as a charity in 1993, a move that was able to help in their endeavours to secure funding from various sources, including trusts, foundations, and – more recently the big lottery fund. Their organisational structure has maintained a democratic and collaborative work ethic. Over the years, as Latinxs in London grow in numbers, their work has been vital in addressing the needs of peoples whose bodies do not fit the mainstream statistics of young, male, able-bodied, and generally healthy individuals.

The Naz Project London (NPL) was not initially a Latin American related project. This organisation came about in 1992 to honour the life of a Pakistani, Muslim, gay, married man (to a woman) with two children, and who died of HIV / AIDS complications. The late HIV and gay rights activist Shivananda Khan (OBE) saw a need for an organisation that addressed the complexities of sexuality in relation to culture, race, gender,

religion, and health needs. He set up NAZ (colloquial name, after Nazir) in Nazir's memory with the purpose of providing an integrated and holistic approach to sexual health. NAZ Latino became an ongoing project within NPL to address the needs of Latino men who were experiencing sexual health related issues couple with cultural and language isolation. A Colombian man stepped in as a primary volunteer providing emotional and moral support and creating support groups between men experiencing similar conditions. NPL continues to do sexual health advocacy on various levels, including individual, governmental, pharmaceutical, psychological, and medical (especially in relation to the NHS). This was and continues to be a unique approach to the provision of sexual health services by mainstream large charity organisations which often focus on single issues rather than seeking holistic structural address and redress.

In 2007, Daniel Goldman founded CASA Latin American Theatre Festival. The purpose was to showcase what he considered to be the best of Latin American theatre to UK audiences, especially since he perceived a relative obscurity of the medium despite the high-quality productions from the region. As the name of the organisation suggests, their primary purpose is to produce an annual festival presenting selected works representing different Latin American countries. They began working in a crypt under St Andrew's in Holborn, moved to Ovalhouse Theatre in Kennington, then to Canary Wharf, and finally to Elephant and Castle (hereafter E&C) where they were working at during the last stages of this research. The various productions have played at the Rich Mix and the Barbican. Funding for this festival has been sporadic over the years which has meant that some years the festival is not produced. However, through their work they have supported over 200 Latin American artists residing in the UK and have worked with some of the aforementioned charities to engage Latin American service users through theatre related activities. Much of this work in community engagement comes as a benefit of networking through CLAUK, the coalition, of which it became a member in 2014.

El Telefono de la Esperanza UK (TEUK) was set up in 2008 with the purpose of providing mental health support primarily focusing on crisis intervention. This group is a branch of another organisation which has longer history of work in Spain and South America where it operates as a registered NGO. TEUK's history goes back to 1971 in Spain where the founder saw a need for mental health and crisis intervention work. Over the

years, TEUK has trained various volunteers to provide immediate mental health assistance over the phone and in person—one on one, or in group, depending on individual needs. This charity also works to educate local councils, primarily Southwark and Lambeth, on the specificity of migrant health needs, how these may differ from other populations, and the specific responses that may be required to meet these needs. They have also hosted mental health congresses alongside La Red Atenea/The Athena Network, a networking hub for mental health workers and academics studying and serving the needs of migrants experiencing mental health services. Their services are provided primarily to Spanish speakers though they have increased their efforts to incorporate Portuguese crisis workers in their organisation.

The last organisation which I surveyed for this doctoral project is Latin Elephant which became incorporated in Sep 2014. Latin Elephant works to promote the social inclusion of Latin Americans (amongst other migrant ethnic groups) primarily in Elephant and Castle. They work to bring together different members of the Latin American community in London to network and work together to engage in urban regeneration debates and advocacy work. They have worked to document the uses, production, and consumption of Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre and its surrounding areas. They have also worked to document similar experiences of Latin Americans at the El Pueblito Market or the Seven Sisters Market. They have produced various documents, reports, guides, information leaflets, videos, photographs, and written and verbal evidence to central and local governments about the effects of urban regeneration on migrant ethnic businesses and peoples benefitting from their operations.

Based on this evidence, the shift from solidarity movements to service provision organisations happened as a consequence of different waves of Latin American migrations to London. The high numbers of these new migrants coming to London required that they shift their focus to respond to their needs, and the charity model was the best mechanism the political structure allowed so as to be able to qualify for funding. However, none of this should imply that the solidarity movements were ever distanced from local political life in London; as the archives show, there was active political life particularly within labour movements that were linked to these solidarity movements. The same continues to be the case with most organisations, particularly LAWRS and IRMO.

The central government since the 1980s had worked towards what I call a spectral form of governance which is characterised by absence of presence and presence of absence. The marketisation of welfare service delivery is a key trend identified in the literature. In the early 90s, David Billis[17] (1993), a theorist of 'voluntary organisations', identifies a trend in the literature that describes a 'blurring' of the boundaries between 'governmental, proprietary, and voluntary sectors' with many scholars in the field foreseeing the disappearance of the 'voluntary sector'. This comes at a time when there was dubious political consensus about the state's role in direct provision of essential welfare services such as health, personal social services, housing, and education. Billis (1993: 245) argues against the notion of blurring, stating a more accurate claim: 'successive national and local governments have encouraged the growth of intermediary organizations charged with the task of co-coordination and representing groups of agencies at national and local levels.'

Feeding into this argument is Billis and Harris's (1992) observation that there was an increase in the professionalisation and bureaucratisation of the organisational life of charities operating at different scales, which adopted a Thatcherian influence in the practice of privatisation. What does not feature large in the literature, notes Billis (1993: 246), is a debate about the effects on democracy in governments fostering the production of these forms of market-oriented organisations. Billis (1993: 255) concludes by making the argument that the voluntary sector would not disappear because the identity of voluntary organisations in the UK had an 'associational core' which was characterised by 'member ownership', implying that 'voluntary' organisational models in the UK have been more horizontal (associational) and less vertical (bureaucratic). Many of these ascribed characteristics are true of a certain part of the 'sector', namely the smaller and local organisations who worked with their 'service users' not as service users but rather as stakeholders of their work and progress.

Billis's framing of the 'voluntary sector' as having an historic associational characteristic is consistent with the historical evidence, but this has been limited in terms of mirroring social structures that restrict member ownership and hierarchy which has been

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[17] David Billis was the founder and director of LSE's Centre for Voluntary Organisation (CVO) later renamed Centre for Civil Society (defunct since 2010). I am noting this so as to show relevance and expertise of the trend I am describing in this section.

based on gender, race, class, and ability. This is particularly evident in the relationship this 'sector' has had with migrants post-World War II, as the archival data in this Chapter shows. Moreover, the anti-blurring argument is important to unpack as it helps reinforce my argument that describes a spectral form of governance. Rhetorically, 'blurring' is a function that is often ascribed to spectres: they 'blur' the borderlands between life and death. Blurring then becomes a rhetorical act of power which denies these borderlands, these spectres, their particular spatiality insofar as they are framed as a-spatial intersections; yet sectors are not stable categories nor are the spaces where they converge.

Billis's (1993: 245) argument against blurring rests on geographic difference and the epistemological imperialism of the US: (1) historically, the UK—unlike the US—has not used negative terminology such as Not-for-Profit or Non-Governmental to describe 'voluntary' action; this is a new phenomenon that can be traced to (2) US-centric theory uncritical of diverging histories in different geographies, thus leading scholars and policy makers to adopt similar terminology that obfuscates market-oriented ideology. The argument is valid on both counts, but it also fails to reflect on the close links between the UK and the US cooperation involving the Thatcher and Reagan administrations (Whitehead, 2015: 299). Instead of arguing against the notion of blurring demanding terminology that is more geographically specific, as Billis does, it would help to reframe and rethink this notion of blurring and its effects from a geographical perspective. Blurring as a rhetorical function (intentional or accidental) that works towards spectral governance is evinced in a series of documents issued by Major's Conservative government of the early 1990s.

Billis (1993) and others (Davies, 1994; Braye and Preston-Shoot, 1995) point to one example of a document from the Department of Health (1992) which lumps together charity and private sector organisations that are welfare service providers. The lumping together of disparate organisations in terms of methods and results is a common theme in several documents they survey from the same department. This serves as a blurring mechanism that reflects successive Conservative governments' post-1979 advancing of an environment of competition between conceived sectors in the delivery of welfare services. By the early 1990s, the environment of competition had an effect, most prominently, in the

area of residential care of the elderly where for-profit organisations already played a dominant role in the delivery of such services.

Surveillance is another policy trend that deserves some background as it relates to my theoretical framing of the thesis and how that unfolds on the ground. Chapter 7 expands on these arguments about how the government fosters an environment of surveillance which impacts the work of small charities whether or not they are subject to surveillance. The broader context of surveillance in the UK includes the well-publicised stories such as those that reporter Glen Greenwald, with the help of whistle-blower Edward Snowden, exposed about NSA and GCHQ's mass surveillance programme[18]. The European Court of Human Rights has ruled the UK government's surveillance programme to be unlawful (Leprince-Ringuet, 2018). Brexit provides uncertainty in terms of the legal repercussions of this particular ruling. In that broader context, however, there are more specific examples that point to the surveillance of charity organisations. The latest example during the writing of this thesis includes legal disclosures that 'all three of the UK's primary intelligence agencies – GCHQ, MI5, and MI6 – also admitted that they unlawfully gathered data about Privacy International or its staff' (Privacy International, 2018). It can be argued that Privacy International attracts this kind of government scrutiny by the very nature of their work which is to challenge state or corporate surveillance. However, the UK government has pushed a broader trend of surveillance that includes charity organisations that work with monoritarian subjects. Literature about this in critical geography remains thin but in critical studies on terrorism some of these links are beginning to appear. For example, Heath-Kelly (2017) points to the geographical and epistemological shifts in the implementation of the UK Prevent strategy which has been running since 2007.

The UK Prevent strategy constitutes a series of policies launched by Labour, Coalition, and Conservative governments to prevent 'radicalisation' of certain groups that are 'at-risk' of being radicalised.[19] Heath-Kelly (2017: 304) points out that the Labour

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[18] See The Guardian's 'The NSA files' (https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/the-nsa-files) and their collection of ongoing reporting about GCHQ (https://www.theguardian.com/uk/gchq).

[19] The redundancy in the sentence is intentional to highlight that the word 'radicalisation' is not explicitly defined in any of the government documents. Indeed, radicalisation is equated with extremism. Such loose definitions and their engendered problematics are beginning to be acknowledged by current Department of Education (Chisholm, Coulter and Kantar Public, 2017: 13018). This is true at least in reports which are read seldomly and disseminated narrowly.

government used an epidemiological approach to radicalisation which identified Muslims as a demography more 'at-risk' of radicalisation, thus requiring more 'preventative intervention'. The public health approach to crime prevention focused on residential areas where Muslims resided; the task was to build 'community resilience' through the promotion of 'role models' that worked to bridge 'shared values' (DCLG, 2007: 9-11). The Coalition and Conservative governments have de-emphasised residential areas and have widened the scope of the departments in charge of deploying such policies; 'radicalisation' is no longer just a health issue but also an educational one meaning that the Department of Education is now also involved. Whereas the previous crime prevention models employed statistics-oriented methods, the current ones rely on big data which, as Heath-Kelly (2017: 310) argues, encompasses similar surveillance logics where all life (and death[20]) becomes 'vulnerable' to 'extremist infection and criminal proclivity' thus needs 'safeguarding' through pre-emptive surveillance. Heath-Kelly (2017: 305) notes that current Prevent policies implicate local charity organisations through funding schemes that expect 'that they will pass information about communities and individuals to the police (as well as the embedding of counterterrorism officers in service delivery)'. These said officers are, of course, not always forthright about their purposes in the organisations which can induce a considerable amount of apprehension from charity workers. I return to the notion of spectrality in Chapter 7, but before doing so I provide a more in-depth account of the historical and contemporary situation Latinx migrants face in London.

3.6 Latinxs in London

In this section, I provide a brief historical overview of Latinxs in London. This helps me to locate existing literature on how Latinxs factor into structures of the spectrality of migrants while identifying gaps in the literature that this thesis addresses.

The connections between the United Kingdom and Latin America may not be readily apparent. Unlike Spain, British colonial endeavours did not extend to large swaths

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[20] Here I'm adding death to the equation to point to the ways in which martyrdom is central to Judeo-Christian religious philosophy. A spectre as a symbol can gain meaning through discursive practices; the spectre of Justin Martyr is a *prime* example in this process (Hayes, 2015). Competing geographic imaginations become subject to regulation hence the Prevent policies.

of Latin American lands. In its emergence as a 'global city', London attracted many migrants from its own previous colonies. Migration from Latin America has been attributed more to global economic factors rather than to remnants of British colonialism. The official links—diplomatic and commercial—between the United Kingdom and Latin America date back to the 1800s (Hague, 2010). In this regard, as Decho and Diamond (1998) and McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011) point out, Latin American migration to the UK can be dated back to these times, but it was not until the 1970s that this migrant population began to increase, and that London became a primary destination.

The 'first wave' of Latin American migrations to the United Kingdom happened during the 1960s and 1970s primarily from Chile and Argentina. Political refugees and displaced persons escaped repressive military governments and sought refuge in the United Kingdom. Similarly, migrants from Colombia arrived in large numbers as a result of war and political strife. During this time, it was easy for Colombians to obtain UK work permits to work in hotels, restaurants, and cleaners in public buildings (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011). As the number of Colombian immigrants began to grow, the work permit scheme for unskilled workers was reduced significantly (Bermúdez Torres, 2003). Further, the requirements for obtaining UK tourist and working visas became more stringent (ibid.). Despite these restrictions, migration from Colombia, as well as Ecuador and Brazil, increased in the 1980s (Padilla and Peixoto, 2007). In the 1990s, Peruvians also started seeing the United Kingdom as a viable destination (McIlwaine, 2007). In the early 2000s, Bolivians also started immigrating in high numbers (ibid). McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011) note the same to be true for Brazilians, who now make up the largest nationality group of Latin Americans in London.

These waves of migration need to be contextualised within larger structural conditions that influence persons to migrate. From a macroeconomic perspective, factors inducing migrations can be analysed using the classic push/pull migration model (Dorigo and Tobler, 1983). This model frames economic factors as being push factors in migration phenomena the world over. In this vein, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s and the enactment of neoliberal economic policies in the 1990s throughout Latin America can be seen as push factors that induced migration flows to the United States as well as Europe. Portes and Hoffman (2003) point out that there was a decline of formal

employment opportunities in the public sector while the private sector, especially the industrial side, was outdone by cheap imports that neoliberal open markets enforced.

As previously noted, in countries like Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, armed conflicts played a significant role in inducing economic instability. McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011) note that in Ecuador, the dollarisation of the economy and the overthrows of three presidents were economic and political push factors of migration. In the case of Peru, the country saw its economic conditions deteriorated further after the 1982 crisis that culminated in an economic collapse in the 1990s (de la Cadena, 2000). In relation to these economic problems, violence following the surge of Sendero Luminoso, a Peruvian Maoist revolutionary group, in the 1980s intensified the need to migrate (Merino Hernando, 1999). In Bolivia, poverty and steep unemployment rates pushed upwards of a million migrants out of the country after 2000. Intensified social movements countered the economic reforms President Mesa introduced in 2003 (Sveinsson, 2007). These social movements were so successful in political reform that in 2006, they contributed to the election of Evo Morales, the region's first indigenous president. These reforms, however, resulted in further economic instability and social insecurity. In Venezuela, Hugo Chavez's presidency was a central figure of political polarisation and economic instability after thousands of people were expelled / exiled from the country (Cannon, 2008). Brazil's unregulated market is thought to be a primary cause of one of its worst economic crises in 2002 (O'Dougherty, 2002). The election of Lula da Silva, as well as Morales in Bolivia, drew suspicion from international governments, because they believed that the economic policies the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed would be abandoned.

The many economic and political structural changes across Latin America also impacted class organisation and performance. As a result of on-going economic and political instability, claim Parker and Walker (2013), Latin America remains one of the regions of the world with strikingly unequal distribution of wealth in the world. In relation to these changes, the middle classes appear to have been impacted in significant ways in terms of occupational status, a general reduction of wages, and a decrease in educational opportunities (Poole, 1997, 2008; Portes and Hoffman, 2003; Parker and Walker, 2013). The dire economic conditions induced the desire and/or necessity to migrate in those people

who had obtained higher education. Another result was that the mobility of those living in extreme poverty was reduced further in the sense that mobility necessitates resources, and for those lacking the necessary resources (money, social capital, etc.) mobility is restricted. To this restricted mobility, one can add that social reforms for the poor, the basis of popularity of leftist political leaders, were an incentive to stay. The political reasons for migration, however, can vary for middle classes, who may or may not necessarily view their interests in line with migrant working classes.

These economic and political factors influencing Latin American migrations are also connected with increased securitisation and militarisation of US borders, in turn making Europe a more attractive destination for those considering out-migration. In the 1990s, along with signing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the US government launched Operation Gatekeeper, a measure to secure funding to secure and militarise borders. Restrictions on US immigration policy were intensified after September 11th, 2001. Access into the country became more perilous for would-be Latinx migrants as the borders were increasingly militarised (Walia, 2013). For Latinx migrants, the United States was a first choice but with the difficulties in crossing, especially illegally, it became a dangerous option. Europe became a viable alternative destination, because it had fewer migration restrictions than the United States, social networks were growing, and jobs were available, at least more so than in their countries of origin.

For Latin Americans, Spain became a popular initial destination because of language accessibility and, for some, the possibility of claiming nationality (thus legal presence in the country) by proving Spanish ancestry. Between the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Latin American migrant population in Spain grew exponentially from around 200,000 to 1,500,000 (López de Lera and Oso Casas 2007: 34-5). Portugal experienced a similar upsurge of migrants coming from Brazil. In 2005, Brazilians legally residing in Portugal (upwards of 80,000) made up the largest number of foreign nationals in the country (Padilla, 2007). Amongst other reasons, Spain was a popular destination due to its impressive economic growth, especially in its real estate market. The economic downturn of 2008 proved disastrous for the Spanish real estate market leading to substantial levels of debt. These factors combined prompted a steep rise in unemployment and a subsequent crisis in employment benefits schemes (Malo, 2015). To date, Spain remains one of the

countries with the highest unemployment rate in the western world. These economic factors in Spain are thought to have influenced Latinx migration to London, as London was seen as a destination with better employment prospects, especially in the service sector (Evans *et al.*, 2007; Cock, 2009; McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011).

The surge of Latin American migrants to London necessitates a discussion of the discursive cultural politics surrounding migration in times of economic crisis. As is common during economic instability, migrants seem to be an easy target. In Spain, Latinx migrants became a typical scapegoat framed as responsible for its economic problems (Bermudez, 2010). This translated into a significant lack of employment opportunities as well as racial and ethnic discrimination. McIlwaine (2005; 2007) reports that Latinxs perceived London as a bastion of human rights across the board, and a place where they could easily become part of the pan cultural landscapes, to be able to work and blend in. Other factors that made London an attractive destination was its perceived economic stability and opportunities as well as the possibilities of surviving with minimal knowledge of the English language (James, 2005; Evans *et al.*, 2007; McIlwaine, 2007; Sveinsson, 2007). For these reasons, London still seems to be one of the most popular destination cities in Europe for Latin American migrants.

The number of Latin Americans living in London has been the topic of speculation for many years. Compared to other migrant groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, etc.), Latin Americans make up a small number of the migrant population. McIlwaine (2007; 2008) claimed that if we rely on the qualitative information gathered from the opinions of community leaders, there might be as many as 1 million Latin American migrants living in London. McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011: 16) note that these unsubstantiated figures have uncritically seeped into official policy documents, such as a 2007 strategy paper from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The same report provides more reliable and up-to-date figures accounting for undocumented migrants and second-generation Latin Americans born in the United Kingdom. These figures were updated in McIlwaine and Bunge's (2016) report that, using 2011 Census data, that the number of Latin Americans in the UK, is thought to be 250,000 of which 140,000 reside in London.

McIlwaine and Bunge's (2016) report is the most up-to-date report on Latinxs in London. This report shows a clear perspective of the current situation Latinxs face in the

UK, providing evidence that Latinxs play a crucial role in the local economy and London's cultural lifescapes. However, as the report documents, they continue to face similar struggles, as they did in the research five years prior documented in the *NLI* report. These struggles revolve around labour, housing, education (language skills), and immigration status. The report primarily focuses on European citizens and excludes people with irregular immigration statuses (even though these can fluctuate), second generation Latinxs, and people living in precarious conditions, such as rough sleepers. The main reason is that these people were not present in the 2011 Census data which was the core database the authors used to conduct their research for the overall population.

In addition to surveying Census data, McIlwaine and Bunge's (2016) report documents the situations of what they term Onward Latin American (OLA) migrants based on a survey of 400 OLAs; the term OLA is meant to signify their arrival in London from European migratory pathways rather than directly from Latin America. For this section of the report, they conducted one survey with 400 OLAs, who are thought to experience worse conditions and a lack of basic resources than their older already established counterparts, primarily Latinxs surveyed in the *NLI* report. The overall population profile from the 2011 Census highlights that due to the historical association with Latin American establishments, around 60% of Latin Americans, including OLAs, live in London; more Latinx women than men live in London, Brazilians representing the largest group; Latinxs are relatively younger, two-thirds are under 40, and 90% are of working age; half have tertiary/university degrees but one out of five have difficulty with the English language, thus limited in labour opportunities; employment rates are high amongst Latinxs but they occupy elementary and service-centred jobs such as sales, leisure, or processing plants and machinery for product manufacturing; housing is mostly rented with overcrowding being a common problem amongst Latinxs in London (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016).

OLAs began arriving in the United Kingdom in 1996, having their greatest population growth between 2001 and 2007 when they left their countries of origin (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 37-45). Most of them left their countries due to structural economic problems which caused high unemployment rates, few career opportunities, and few or no possibilities to establish their own businesses. Violence in Latin America was a factor for some in their decision to leave their countries, particularly for Colombians.

Historically, the majority of OLAs (around 80%) initially moved to Spain, much due to the language advantage, easy entrance into the country, employment opportunities, and cultural similarities. Madrid was a major destination for Latinxs in Spain. Other countries where they migrated to were Italy, Portugal, France, Holland, Ireland, Switzerland, Belgium, Greece, Germany, Norway, and the Czech Republic, but these numbers were relatively small much due to cultural similarities. The lack of employment opportunities and unemployment created a new exodus amongst Latinxs with 70% deciding move onwards (hence OLA) to a different European country.

McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) highlight that the UK became a major destination for more than 50% of OLAs, because they viewed the UK as a country with a relatively stable economy, family and friends were already in London, and they felt that the city offered employment opportunities. The UK has experienced a steady flow of migrants since 2008, with more than half of Latin Americans having arrived since 2011. On arrival in the UK, more than 80% of Latinxs entered with a European Union passport granted for the most part by their former country of residence. The clear majority of OLAs were composed of Colombians, Ecuadorians, Brazilians and a small group of Dominicans. Most of these groups were of working age and are likely to be women. Only one-third of these groups have a university education, especially women. Brazilians had the highest rate of education with 18% at the graduate level and 51% at the university level. OLAs also experience language difficulties which limit their employment opportunities.

McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) further note that half of OLAs have contract cleaning jobs and others work in restaurants, while a small percentage (9%) work in administrative or management positions. Most OLAs experienced a marked decreased in professional mobility, remaining stagnant in the service sector, mainly cleaning, with 65% of professionals working as cleaning staff in London. Three quarters of Latinxs earn less than an hourly minimum wage, with an average of £7 per hour for men and women. Furthermore, 45% of Latinxs experience labour exploitations including the lack of payment after having done the work, work without a contract, and doing the same work as another person for a lower salary.

Aside from the comprehensive work Cathy McIlwaine and her colleagues have produced about Latinxs in the UK, there is a growing list of studies that focus on this

population. These studies highlight economic hardships, issues of welfare, and poor employment conditions (Datta *et al.*, 2007). Some of the early studies of the population employed national and linguistic analytic categories. Portuguese-speaking Brazilians were divided from Spanish-speaking Latin Americans and further subdivided the Spanish-speaking countries from one another. For instance, McIlwaine (2005), Guarnizo (2008), and Cock (2009) focus on Colombian migrants' transnational practices in London. Boasting of the most extensive body of work regarding Latin American migrants in London, McIlwaine's (2007; 2009) work is also particular to Ecuadorians and Bolivians. Also documented in this line of research are Brazilians (Evans *et al.*, 2007; Sveinsson, 2007), Bolivians (Evans *et al.*, 2007), and Ecuadorians (James, 2005). One study that contributes a more nuanced representation related to national categories is Bermúdez Torres (2003), who studied Colombians that applied for asylum. Along with the population, scholarship about Brazilians in London seems to be growing in number and scope. Das Graças Brightwell (2012), for instance, studies Brazilian food as a transnational practice. Along the same lines, Sheringham (2011) offers an analysis of Brazilian migrants' religious practices, and Souza (2008; 2010) provides a linguistic perspective of second-generation Brazilian children.

One study that is more closely related to my own research project is that of Patria Román-Velazquez who studies Latin American cultural lifescapes in London. Román-Velazquez (1999: 7-13) makes substantial and persuasive arguments about cultural products (salsa music in this case) and their significance in helping to carve out a space and identity in the city. Her intricate ethnographic study maps out 'routes' Latin Americans navigate in London. Román-Velázquez (1999: 43) makes an important argument that the navigation of these 'routes' constitutes a place-making practice (see de Certeau (1984) for a similar argument about the rhetorical practices of place-making in New York). From an ethnographic standpoint, Román-Velázquez's study is valuable because it details the specific ways in which Latin Americans operationalise these practices in London. One of the limitations in this study is its lack of attention to organisational practices of the social spaces that Latin Americans navigate. This would add important elements of how cultural identity is contested in relation to global processes (structures of migrant precarity that Walia (2013) outlines, for instance). The work is also disconnected from Latinx studies in

the United States. While the United States is a different geopolitical context in which Latinidad unfolds, it is most often theorised in relation to Latin America. The previously noted caveat applies here about selecting critical research that takes space seriously; seriously in so far as I understand it in this thesis: space as marked socio-economic geographical differences that shape the experiences of multiple actors negotiating spatial (in)equity. Much can be learned from linking to this context not so as to replicate but so as to, at the very least, expand and document variant notions of what Latinidad means in a different geographical context. I provide empirical evidence of this in Chapter 5 and work to link thesis histories of Latinx migrations to the histories and politics of charity work in London.

3.7 Summary

This review of existing literature provides historical trajectories of the core concepts in my research: Latinx migrants and charity work. The concept of spectrality needed to be spatialised both in Latin American and in England, particularly as it pertains to this history of charity work. I draw from archival data in order to map an unexplored historical relation which continues to be part of and shape Britain's political landscapes. Several of the key themes and debates that charity workers were dealing with in the 1960s and 1970s are still relevant today. These histories are important to contextualise as they have influenced the dynamics of the relationship between migrants and charity work.

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Chapter 4: Methodology and methods

4.1 Introduction

This project examines the relationship between Latinx migrants and small charities in London. This relationship speaks to broader politics of migration, charity work, identity and subjectivity[21], state, urban border, and governance. The guiding framework for the methodology is the Massey-Derridean theoretical couplet described in Chapter 2. This framework necessitates a reading of spectres as spatial and space as spectral; in other words, one must consider inter-relational dynamics between these two concepts. To explore the relationship between Latinxs and small charities in London, this thesis works through scales and scope to present empirical evidence; the focus then is on the scale of the group, the organisation, and the state as iterated through policy. The scope of these scales pertains a plurality of issues pertaining to structural conditions in London such as housing, health, and labour. To conduct this research, I employed an urban ethnographic approach to document the intricacies of how these rhetorical and performative concepts are produced, experienced, contested, consumed, and mobilised in London. Chapter 1 describes my preliminary research and how I arrived at my research question. In what follows, I briefly outline contemporary theoretical debates in urban ethnographic methods, which informs my epistemological approach, and serves to position this project in the broader framework of this strand of literature. This is followed by a detailed description of and justification for the methods that were used to collect and analyse data. Ethics and reflexive considerations about positionality are woven through these sections as they inform the methods used to conduct this research.

4.2 Debates in urban ethnography and epistemological approach

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[21] For me, these two words signal different histories: identity pertains to psychoanalytic theory and subjectivity is concerned with political economy. Of course, the two schools of thought and critique are separate but can be used in tandem. This thesis is more concerned with political economy though using the concept of spectres, one cannot escape psychoanalytic theory. Overall, this thesis reflects my negotiation between these two strands of philosophy.

This discussion about methodological debates begins with the tensions surrounding the distinctions between the private and public and how spatial spectrality can work to negotiate these tensions. This relates to Derrida's (1994: 63) concern about the ways in which media technologies were increasingly displacing the political economic borders between private and public. This is a vast and recurring theme in academic writing across disciplines, but in this section these tensions are situated within the field of urban ethnography which allows me to then discuss my epistemological approach and how that fits within this body of literature. Pithy as it is, my research question conjures a multiplicity of issues that concern methodologies; this goes beyond simple binary framings such as the private and public, life and death, the citizen and the migrant, as an example of myriad assumed oppositional constructs. Debates in urban ethnography are outlined so as to highlight how this binary framing has factored into these debates. This is done with the purpose of describing how spatial spectrality can contribute to this conversation.

An urban ethnographic lens that takes scales seriously is most helpful to determine how migration, precarity, and charity work are experienced and mobilised in London. The focus on one scale (e.g., micro over macro, or vice-versa) influences the narrative of a particular ethnographic text which in turn impacts how a particular population is subjectivised, i.e., (mis)represented, (mis)perceived, (dis)engaged, (dis)ordered, etc. To draw out these themes within the field of urban ethnography, I turn to Belmonte's (1979) *The Broken Fountain* and Wacquant's (2008) *Urban Outcasts: A comparative sociology of advanced marginality*. While these ethnographies are not specific to London, or necessarily about migration, spectrality, or charity work, they are two established works that help to tease out the methodological tensions that emerge when narrating urban life. A central difference in these works is the scale in which they perceive their locality to be situated. Belmonte works through a rich description of an intimate locality within the city whereas Wacquant describes broader public structures that influence the formation of a locality.

Belmonte's *The Broken Fountain* is a story that centres on Fontana del Re, an impoverished neighbourhood in Naples, Italy. He describes the lives of its residents in relation to reproductions of violence through structures of family, gender, patriarchy, and urban trauma due to proximity and symbolic exchanges on a local level. This is an intimate

account of lived experience where the fountain which breaks down over the course of his fieldwork, serves as a backdrop or metaphor for the deteriorating conditions of poverty and structural inequalities where mobility upward or outward is ostensibly restricted. Missing in this work is a broader discussion of how political economy plays into the formation of these subjectivities. The narration of intimate spaces and the interactions between the residents is favoured over an explanation of how this is connected to the broader world— the state, city government, etc. At the end of the book, for instance, one does not know why the fountain broke and how it collapsed. Despite these shortcomings, Belmonte draws detailed, complex, and challenging characters navigating and negotiating the use of space in intimate and localised settings.

Wacquant's Urban Outcasts is an account of racialisation of Chicago's south side. He writes about the gentrification built on displacements of African Americans and makes the argument that race cannot be disentangled from these processes. He infuses race into urban political economy discussing different marginalities, different versions of Chicago, and the way they come to be situations of effect of broader structures of violence that include the media, urban policy makers, private sector, and academics. Wacquant removes the intimacy and the rich description favoured by Belmonte in order to provide a matter of fact and meticulous account of marginalisation happening as effects the neoliberal turn and the associated disappearing of jobs and the housing crash of the 1970s. For Wacquant, the violence is explicitly structural, and he actively rejects the notion that interactionism by way of folk culture can get at the deeper levels of analysis that are required to explain the broader structures. As part of this ethnographic project, Wacquant joined a local boxing gym to get exposure to his research subjects. This method led Wacquant (2005) to describe this text as an autoethnography, a problematic description suggesting that his mere presence in locality vanished all the privilege as a white heterosexual abled bodied male academic and allowed him to produce the same meanings as people who have gone through the subjectivation of this geography. This ethnographic text, despite its limitations, highlights the importance of accounting for broader scales of structural violence that induce marginality.

When placed in conversation with one another, these ethnographic accounts of urban space speak to the tensions that exist when working through scales. Described simplistically, Belmonte and Wacquant describe different configurations of private and public productions of space, respectively. The preferred methodological approach in the social sciences, especially when describing city life, is to account for the public, or the broader structures that subjectivise marginality while sacrificing the thick description that can emerge from focusing on the private more intimate realms. Both approaches focus on different scales, and both contribute to knowledge production in different ways. But if ethnography is an act of political critique, as Graeber (2009) and Biehl and Mckay (2012) suggest, then the position that the personal and the private are not political must be revisited, otherwise one risks a formulating a reductive judgment of Belmonte's classic text. This type of 'turn', or preference for one scale over another (public over private, for instance) pushes the ethnographer to account for the public, or the broader structures that subjectivise human experiences while sacrificing the thick description that can emerge from focusing on private, more intimate realms. These tensions proliferate beyond urban ethnography and across different academic disciplines in all sorts of ways. This leads me to a discussion of my methodological approach to this project.

Ethnography can be defined broadly as the art and science of producing a depiction (oft in written form) of a group or culture (Fetterman, 1998; Marcus, 1999; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Remnants of ethnography as a colonial practice still lingers, particularly in scholarship that purports to study 'others' with the assumption that a 'safe distance' is possible without accounting for the power of knowledge production machines and the unequal access to representational practices and the structures that legitimate them. For geography, ethnography is a useful method because it allows for a depiction of how place, a 'natural' setting, is produced and contested (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 2). Avoiding the colonial practice of 'othering' a group or culture to be studied is an arduous task, even for or especially for colonial or post-colonial subjects, but it can be done through a set of rigorous fieldwork procedures that engages members of that particular place. This work also requires a critical reflexivity about one's positionality that includes a host of issues relating to the researcher's relations to power structures and the ethics engendered in these entanglements.

The risk of othering groups of people carries material consequences which might include, for example, perceiving the figure of the migrant as nonhuman hence depriving them of basic protections *en route*, at home, or in the workplace. From a traditional academic standpoint, the field of ethnography operates under an assumption that those to be studied are members of another group or culture, one that is different from the researcher (Malinowski, 1961 [1922]). This stance has somewhat shifted since the late 1970s, early 1980s much due in part to a serious academic engagement with concepts like the 'crisis of representation'. This concept refers to a large body of literature that advocates for critical reflexivity regarding ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions (Clifford, 1983; Foucault, 1984; Tyler, 1985, 1986; Clifford and Marcus, 1986). Important questions that emerge from this body of literature ask about what constitutes a researcher and a research subject, how the researcher engages the researched, whether or not our methods match our intentions, and what those intentions mean in relation to ethics surrounding issues of economic inequality, lack of access to resources, representation, and knowledge production. Minority, marginalised, and underrepresented groups (feminists, queers, migrants, disabled peoples, people of colour, etc.) have challenged continuously the modes of knowledge production of the expert academic and have instead opted to theorise *our* own experiences and write *our* own ethnographic accounts. Within Latinx studies in the United States, for example, Moraga and Anzaldúa (1981) have largely contributed to these modes of knowledge production.

Taking this discussion back to the question of scales and how one needs to be careful in terms of privileging one scale over another, Hall (2013) pushes for an ethnographic method that does not reify one scale over another but, rather, places scales (micro-, meso-, and macro-urban) in conversation with one another in relation to time and space. Hall's proposed method remains underdeveloped and, perhaps inadvertently, mirrors arguments that queer and trans* feminist theorists have been making for years (Gonzalez-Polledo, 2107; Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1981; Anzaldúa, 1987; Haraway, 1991; Sedgwick and Frank, 1996; Prosser, 1998; Lugones, 2003). To work through these tensions, I propose an ethnographic lens that critically reflects on my position as a member of migratory culture I am working with to describe the experience from a trans*ethnographic lens which reflects on how the private and public, the intimate and

broader structures intersect to form the experience, contestation, and mobilisation of migration, precarity, and charity work in London. For me, a trans*ethnographic lens is philosophically inspired by feminist, queer, and trans* theorists who conceptualise time and space as mobile, agile, nimble, critical, and reflexive. This speaks to the 'identity' of the migrant as a transitional subject and as a subject in transition; this is in line with contemporary trans* theory that takes gender as merely one subject of study that speaks to materiality and thought (Gonzalez-Polledo, 2017). The asterisk invites the reader and writer to open up transition from the confines of gender to speak politically to the broader structures that subjectivise human experience. For me, this includes the subjectivity of the migrant and the various experiences which shape their experiences with place and space, especially as these subjectivities are structured by socio-economic conditions. In what follows, I provide a detailed description of and justification for the methods that will be used to collect and analyse data.

4.3 Autoethnography, ethnography, and spectrality

Autoethnography has been on my mind through the course of this doctoral research project. As a methodology it worked for me when I studied performance and rhetoric in the humanities. It was a tool for personal transformation when I analysed the reproduction of violence in the contexts of migration, sexuality, family, and the state in the context of Mexico-US borders (Moreno-Tabarez, 2011; 2012). Working in the social sciences, the resistance to this method I have encountered in my academic journey has produced questions in me about its relation to political economy. This section explores some of these questions of autoethnography in relation to ethnography at large.

Defining autoethnography is difficult: interpretations vary and there are different categories that venture from the traditional to the experimental. It is generally regarded as a qualitative research method where the author-researcher reflects on their own experiences in relation to a broader issue or group (Holman Jones, 2005). The researcher's degree of experience of the issue or relation to the group in question can vary but most autoethnographies offer a degree of critical and/or uncomfortable introspection and reflexivity of the relationship between self and society (Ellis, Adams and Bochner, 2011).

Autoethnographies often deliver a dramaturgical form of representation that makes implicit or explicit arguments, depending on the type of autoethnography the author employs (Denshire, 2013). The personal and dramaturgical accounts can be a source of the methodology's critique or celebration, depending on the academic traditions that influence its reception.

My orientation to autoethnography has changed through the course of my PhD programme. When I applied and was accepted to the LSE, I pitched a doctoral research project examining queer migrations in Beijing using 'performance autoethnography' as a methodology (Spry, 2001; Denzin, 2003; Alexander, 2005). Coming to this university I knew I would encounter serious objections to my production of this kind of work. But I wanted to take on the challenge because I knew the experience would be a transformative one. My life circumstances changed, and I could not continue with that research project in China. When I began this project, I actively sought to produce an ethnographic account (not autoethnographic) of the relationship between charity organisations and Latinxs in London.

I am wary of using the term 'autoethnography' to describe my work because of connections I find to this thing called 'neoliberalism'. Many of the arguments against autoethnographic representations I have encountered are reactionary, uninformed, and devoid of links to political economy. Critics characterise autoethnography as being 'self-absorbed', 'narcissistic', 'naval-gazing', 'confessional', 'irreverent', 'sentimental', and 'romantic' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Ellis and Bochner, 2000; Holt, 2003; Madison, 2005; Ellis, Adams and Bochner, 2011). Elaborations of these arguments rarely link autoethnography to political economy, yet these characteristics resonate with forms of subjectivity produced by 'neoliberalism', as some theorists assert (Gershon, 2011; Layton, 2014; McGuigan, 2014; Davies and Dunne, 2016). The work of Yasmin Nair, co-founder of the radical queer collective, Against Equality, has helped me make these connections abundantly clear.

Nair (2012, 2013, 2016, Kinnucan, 2014a, 2014b) writes about a mandate embedded in neoliberalism which demands its subject to confess its vulnerabilities and traumas in order to be validated by the market. The materiality of these experiences is

evinced when institutions (e.g., charity organisations and government immigration bodies) require a repetitive yet authentic performance of trauma in order to consider allowing access to resources necessary for survival. Nair in Kinnucan (2014b) further notes how this logic also infuses itself into the world of activism and organising where subjects need to authenticate each other's experiences of a particular trauma in order to be able to critique and organise around said trauma. In sum, neoliberalism's mandate to narrate personal experiences in this context limits coalitional potentialities, confines subjects into further isolation, and interlocks performer and audience into an affect labour that does not translate into structural address or redress.

These critiques all translate well into the ways in which autoethnography can reflect a subjectivity uncritical of the very economic systems that enable its self-professed human agentic prowess. At its worst, autoethnographic writing takes reflexivity to a rampant stage that is entirely the product of privilege and a lack of engagement with questions of how embodiment and subjectivation are intertwined with political economy. For me, health, housing, education, work, poverty, sustainability, surveillance automation, datafication, and militarisation are all some examples of political economy that deserve serious attention beyond solipsistic and self-referential methods of writing ethnography, especially in the form of autoethnography.

Most of these critiques can be directed at a large body of work known as autoethnography as exemplified in the works of Alexander (2014), Behar (1997), and Calafell (2012). I agree with these critiques in that most often they presume so many things that are entirely the products of unreflexive privilege despite the real or perceived socio-economic marginal positions one may embody. Of course, these critiques raise the question of why the onus is being placed on the individual when the same critique can be waged against an entire body of knowledge production that relies on self-referentiality for validation. Puwar (2004) and Ahmed (2012) highlight how certain bodies (e.g., white men as an institution) become 'somatic norms', or 'rightful' occupiers of space by reproducing versions of presumed selves thus entrenching homogenous and uneven forms of privilege. And this extends beyond the checks and balances of rigorous academic work. All this to say that one's position and relation to our research subjects and institutions that we embody

plays a crucial role in the shaping of their ethnographic depiction thus critical reflection about these issues is constantly necessary.

This ethnography draws from methodological principles engendered in critical cultural studies where the interface between race, queer, and disability studies provides an analytic shift from body to body parts, or, more specifically, organs. Moraga and Anzaldúa (1981), in Latinx studies in the United States provided the footprints for a grounded critical turn in cultural studies. Anzaldúa (1987) went on to draw from her own experiences as a queer woman of colour to examine how race, gender, sexuality, and disability operate as structures of domination that affect different parts of her body. Lugones (2003) and Hames-Garcia (2011) build from this work to highlight the intersections of oppressions that do not reside in one body alone. This was an implicit argument Anzaldúa made but because she drew from her own experiences, her argument was limited and needed elaboration. Chávez (2013) advocates for a similar politic that considers how time and space factor into coalition making practices of groups whose interests may not always be aligned. Chávez (ibid) examines queer and migration activists whose interests were not always aligned but formed temporal coalitions based on complimentary advocacy needs. Political constructs, such as the figure of the migrant or the queer, may carve different routes based on individual needs but the possibility for politics of coalition is always there. Bodies that experience multiple oppressions highlight the need for such coalitions, but there is also a need for critical praxis to advocate for a multi-organ analytic that does not have to articulate one coherent body in the power-oppression symbiosis.

There are multiple pathways to arrive at the multi-organ, non-unified body critique, even within Latinx studies in the United States. The overview I provide advocates for methodological principles that concern the complex terrains of working through migration and identity politics from a perspective of spatial spectrality. This overview also features a critique developed by Latinx scholars about Latinx culture. This is my entry point into this project's methodology. My argument is not that non-Latinxs cannot study Latinx culture; I am, rather, arguing that my relationship to research site and group is different in considerable ways. My understanding of cultural symbols and their values, exchange methods, and exchange value is more intimate than non-Latinx researchers. This is not a

rule that requires an exception for even in difference (by way of national, regional nuances, etc.), I am part of Latinidad before, during, and after my fieldwork. At the very least, there are grounds of commonality from which to draw so as to make possible more intimate connections. This also means that my sense of commitment and ethics are configured from a different position, and, for me, this makes a difference in the ethnographic depiction drawn from data I gathered during fieldwork. These methodological principles allow for the exploration of multiple and simultaneous iterations of Latinidad, as well as to the differences in the production, experience, contestation, and mobilisation of migrant precarity and charity work in London. As someone who is enmeshed in the dynamics of the research site, my use of this ethnographic method is most appropriate because, for me, the particular research findings that negotiate the private and the public, the intimate and the social could not be produced any other way.

My understanding of positionality does not refer to a static singular position in relation to structures of power; this is a matter of spatial spectrality highlighting the ways in which identity and subjectivity signify difference and deferral, always in the process of construction and destruction. Thus, laying claim to the identity of a queer Latino migrant living in precarious conditions in London is not an effort to articulate a non-mobile and solidified entity that is the pinnacle of my existence. In this research process, I am more interested in exploring the politicised reasons for this claim and how they affect the methodology of this project. For me, migrant precarity is an embodied experience that is configured across temporal and spatial scales where the levels of privilege and marginality vary depending on a myriad of factors ranging from the micro- to the macro- economic, social, cultural, and political. I have had the privilege of attending one of the most influential universities in the world. LSE fully funded me for the first three years, and I had access to a wealth of resources that are and continue to alter my sense of the world in radical, beautiful, and violent ways. But six months after starting this research programme, I was diagnosed with a condition called Fibrillary Glomerulonephritis. It is the effect of an autoimmune disorder that 'thinks' my kidneys are foreign organs and so it begins to attack them. The kidneys begin to discard protein necessary for my blood which makes my body exert itself, raising my blood pressure and cholesterol and uric acid levels to double the standard recommended for someone with my bio-characteristics. The most common

prognosis for this condition is end stage renal failure which may take two to five years depending on the effectivity of the treatment.

My treatment consists of eight different medications including steroids and other immunosuppressants. The side effects vary and while there are good days and bad days, my bones often hurt from the inside, my nerves feel exposed, and my levels of focus and concentration are sometimes ephemeral. My physical and psychological states often feel unstable, precarious in the same sense as my research context: multiple, concurrent, disoriented yet all remain embodied modes of pain, precise in their reaction and production of internal and external factors to my body, to my kidney. This experience influenced every aspect of my research context and fieldwork including spectrality, charity work, Latinidad, etc. Having to negotiate this lifelong condition, physically and psychologically, is what led me to knock on the doors of the charities with which I worked, especially CASA and LADPP. I sought a sense of refuge and familiarity that was not possible in my academic environment, not at that time, at least. For me, the research questions I produced during the course of this research project signified a method to contextualise violence outside my own body and in relation to the structures which sought its destruction, its disappearance.

The immediate prospect of my own death, my own spectres, required a level of engagement with the world that asked these existential questions about spectrality. My academic discipline required philosophical questions about space. My fieldwork required a sense of connection to my fellow charity users and volunteers beyond Latinidad, beyond questions of identity formation and onto questions of subjectivity, or structures that shaped our experiences in the city, especially urban borders, or technologies which limited our quality of life in urban spaces. Spatial spectrality became a way of understanding subjects that have been 'spectralised', made (to feel) absent through discursive and material conditions. I understood these structural conditions that my fellow Latinx charity users and volunteers experience as spectral insofar as they sought to define our subjectivised experiences in London. I carried this experience onto fieldwork not as a way of imposing my own experience but as an embodied and intimate starting point for an ethnographic method that sought to understand different relationships other Latinx migrants have to spectrality, as well as how charity work factors into these dynamics. There are different

modes of understanding and experiencing migration and charity work; through this ethnography, I seek to draw out the differences and commonalities in these experiences that Latinxs negotiate. The next section outlines the methods and specific steps carried out during fieldwork.

4.4 Ethnographic work and the archives

An urban ethnographic method allows ample room to explore the relationship between migration and charity and how they negotiate spectrality as experienced by Latinx users and volunteers of small charity organisations in London. The two primary modes of conducting this ethnographic work were participant observation and in-depth interviews. These methods turned out to be the best way to draw links between theory and evidence while taking into account the practical considerations for my project: time, energy, and resources. In what follows, I detail my data collection activities.

The ethnography consisted of two primary components which included participant observation and in-depth interviews. Participant observation is often thought of as the core component of ethnography, or the 'art of ethnography' (Burawoy *et al.*, 1991; Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont, 2007; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). However, to do participant observation does not mean to do ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 3). The more contemporary understanding of ethnography is that it signals a paradigm, or an ethnographic attitude, as opposed to participant observation which is thought of one of the core methods under this paradigm (Flick, 2009; DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). For Malinowski (1961 [1922]: 7-8), participant observation included immersing himself into the lifeworld of the research participant's lived geography of the everyday. In his book, '*In search of respect: Selling crack in el barrio*', Bourgois (2002) sought a more intimate relationship with his research participants (dealers and addicts), and he went on to record conversations and life histories, as well as visiting their families, and attending parties and intimate reunions. Guided by Fetterman (1998), the in-depth interview portion of my research included identifying key informants that could contextualise and reflect on their own life experiences and could comment on broader structural concerns. These interviews

formed of open-ended questions seeking biographical information, life and family histories, myths, superstitions and gossip.

As detailed in Chapter 1, my preliminary research activities put me in close contact with 28 research participants. In March 2015, I stopped volunteering for LADPP to focus on writing the required documents to upgrade to PhD candidacy. On 30 June 2015, I upgraded successfully and started doing fieldwork immediately the following day. I had organised several reunion types of social events for my more extroverted participants and more intimate meetings with those who were more introverted. I tried to volunteer for LADPP once again, but they said they did not have any openings available. This prompted me to begin seeking out students for my English language courses. Catrina, an introverted yet well-connected volunteer I met at LADPP, distributed my information to various key people in her networks and I started meeting with people who were interested in taking my courses. I knew I could commit to providing two classes per week, two hours each, but I did not know what level or levels were necessary, so I began to meet with people that weekend at the LSE, cafes, and the E&C Shopping Centre.

Overall, I met with 15 possible students over the course of a week, two of them were teenagers whose mother brought them to see if I would tutor them privately and free of charge; teenagers were a demographic outside my research focus, and this required more ethics training and review, so I did not pursue working with them. Three of the possible students, including the teenagers' mother, had schedule conflicts and could not attend the classes. A Latina woman wanted one-on-one intermediate Business English courses, free of charge, I declined working with her altogether because she had never used the services of a charity organisation nor volunteered for one. Another possible student went on to participate in my research but in relation to another research activity. My key focus was Latinx charity users and volunteers. After assessing their needs, I ended up with 9 students for my two classes, five in my beginner's English course and four in my intermediate course. The beginner's class met on Tuesdays from 7-9PM and the intermediate class met on Thursdays from 3-5PM; these courses ran from 14 July 2015 to 17 December 2015. Catrina was the only student with whom I had previously worked. Around the same time, I also met with a member of the Voluntary Action History Society to ask about archival

data and other leads to survey histories of charity work in London. I also contacted National Council of Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) research department and eventually, on 15 July 2015, I was granted access to their library that helped to provide resources to research further the structural relationship charity and migration on a national level, so as to get a sense of the story I needed to tell from multiple angles.

In mid-July 2015, I was introduced to Claudio, charity volunteer and organiser of several Latinx social groups including Encuentros Latinoamericanos, Café Filosofico, and Centre for Latin American Identity (CLI). CLI often worked with Latin American House (LAH) to organise cultural and pedagogical events about Latinidad. From mid-July 2015 to March 2016, I attended the majority of the events organised through these social groups; from September 2015 onwards, I helped to organise and keep minutes for the organisational meetings. During this time, Aneka, a British-Spanish volunteer, and myself were Claudio's voluntary assistant organisers for all of the events that were co-organised with LAH. These activities helped me to meet other Latinx charity users and volunteers, not all of whom lived in precarious conditions but attended the events without feeling as if they were accessing charity services despite the resources necessary to plan and carry out these events.

In late July and early August 2015, I scheduled several visits to London Metropolitan Archives and Trust for London. Trust for London does not maintain an official archive, per se, but they do keep several records in-house, and after explaining my research project, I was granted access to their annual records. I scheduled three days to visit the London Metropolitan Archives. The first visit on 29 July 2015 was to explore random documents using the keywords: migration, charity, race/ethnicity, precarity, philanthropy, and Latin American. After perusing through the documents in their catalogues, I made a list of the most interesting and related titles and wrote out blurbs of their abstracts. It was only when I was leaving that I found out this work could have been done online, but there was something genuinely pleasurable about being in such a space; the theme of the spectre was continuing to call me. When I returned on the 3rd and 4th August 2015, I had narrowed down the list of the documents I wanted to check out; I spent both days taking pictures of these documents. I did not return to these documents until September 2015 when I

organised them by name and dates and began adding them to the NVivo data analysis software for the purposes of digital analysis.

Also, in late July 2015, I began working with TEUK, a registered charity focusing on delivering mental health services primarily through counselling, group therapy, self-help, and self-esteem workshops, seminars, and social events. Gabriela, a charity volunteer whom I became close friend from CASA, volunteered for this organisation as a youth counsellor, and during one of my purposeful social visits to the location of the charity close to E&C, I was invited to participate in group therapy sessions every Saturday morning. I attended for several sessions but quickly grew discontent with their approach to therapy and their overemphasis on self-help and willpower without discussions of the political. This reflected more of a personal stance and critique against psychotherapy and their uncritical focus on the individual. While I discontinued my relationship to them as a service user, I remained in close contact with the lead administrators volunteering to help with editing of their informational material, creating and formatting flyers for events, providing feedback on presentations, and proofreading for English grammar and syntax. This helped me stay informed about news and events around mental health, charity work, and Latinxs in London.

In early August, I was invited to participate in a focus group about Latin American men's sexual health in Lambeth, Southwark, and Lewisham (either residents or people who frequent this area). I did not take notes for this particular focus group because I did not ask for permission; I was personally interested in the study which was being conducted by consultants for the NHS with the help of local charities that worked with 'niche' groups, in this case the charity was IRMO and the niche group was 'Latin Americans'. During the meeting, I saw a couple of familiar faces; one of the guys was a possible student who wanted to attend my English classes and we had met for coffee so I could evaluate his English levels and let him know the schedule of classes. He ended up finding a job and not taking the classes due to a schedule conflict. The other person is a regular charity user. There were a variety of sociological points that are worthy of mentioning considering that it is public information: together, the boroughs mentioned above had the highest rates of HIV infections in Europe (Granada and Paccoud, 2014). Incidentally, these three boroughs

are the ones where most Latinxs reside. I became friends with Jay, my would-be student who was one of the two Afro-Latinx research participants from Honduras who introduced me to a group of Brazilians with whom he attended IRMO for English classes. Because they were charity users, I attach myself to them and begin to socialise with them and conduct participant observations of their experiences.

My English classes were well on their way I gathered a healthy group of people; attendance in my classes fluctuated between 3 to 7 students per class, as some students would bring their friends and co-workers. I would email them the PowerPoint presentation I was going to use for the class but only a couple of students managed to print it out. To those that did not print it out I told them to go to one of the charities to print out the material. When I first interviewed my students, I did not ask which charities they had previously used or volunteered for, only about how they had heard about me and confirmed that they had used or volunteered for a charity in London currently or in recent prior years. It was mostly word of mouth: Catrina, my key contact at LADPP passed on my phone number to them and so on. Futuro Latino Americano (FULA)[22] users did not know of IRMO, IRMO users did not know of LAWRS, so there was a bit of a disconnect. The information sharing moment was insightful—this is how connections are made, this is how they come to know of other charities that provide services for Latinxs in London.

One of the most important observations I made was during one of the early class sessions in August was how rumours about charities get started. One of my students who had not used charity services in the past began to tell others that he had heard that IRMO charges for everything, including the prints I was asking them to make. My first instinct is to defend the charities and say something like: 'yeah but they are experiencing budget cuts as well so it's not really their fault that they're doing this'. I realised that my defence is not necessary, I reflected on how I need to let these moments flourish for they speak of perceptions charity users or nonusers have of the organisations, how knowledge gets transferred: amongst Latinxs, we call it *chisme*, the closest translation is gossip but there's a different element of sociality that this word has in its meaning (see Moreman (2009) for

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[22] Most of the elderly women whom I worked with in my English courses came from FULA, a programme for elderly folks organised by AGE UK in Southwark.

a discussion about the importance of *chisme* in Latinx socialities). Beyond elements of sociality I was interested in how charities are perceived and what that means for the organisation and their services. There was a gender division as well in terms of opinion; the men in the room seem to have a negative view of charities whereas in women think that without them you cannot create the networks to find a job or a home in London. These are kinds of differences that emerge during side conversations or conversations during class breaks.

Jay, from the men's sexual health study, called me and invites me to the Brazilian festival. I wanted to go but was considering dropping Brazilians from my study as I was having a hard time making contact with any of them. This was a prevalent theme around the Latinx charities with which I worked: many claimed to service the needs of Brazilians but only a few employed Brazilians and people who spoke Portuguese. I met 'The Brazilians' at the Brazilian festival held on the 8th August 2015. They reminded me of home. The day reminded me of home, or a sense of home in memory. The day was hot and new friends were being made and research participants recruited. The mood is carnivalesque, albeit in a conservative form from the televised versions one might see. The group I met is made up of three Brazilian women, one mother and daughter and the other their close friend. Over the next couple of months, they became my close informants who taught me much about labour and housing conditions in London. There are other people in the group of three young men and one young woman from different countries like Spain, Colombia, Honduras, and Chile. I call them The Brazilians because the three women act as organisers of social events and go-to people in case anyone needs help. Unfortunately, our little group disbanded in early October when the mother had to go back to Brazil due to her own mother dealing with health problems; her daughter stayed behind to work and send her money.

I took many pictures of the Brazilian festival. Jay was not into the mood for the Brazilian aesthetics; they were playing regional country music that was not to his liking. A few of us ended up going to another 'Latino' festival taking place in Southwark in a park close to E&C. It struck me that there were two separate events. In some ways it was no surprise seeing as Brazilians do not understand themselves as Latin American. But from

an organisational standpoint both events could have benefitted from organising on separate days so as to draw those connections that are vital in building a sense of solidarity and communal identity. The 'Latino' festival is fairly small compared to the Brazilian festival. None of the Latin American charities attend the festivals to pass out information or things of the likes. It is a cultural event not necessarily for Latinxs or Brazilians and even though we are there I get the sense of being watched or being the cultural object observed and consumed. There is a lot of laughter that is generated from this particular sentiment which is shared amongst the group; we exaggerate Latinidad (including 'Brazilianness') and poke fun at our perceived gawkers. There are many British appearing people walking around and dancing awkwardly; we dance and look at one another with secret smiles looking at the 'foreigners'' lack of rhythm in this particular space. There are various moments of the likes that I noted in both festivals.

I forged a comfortable bond with this group. They added me to their social group on WhatsApp where we shared stories about our lives and planned social events. I came to know more about their lives and shared stories of my own in the process. They all worked in the cleaning industry except for the mom and daughter. The mom worked as a babysitter at night and the daughter works for a local tech firm. They came to London to work via social networks. The mom suffered cancer and went through chemo treatment when her daughter was a teenager which caused her to miss a year of school. During that year the daughter taught herself English and handled home finances as well as cooked for her older brother (whom I never met, only saw in pictures). I bring this up because she tells me that during this time, they sought the help from charities but did not find the 'Latinx charities' welcoming, nor did they find their services all that informative. They had trouble with housing and struggled to eat since the mom was unemployed, going through treatment, and at the time undocumented though in the process of legalisation.

The other Brazilian woman, their friend, came to London for the same reasons: seeking employment after the economic downturn. She found them after several instances of being ripped off, sexually harassed, and stalked by a Brazilian man who helped her come to London. She was about to be homeless and through a family friend she moved in with them before returning to Spain where she worked for a few years before returning to

London again to help her brother obtain British documents. Her brother and her husband both ended up leaving her behind in London in the same week and she was practically homeless but once more she moved in with the mom and daughter. Her experience with sexual harassment and stalking were quite serious—life threatening and while she knew of LAWRS she didn't feel welcomed there as her perception was that they only deal with Latin American women 'and she is Brazilian'. LAWRS is one of the few organisations, however, that does provide services in Portuguese without paying lip service to this group as if they actually catered to their social welfare needs.

In one of her struggles with her stalker, she injured her hand and received limited treatment during her time in Spain. She worked as a cleaner in London making £8 per hour but she was a private contractor so while she makes more than the other people in this group, she may not necessarily work as many hours. When I met her, she was already experiencing pain in that same arm she had previously been injured. Her cleaning work was heavy, and she began to see the effects of that in her arm. Her job opportunities slowed down some and she began searching for other work; I helped with her CV to no avail—not for the lack of offers but for the lack of decent opportunities. She had customer service experience in a bank, but her English was early intermediate; I tried to help but the common truth of my classes is that they were not successful for the simple reason the energy to learn was quite low after work and travel; interest was there but often my students struggled with simple concepts regardless of what approach I took to my teaching. To clarify, these courses were not successful in advancing to the next level.

I tried to help her access benefits as she went to IRMO to get information. When we went to a local non-Latinx charity to ask about the requirements and application process for benefits. She was searching for an opportunity like the one she heard about in Scotland from a friend; they provide migrants with a living stipend to go to school full time and learn English. I eventually found out that she will not claim any benefits because she does not have an address where she can do so—benefits are tied to a specific address, and the mom and daughter are receiving housing benefits. They do not report any lodgers even though they have a responsibility to do so—I did not check on these kinds of laws until later after the group is dispersed. Her financial situation becomes so dire that she ends up

owing them for September's rent and while she is desperate to go back home to Spain but cannot afford the ticket back home considering her husband left her with their cat here when they separated. Eventually she reached out to her 'not-yet-divorced husband' after she experienced acute pain in her arm. He came but charged her the little money she had saved up to take her back home. I highlight her story because it showcases the kinds of hardships faced by migrant women and some of the exclusions Brazilians face in the Latin American charity sector. Brazilian charities that only work with the Brazilian population are few in London despite Brazilians being the largest South American populations in London.

In this group I came to know a young Colombian woman who has been victim of human trafficking. I use this categorisation to describe her experience after talking to LAWRS about her case anonymously. As far as I know she did not view herself in this way. She came to the UK in 2014 when she was 18 years old. Her mom brought her here so she could marry her boss, so as to speed up her legalisation process, or perhaps start it. The details of her situation are murky as the story was told to me in the course of my 'hanging out' with them. Whenever she confided in me the focus was the emotionality of the experience; probing into specifics felt insensitive. There was group bonding that forged a sense of trust and without the group that trust was less solid. I cannot say for sure whether they were married or not but whatever their arrangement, she made do out of this situation. She said she was free to date other people if she pleased, that her mom no longer had a say in their relationship, that she stayed with him so she could help her mom, and that she could talk to him whatever way she wants (and she did—I saw them interact once: she was assertive and resolute in her demands). I asked her once if she felt trapped; her way of understanding her experience is that we all face tough situations and do our best in the face of hardships.

This was a tough situation to negotiate not just in terms of my responsibilities as a researcher but also especially in terms of being her friend. I went to LAWRS to talk with a friend who works there, they work on women's issues and are familiar with human trafficking cases. I told them about my friend's story, as I knew it, and in their opinion, this is a human trafficking story—a parent abusing their power position (this is strong in the

Latin American context) for self-gain regardless of whatever frame they use to influence decisions. While my friend was technically an adult, such intimate power relations are not measured in years lived. While my friend may get her way in many aspects of the relationship with this man, the bottom line remains that she remains in a vulnerable position. Because she was technically an adult, the best I could do is to let her know that organisations like LAWRS exist and that she could go talk with them without any pressure, even if just to know about her rights. If she were to decide to leave this situation and seek asylum in the UK, the odds would not be in her favour. My friend at LAWRS tells me she'll likely be deported to her home country. The specifics of the legal system are something I will have to follow up on for a different research project, but this highlights the different roles some charities can play in cases where violence is not so clear cut and there are tricky negotiations that must be made.

Jay left our social group at the end of August. I watched him go into a downward spiral of depression that he could not shake off. I referred him to TEUK, and he told me he reached out to them but felt like his conversations over the phone were too impersonal to build any kind of trust, or even build up the courage to go talk to them in person. This highlights the limits of the work and medium this charity employs to provide services. It also highlights that for these kinds of services, the subject seeking these services needs to be ready. I do not think Jay was in such position. He worked too much and did not have the time to process some of the emotions he was going through. He was relatively new to London; he had been here for three months when I met him. As a gay man he expected to have time to enjoy the nightlife and do a bit more socialising, a kind of cruel queer optimism of market induced desires which could not deliver in their promise for he did not have the resources (Berlant, 2005). He worked so much and did not have time for any of the things he thought of as a gay life in the city. He used to clean toilets in an office building so he would often tell really disgusting stories. In some ways I got the sense he resented that we were one of the very few social outlets he had, and even that was mostly done through WhatsApp during his breaks at work. Perhaps he expected a more comfortable lifestyle, like the one he was used to at home in Honduras. Although in retrospect I feel like we pushed him to be more positive when what he really needed was to be depressed and accepted. These are group dynamics I found to be replicated across the charity sector,

especially in the mental health industry. The '*echa palante*' (move forward) attitude is an impulse that is pushed onto people without necessarily building the process or ritual to get there, if indeed one needs to 'get there', wherever 'there' may be.

The last bit of fieldwork were the interviews I conducted of research participants from a project I worked on with Latin Elephant documenting the uses and meanings local residents and users attached to E&C Shopping Centre. This project and its findings are detailed further in Chapter 6. But for this section I wanted to provide snippet of my field work in terms of participant observation from an immersive perspective. The overall number of research participants with whom I came in contact was 76; the number of people with whom I had close relationships during different stages of my research was 33 (9 from my English classes; 4 from Encuentros Latinoamericanos, Café Filosofico and CLI; 5 from TEUK; 6 from the 'Brazilians' group; and 9 from My Latin Elephant Project); the number of interviews I conducted and transcribed was 52 with 52 different research participants. The most consistent group with whom I was in contact were the two English classes; the most intense contact was with 'Brazilians'; the most collaborative experiences were CLI and the Latin Elephant project. Equally as important were my networks from CASA and TEUK.

In terms of anonymity, every one of the participants whom I interviewed was asked if they wanted to remain anonymous. Most charity workers in administrative roles chose to disclose their identities but there were key moments when the information they provided implicated other workers or other charities that they did not represent, or when they expressed views that were more personal rather than organisational. All of my research participants who were service users or volunteers of charities were anonymised except for Claudio and Aneka from CLI; this was their personal preference to make sure their work as community organisers was recognised. For my fellow research participants of My Latin Elephant project, all of the people whom I interviewed chose not to be anonymised unless the information they provided involved another member of the group and based not their own experiences (this was a more nuanced decision that differed from us all choosing not to anonymised ourselves for the public project including the photography exhibition and

produced video). The next section outlines some of the data analysis work that was applied to the archival data.

4.5 Data analysis

I applied a standard model of data analysis for the ethnographic data I collected. (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2013) provide a basic model that includes documentation, conceptualisation—theme categorisations, examining relationships, authenticating conclusions, and critical reflexivity. Analysis of the documentation stage included keeping diligent and thorough field notes that were written down as soon as was possible. Field notes included original comments, observations, and feelings when remembered or transcribed from audiotapes. I tried to document first impressions, revisiting these impressions as the research progressed.

All of my fieldwork notes, including flyers, meeting minutes, and other documents I worked on as a volunteer were entered in NVivo to conduct systematic yet holistic data analysis relying more on my memory and its affect rather than an objective reality without context. The process of data analysis was fairly straight forward with NVivo software. From the LMA and Trust for London archives I took pictures of the documents I wanted making sure that I recorded the call number. These pictures were arranged consecutively in the order they were taken so it was easy to organise them per document. They were then placed in chronological order. The same process was used for my field notes and miscellaneous documents. After uploading and organising all these documents, I began to read through each document first highlighting keywords and phrases that came up and going through these keywords or phrases to surmise if I could draw up common themes (nodes) between them. While this sounds like a grounded-theory guided exercise I did have certain preconceptions of what I would find based on the existing literature about migrants around this time.

I did find the socio-economic issues that the current literature documents (labour, housing, and health concerns), but the framing of migrants was a prominent theme, hence my emphasis of this theme presented in chronological order in Chapter 3. From these nodes, three scales emerged: the group, organisation, and the state. The state was more of

a spectral node, something that remained in the background but was deeply influential to the structure not just of one charity but all the charities that I surveyed. The node of the group primarily dealt with their struggles and how they negotiated them, reading these from a spectral analysis, meaning valuing absence in the political context, these practices pointed to two sub-nodes: relieving pressures of the everyday and expanding notions of Latinidad. For the second main note, the organisational scale, the function of charities began to materialise itself not just in the work they did for their charity users and volunteers with whom I worked but broader stories of their work began to emerge when these accounts began to merge with data from their annual reports. The three sub-nodes were recreational, education, and advocacy work; these are three subsections explored in this chapter. Finally, the third node dealing with the state produced many competing stories in terms of which angle to take. Ultimately, I went with government policy as that seemed to address a structural and traditional political economic approach to answer the core thesis question about the relationship between charity and migration in London as well as the socio-economic positionalities engendered in the negotiation of these spatialities.

4.6 Summary

This Chapter describes the urban ethnographic approach I took to examine the relationship between Latinx migrants and small charities in London. I outlined several of the key debates in urban ethnography, described how these debates relate to my theoretical framework, detailed the data collection work including a brief immersive account of a portion of my fieldwork, and finally described my process of data analysis and how I arrived at my empirical findings that helped me organise my Chapters which seek to provide a holistic approach to urban ethnography, one that affirms the connectivity of scales as mobile and spectral elements of space and spatial political arrangements.

Chapter 5: Spatialisation of Latinidad: Becoming Latinx in London

5.1 Introduction

The argument I make in this thesis is that the relationship between Latinxs and small-scale charity organisations in London is intersectional and performative in the sense that political action is induced through their interactions. I propose that Latinidad can be thought of as a spectral subjectivity whose spatialisation is facilitated by charity work. To highlight Latinx migrants as active agents in this spatialisation, this chapter focuses on the group scale, meaning Latinx users and volunteers of charity work, independent of charity organisations. Informed by the extensive work McIlwaine (2008; 2009; 2010; 2012; 2015) and several other scholars (Evans *et al.*, 2007; McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; McIlwaine *et al.*, 2016) have done to provide an overarching picture of the lives of Latinxs in London, this chapter seeks to provide a focused cartography of the lives of Latinxs to highlight the work they do to spatialise spectral Latinidad in London. This chapter focuses on the two most prevalent areas of this work: recreation and education.

In Chapter 3, I outline the literature that describes some of the experiences that I argue make Latinidad a spectral subjectivity (murders resulting from social, and political strife, armed conflicts, forced disappearances, economic injustice, and 'invisibility' in London's lifescapes). In this chapter, I seek to expand this structural metaphor to think about how spectral Latinidad interact with spectres in the city, and how such interaction spatialises their own sense of ethnic subjectivity. There are many spectres in London, some peer through evidently through the spatial arrangements, and the themes I report on this in chapter spawn out of my experiences in working with Latinxs in London.

To spatialise Latinidad, Latinxs undertake two forms of work which are highlighted in this chapter: recreation and education. The argument I illustrate in this chapter is twofold: each form of work 1) relieves pressures they experience in relation to structural inequalities in labour, housing, and health, and 2) allows for Latinxs to negotiate differences amongst one another thus stretching the notion of Latinidad. This contributes

to the broader argument in this thesis that Latinxs contribute to the spatialisation of Latinidad in London.

5.2 Recreational activities relieving pressures

The first form of work I argue Latinxs do to spatialise Latinidad is recreation. While recreation is closely associated with play, not work, I find these distinctions to be unhelpful for this project because both forms of human action are intertwined. (Norbeek, 1974: 1) finds 'troubling' that some societies 'do not distinguish work from play'. He goes on to define play as 'behaviour, resting upon a biologically inherited stimulus or proclivity, that is distinguished by a combination of traits: play is voluntary, somehow pleasurable, distinct temporally from other behaviour, and distinct in having a make-believe or transcendental quality' (ibid.). This definition of play harkens back to what (Lewis, 1973: 590) points out in the field of anthropology and related fields that employ kin methods which is the tendency to, as Norbeek does, ascribe colonial framings of difference as 'troubling'. This colonial frame makes its way into the definition of play as 'voluntary' not acknowledging power disparities that for some post/colonial subjects, as well as other marginalised groups, work is a necessity and not an option. Moreover, this definition also elides the idea that these distinctions are not championed in systems of capital accumulation which, in their goal towards optimisation, seek to capitalise on the productive relationship between work and play (Lyotard, 1979). And if systems of capital accumulation can employ the interplay between these two forms of human action, so, too, can critical scholars use them to produce frames of resistance. For this reason, I find it useful to understand recreation as one of the practices that Latinxs do to spatialise Latinidad.

Although not framed in this way, recreational activities that contribute to the spatialisation of Latinidad have been documented in McIlwaine *et al.* (2016) study on Latinxs cultural consumption in London. Their study is concerned with 'the nature patterns and factors shaping [Latinxs'] cultural consumption [,] the barriers they encountered as consumers and producers of the performing arts [,] and the role of the performing arts and cultural consumption more generally in identity formation and integration processes' (McIlwaine *et al.*, 2016: 4). They go on to list lack of time and expense as major barriers

and language as a minor barrier (McIlwaine *et al.*, 2016: 42). This study is useful for my purposes but in this section, I report on cultural consumption and the performing arts but also widen the net to include recreational activities in different spaces such as two festivals, a restaurant, a museum exhibit, a sauna, a casino, and a shopping centre[23]. In this vein, I expand on the barriers Latinxs experience before highlighting how 1) they use recreational activities to relieve pressures of the everyday and 2) negotiate tensions to expand notions of Latinidad.

Latinxs experience different kinds of barriers because of structural conditions in the city. As noted in the previous chapter, (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 31-2) report that they are a population that is more deprived than the average in London and England & Wales. This information was gathered from the Census 2011 data on deprivation of different populations; such index measures education, employment, health and disability, and housing. Housing was one area which Latinxs suffered significantly more than the average (average: 13%; Latinxs: 40%) (ibid). The same report notes that employment rates are as high as 70% (ibid) while the *NLI* report notes that they work in 'poor and exploitative conditions' (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011: 8). On health, the *NLI* report notes that there is a 'high level of exclusion from public health services' with 40% turning to private health care which is 'linked with dissatisfaction with the NHS and language barriers' (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011: 99-101). In terms of education, half of Latinxs have attained higher education degrees from their home countries but such degrees are not recognised in Britain. These are the experiences that characterise the structural inequalities that Latinxs face in every facet of their lives, especially when engaging in recreational activities that are meant to relieve pressures of the everyday.

5.2.1 Relieving pressures of the everyday

Festivals are space-times where Latinxs relieved pressures of the everyday; this was evident in two festivals, Brazil Day 2015 and Plaza Latina that I attended with several research participants on Saturday 8 August 2015. The Brazil Day festival was held at

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[23] Theatre going was amongst the recreational activities but the ones I attended were organised by a charity and I report on those in Chapter 6.

Trafalgar Square; it was meant to be a celebration of the first time the Olympic and Paralympic Games were to be hosted in South America a year later. The event was well attended, with Brazilian flag colours everywhere, people singing, dancing, playing, and audiencing live acts on the main stage between the Landseer's Lions and in front of Nelson's Column. The second event, Plaza Latina, was a much smaller festival at Nursery Row Park in Walworth. The visible colours were overwhelmingly Colombian, as was the music and perceivably, the attendants, who wore Colombian national football team gear.

The group with whom I attended was made up of Jay, Dolores, Tara, Jordi, Sofia, and Soledad; all but Sofia and Soledad were classmates at an English language course offered by a local charity. Jay is Honduran, Tara is Colombian, Dolores, Sofia, and Soledad are Brazilian, and Jordi is Spanish; all are in their early 20s to early 30s except for Soledad who is in her late 50s and worked in the cleaning and service sector. As a group, the difficulties they faced fall along the same lines as the ones in the *NLI* report, these include language difficulties in navigating official institutions in the city, workplace abuse and exploitation, shifting or unstable immigration status, living in overcrowded conditions, and difficulties in upward mobility (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011: 119). The major difference I found is that gender was a major factor in exploitation in labour and housing conditions where poor migrant women were especially vulnerable. Of course, this should come as no surprise because, as (Massey, 1991: 26) points out, vulnerability to sexual exploitation is constant when power is relative.

Discussion of relief from these pressures during these two festivals requires a focus on emotion and the body. My research participants often used dancing to cope with stress and work towards a state of mind that allowed them to step out of their emotions which included anger, resentment, sadness, loneliness, desperation, anxiety, and fear. In a more abstract way, as Rivera-Servera (2003: 5) argues, 'Latino dance practices negotiate globalization through the production of embodied notions of community across borders and diasporic locations'. Negotiating globalisation, in this instance, is evident in the cohabitation and celebration of a trans-national/continental, intercultural, and intergenerational group finding commonality in their emotional states and their drive towards relief. Either while dancing or during conversation one or more of the research

participants expressed feeling a certain way and would offer dancing a way to '*sacar el diablo'* (double meaning: purge the devil, or bring out the devil [as in, to play]; in the context of this thesis it can also mean conjuring the devil). These two festivals were not unique in that regard, dancing was a common go-to recreational activity during my fieldwork.

As an overarching observation, I found that dancing, for Latinxs, was a way of being in the body as a method of escaping spectrality, or, in this case, the condition of migrants factoring uniformly in a binary system of either being a benefit to or a beneficiary of the host nation-state—or what is traditionally termed, the 'immigration debate'. Perhaps this embodiment which can be likened to carnivalesque resistance, can be critiqued, as (Eco, Ivanov and Rector, 1984: 6) notes, as a state-sanctioned system of control in which people merely relieve pressures of the everyday without addressing structural inequalities. The case for such an argument is bolstered when noting that Brazil Day was meant to celebrate the Olympics which as Bringel (2016) notes, served as a symbol of wide discontent amongst Brazilians as evidenced in the nationwide protests in Brazil around the same time.

This line of argument privileges macroscales where these events are framed as technologies for the sustainability of the structural pressures they are meant to relieve. The microscale, in this case the body in rhythmic motion, does not factor as an important site of resistance. And while I am not arguing against the notion that macrostructures practice nuance and overt forms of control, it is important to heed Massey (2005) call to imagine space as consisting of interrelationality, multiplicity, and potentiality: in this case, this means that the trajectories of each scale do not necessarily have to be pitted up against one another; when it comes to resistance and domination the options are not 'either/or'; rather they are 'both/and'. Dancing, then, as experienced by my research participants, was an exercise of agency afforded by the body as a form of relief caused by the structural conditions they experienced in their everyday lives.

Restaurants are also recreational spaces where Latinxs relieve pressures of the everyday. One example comes from a visit I made to Sabor Peruano in Elephant & Castle with Catrina, a user and volunteer of various charity organisations. Before coming to

London, she migrated to Italy with her children where she worked, informally, as a carer for elderly and disabled people. Catrina[24] is in her early 60s, works part-time as a cleaner in the City, and takes an early morning (3:30AM) bus to work to avoid the overcrowded night bus half an hour later taking other cleaners to central London. As an elderly woman, she worries about a time when she can no longer work and must rely on her children who also work in the service industry. Speaking of how this situation makes her feel, she says:

> 'Well, I won't lie to you, yes, I get very nervous, but well, what can one do? What will pass will come. And in the meanwhile, one can eat a little plate of delicious and authentic ceviche, it's good to cure anxiety, nostalgia, whatever, for the meantime' (Catrina, 15 Sep 2015).

For Catrina, anxiety and nostalgia are mingled emotions that she seeks to 'cure' with 'authentic' food from her homelands. This search for authenticity was a common theme amongst other Latinxs in efforts to get a little taste of home.

Das Graças Brightwell (2012: 70) documents similar cases and argues that Latin American food in London, in her case Brazilian food, become commodities whose currency value is determined by spectres of authenticity—nostalgia and longing for a sense of home (away from home). The commodification rests on this notion of 'home', an unhinged construct which, as Derrida (1999: 70-71) points out, gains its stability based on conditions that allow for its maintenance and sustainability. In Catrina's case, the anxiety induced by her situation seems to intensify her nostalgia, a sickness for which she seeks a cure, a home that she can build and sustain in her later years. All this comes at a cost— physical, mental, and economic. She is medically obese, feels an overall sense of depression, and spends a significant portion of her income on restaurants such as Sabor Peruano. Despite these factors, she feels like she engages in a form of tangible resistance

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[24] Catrina was a key figure in connecting me with other FULA members. FULA was primarily a social (recreational) group for elderly Latin Americans which was organised by AGE UK in Southwark, as previously mentioned. FULA members often used the services of another charity called The Latin American Golden Years Day Centre (LAGYDC) in Lambeth, especially attending the dances they organised at the Royal Festival Hall on Friday nights. The participants were associated with the latter charity more so than the former, but there was clearly some crossover. To reiterate, this section focuses on the recreational work users and volunteers do on their own outside of these charities, which is the topic of the next Chapter. I did not work with any administrators of LAGYDC.

that she can taste in the 'delicious' flavours of her homeland's unique cuisine. She relies on spectres that are as real as she makes them, an investment in a fantasy necessary for survival, for her own spatialisation. The investment in the fantasy of authenticity here cannot be understated for it goes against philosophical underpinnings of postmodernist and even poststructuralist thinking that authenticity does not exist (Massey, 2005: 67). To be clear, I am not arguing against this notion, rather I am arguing that investment in this fantasy, and there are many narrative fantasies, is crucial for the survival of marginalised subjects.

An unexpected space where I found Latinxs to relieve pressures of the everyday was a gym close to the LSE. This example is an extraordinary one meaning it falls outside the mean of any reported statistics on Latinxs in London, but as a variant case, it encompasses and magnifies many of the emotional states pertaining to inequalities in housing, labour, and health (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). This gym is used by various service workers, Latinxs and otherwise, between jobs, either as a place for exercise or relaxation—it has a sauna, steam room, pool, and lounge chairs.

For a homeless man I nicknamed Red, the gym also served as a place to sleep during the day while he worked at night and spent the early hours of the morning sleeping rough on the streets. Red is a Mexican man in his early 40s with French citizenship gained through ancestry rights. He worked as a kitchen porter but relied on charities for several purposes including necessities such as food, mailing address, clothes, washing clothes, and toiletries. His experience with homelessness was chronic (2+ years when I met him) much due to his self-diagnosed gambling addiction, and he worked formally so his reported income disqualified him from help from any council or charity. He claimed, however, that his income was not enough to pay for rent, transportation, food, and other necessities. He joined the gym to have a safe place to rest during the day and would often meet people in the pool area. In our interactions, Red confessed to being severely depressed, riddled with anxieties, constant disorientation, fear, and fatigue.

The networks that Red has built over his years of being homeless are vital to his survival. In the United States, (Molina-Jackson, 2008: 88) documents the important role

that social networks play in the daily survival of African American and Latinx homeless men, information about work, charity services, avoiding arrest and deportation, and recreational activities free of charge. Red reports a similar role for the networks he has built over his years of being homeless:

> 'It's easy to live in the streets. We help each other a lot when we can, especially with jobs. I know many that work in this area, like kitchen porters, servers, everything. And well in the sauna I also know many people that are not in this situation but that do have good information. And well it's safe there, I can come and go whenever I want and almost always, I will find someone I know, and if they don't speak Spanish, I will try to speak with them with my broken English' (Red, 11 Oct 2015).

Red found in the pool area a safe place to rest and develop his network of people (Latinx and others, homeless and otherwise) that helped him in different situations, including finding jobs. In the time that I knew him, Red had many jobs; he would work intensely for a certain time, gamble his earnings away, and return to the gym tired and depressed. When he developed a hiatal hernia, and ruptured it at work lifting heavy boxes, his network found him medical help and helped him file a worker injury claim. He was deported before his claim was heard in court; he was caught up in an immigration raid on rough sleepers and was deported to France. These immigration raids continue to be part of Theresa May's 'hostile environment' policy which makes it easier for European citizens who are found to be sleeping rough, even for just one night, to be arrested and deported (Corporate Watch, 2016: 9). This policy was enforced by Home Office 'Immigration Compliance and Enforcement' (ICE) teams and were aided by several outreach teams from charities such as St Mungo's, Thames Reach, and Change, Grow, Live (CGL) (ibid.).

Overall, the immediacy of Red's experiences intensified many of the similar emotions other Latinxs in London experienced in relation to housing, health, and labour issues. The gym served as a recreational space to relieve stress and forge networks that were key to his survival during his time in London. Relieving stress and forging networks, however, are all limited in the scope of the strategies ICE employs to target this group of people. That certain charities that are meant to work towards helping this group of people

only serves to further entrench their marginalisation. This contributes to an overarching discourse of criminalising rough sleepers specifically and poverty at large. This concerns Latinxs in London, users and volunteers of charities or otherwise, because many experience related forms of discursive and material targeted discrimination, as evidenced by their intertwined emotional states.

In this section, I have described some of the recreational practices and spaces Latinxs use to relieve pressures of the everyday which are induced by broader structural conditions surrounding housing, health, and labour. These practices form part of a broader narrative about recreation as one form of work that spatialises Latinidad in London. The underlying theme is one that speaks to an age-old debate about structure vs agency: the relief of emotion vs. the forces that induce these emotions. I do not propose a simple answer to this debate; I am merely arguing that these practices are vital to the psychic and material health of Latinxs in London. There is no doubt dancing, eating, resting, and other recreational activities are commercialised in one way or another; or that they are organised in a way that makes the subjects that participate in such activities part of a broader narrative in which they do not envision themselves playing being a part (i.e., by attending Brazil Day 2015, Brazilians were not necessarily celebrating the Olympics). This, however, does not mean that Latinxs participate in activities without any sense of criticality. Again, following the work of Muñoz (2009), 'either/or' categories of reading and writing upon the world limit the potentialities of space and the formation of political subjectivities within such a force.

This section has presented one of the reasons I argue that Latinxs participate in the spatialisation of their own subjectivities, meaning they are not passive agents. This spatialisation is happening despite the difficulties they face in a 'hostile' structure, signifying immigration policies that criminalise poverty, a common experience amongst Latinxs. This goes beyond the simple rhetoric that 'migrants contribute', a common slogan found in campaigns to which even migrant related charities contribute. Recreational practices allow for Latinxs to find commonalities across real and imagined borders, negotiate globalisation through embodied experiences, create a sense of home through food, and overall, forge networks that produce and consume a sense of space and complex

ethnic subjectivity. Beyond helping in their survival, recreational activities also help Latinxs expand notions of Latinidad, as explored in the next section.

5.2.2 Expanding notions of Latinidad

As a cultural subjectivity, Latinidad encompasses a myriad of intersections that are fraught with tension. In London, roots for this tension have been identified as a sense of individualism, jealousy, immigration status, language, nationality, class divisions, political conflicts, disruptions in traditional gender roles, and an overall lack of integration (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011: 106-7). Adding to these, I found tension arising from differences in occupational status, language competencies, and income differences. Most of these tensions stem from a structure where ethnic minority working class migrant workers in London compete with one another and with local populations for what is framed to be limited resources (McIlwaine, 2008: 25; Datta *et al.*, 2009: 119-20). For Latinxs, similar cases have been observed in cities like Los Angeles (Osuna, 2015) and in non-global cities in the United States, such as towns in rural Arkansas (Hallet, 2012), rural Nebraska (Chávez, 2009), Durham, North Carolina (Flippen and Parrado, 2012), and Athens, Georgia (Neal, 2003). As such, recreational events are space-times that allow for networks to be formed; networks which, in turn, negotiate existing tensions and thus stretch notions of Latinidad.

To illustrate this point, I discuss the postcolonial links that bind Latinxs to one another and to the city. I argue that this shared sense of postcolonial subjectivity is not necessarily apparent, recognised, or internalised, but the very production, consumption, performance, and sustainability of Latinidad hinges upon the recognition of these intersections which link different trajectories (lived experiences) of (post)(neo)colonialism. In other words, coming into (post)(neo)colonialism serves to expand notions of Latinidad. The recognition of one's history is part of any subject formation, and so on a more immediate level, Latinxs, McIlwaine *et al.*, find, 'develop a collective identity following migration to London, especially among artists' (2016: 49). Indeed, my research participants came from different nationalities and had different regional identifications within their shared nations (coastal, mountain, urban, rural, and

border). When it came to recreational events, I found that the space in which events took place had a significant meaning for finding ways of negotiating difference and finding commonalities between them.

London, as a postcolonial city (McIlwaine, 2008), is heavy with spectres of its imperial colonialism that are now sites of contestation rather than spaces of hubris as they were intended (Schubert and Sutcliffe, 1996; Driver and Gilbert, 1999; Cherry, 2006). These forms of contestation for meaning are often reflected in the struggles over the use of space; Trafalgar Square and Occupy movement being a recent notable example (Walker and Butt, 2011). But these spaces, as postcolonial sites, are also productive for the spatialisation of postcolonial subjectivities, like that of Latinidad. One example of how different forms of identifications are negotiated comes from an art exhibit in the Guildhall Art Gallery that I attended with a couple of research participants, Bella and Gali, both active users and volunteers of different local charities.

In July 2015, I organised a trip to the Guildhall after finding out about an exhibit in one of my visits to the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA). The exhibit was called 'No Colour Bar: Black British Art in Action 1960-1990'. The exhibit drew inspiration from the lives of radical activists, Eric and Jessica Huntley, and a publishing house, Black bookshop, and a cultural hub of resistance they founded in 1968 called Bogle L'Ouverture Press (Okolosie, 2015). The exhibit called my attention because it surveyed African and Caribbean artists who created art that spoke to the emergence of independence in their respective states, global liberation struggles, as well as local struggles against discrimination within Britain. In my search for data beyond the traditional archive, I wanted to see how artists depicted these experiences; I also wanted to see if any trace of Latinidad was mapped onto any of the artworks depicted. Popular maps of Latin America often include Belize, Suriname, Guyana, and French Guyana yet these ascriptions do not hold any discursive weight: these countries are not usually included in common conceptions of Latinidad, and neither are its citizens, such as Bella.

Bella is a young woman from Belize who had lived in the United States before coming to London to study. She is a self-described *mestiza*, mixed race of Maya Spanish descent, in her early 20s, born in Belize, grew up in the United States, travelled to London

to study. She identifies as Latina although she was born in Belize, where the official language is English. In an interview after the exhibit, she says:

> 'I didn't really feel Latina until we moved to [the United States]. But in [the city where she grew up], I became friends with people who looked like me, and they didn't mind that I didn't speak Spanish, some of them didn't speak Spanish either, but there was something familiar between us. And growing up we were labelled Hispanic or Latinos and that resonated with me mainly because it seemed to resonate with some of my friends, well, not everybody though. But yeah, at home I was Belizean, and at school I was Latina, but it wasn't confusing or anything. Well, maybe it was a little bit confusing at first because, you know, you're you and then you're told you're something else and you don't really know what that means until you watch your friends and you're like, oh ok, yeah, that's what that means' (Bella, 31 Jul 2015).

In some cases, such as Bella's case, one transitions into Latinidad when one becomes a migrant and finds a sense of refuge and utility in the internalisation and performance of this mutable subjectivity. And while Bella's case is unique to the spatialisation of Latinidad in London, as in the Belizean population is not factored into Latin American countries or official statistics because they have a direct post-colonial relation with Britain, her adaptation of Latinidad opens a conceptual analysis that needs to be more pronounced in critiques of imperial colonialism and its spectres.

First, as a settler colonialist state, the Latinx population in the United States is not inherently migratory; generations of Mexican Americans or Chicanxs, for example, have been there since the United States annexed what is now the American Southwest (Weber 2003). Moreover, the native and migrant Latinx population is projected to make up 24% (up from the currently 18%) of the population by 2065 (Flores, 2017). Furthermore, geographically variant groups such as Chicanxs, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in the American Southwest, Northeast, and Southeast (respectively) have been able to forge a relatively organised and politically active subjectivity that is articulated as Hispanic or 'Latina/o' (Mora 2014). Considering these dynamics, Bella's experience signals the significance this geographic specific articulation of Latinidad has and will continue to have

on the ways Latinidad is performed in London. This impact may be positive or negative, likely both, but these are tensions that will be negotiated as these encounters happen. McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011: 43) identify the United States as a secondary or gateway country to the UK for Latin Americans (18%; second to Spain at 38%). The status as secondary source country may change to primary and may even increase as a secondary source as local and migrant Latinx populations expand their migratory pathways, even if they are for temporary purposes such as schooling, as is Bella's case. Regardless of the case, geopolitically speaking, a rise in this population will continue to play a part in intercultural and transnational communication.

Second, Bella's story of coming into a Latina sensibility also opens a critique of empire and colonialism as always-already interconnected projects that influenced one another through cooperation and competition (Massey 2005: 62-71). This is often an overlooked frame when, for instance, critical theorists limit the relationship between imperial coloniser and colonised in a binary frame bounded by national borders (e.g., Britain colonised Belize, Spain colonised Mexico; this is true even on a transnational level, e.g., Spain colonised Latin America). Neat categories begin to emerge from which to justify claims as postcolonial subjects living in Britain. Stuart Hall's (1997) notion of historical amnesia, in which British society refuses to acknowledge in its geographic imagination narratives of its 'colonial other', is a perfect example. The implicit claim is that Jamaicans, as well as other British postcolonial subjects, living in Britain have had a direct relationship with Britain and thus need to be recognised and addressed accordingly[25]. One impact of this binary framing is that colonial subjects outside this direct relationship have less grounds to justify claims based on the legacies of imperial colonialism. This means that if Latinidad is to be understood as a post-colonial subjectivity, it is the responsibility of its corresponding European state, e.g., Spain, Portugal, etc. In this configuration, and following Hall's (ibid.) argument about the lack of recognition, Latinidad is the other of the other who does not exist, at least as a postcolonial subjectivity which Britain had a part

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[25] In developing this argument, Hall turned to Derrida's (1982: 3) project of deconstruction and its key concept of *différance* which means difference and the deferral of meaning. For Derrida, this revealed the multiplicity underneath the structure of binaries. This to say that I believe Hall was keenly aware of the theoretical implications of this critique, it is just not an extension he made explicit in his own work about migrants living in Britain.

in forming. This is an example of using Massey and Derrida's frame of space-time to politicise not just history (time) but also space as an intertwined force carrying its own trajectory.

For Gali, a Colombian primary school Teaching Assistant, the notion that Belizean citizens could be considered Latinxs was new. When referring to her process of how she came to identify as Latina, she explains:

'For me, being Latino referred to Latin American countries, like people who spoke Spanish. I don't know, outside of Colombia, I didn't really think of myself as Latina, I was Colombiana or Bogoteña, but not always Latina; there was no necessity. And well, imagine, if I didn't think of myself as Latina, why would I think of others as such. But when I came to London, it was different, like there was a need… to start a conversation, you know, so we could have something in common. It's fun, it's like a labyrinth and you find out something new about yourself in others' (Gali, 31 July 2015).

Gali's notion that Latinidad was strung together by the Spanish language was altered in her exchanges with Bella at the Guildhall. She claims this was a common experience in her playful 'exploration' of Latinidad, signifying an openness to the potentialities of Latinidad, not just in what it is but what it does, in this case: connect trajectories and experiences of (post)(neo)colonialism. While language and nationality were not a deep source of tension for Gali and Bella, both had a receptive sensibility to the idea of discovering Latinidad, and in so doing, discovering a part of themselves, a way to stretch their own sense of self in communion with an unknown other. This sensibility is not always commonplace, as was the case with my research participants during Brazil Day 2015 and Plaza Latina.

That there were two festivals on the same day for and about Latinx peoples did not help to ease the already existing tensions between Brazilians and other Latin Americans. Plaza Latina was scheduled to run over the course of three Saturdays (1st, 8th, 15th of August). Both events were sponsored by the same major funders as Brazil Day 2015: Arts Council England, Big Lottery Fund, and the Mayor of London. Unfortunately, I was not able to follow up with the organisers of these events to question their choice of overlapping dates, but this provided grounds for tensions within the group. At Brazil Day, Jay said he

felt 'out of place' and that the festival was 'not what he expected'. While he danced reluctantly, he seemed visibly tired, upset, and distracted. As previously noted, no amount of dancing was to relieve all the pressures that came with being relatively new to London (5 months), working two jobs full time, and trying to enjoy his day off in a space that was loud, and where he was, admittedly, being pressured to feel a certain happiness or fake feeling this way.

Perhaps it was that pressure that compelled him to want to leave with the excuse that he wanted to go to the other festival because he wanted to dance to real Latinx music. Colombian Tati's quick retort was that Brazilian music was real Latinx music. Soledad, Sofia's mother, disagreed adamantly avowing a sense of distaste at the comparison and pride in the differentiation. Sofia noted that even in Brazil there were so many genres of music that there really was not one form of Brazilian music. I added that Latinx music is the same, even within specific countries there were differences in regional genres and dancing styles all of which were influenced by the confluence of various influences from around the world. The conversation was superficial and eventually the non-Brazilians in the group accompanied Jay to Plaza Latina only to lose him in the crowd. We eventually returned to Brazil Day and were welcomed by our friends who were still dancing in the same place as when we left. These events were within walking distance from each other, but we took a bus.

The tension that I illustrate in this vignette is not necessarily resolved, and I have no tangible evidence that the notion of Latinidad was expanded. What is important to note is that a conversation is happening, and that recreational events facilitate a space where these conversations are possible. In this instance, both Jay and Soledad expressed a sense of bordered territoriality to their respective 'geographical imaginations' (Massey 2005). Both expressions were countered with their respective intra-group correctives pointing out variance in what was being presented as stable categories. Popular culture and its associated recreational practices (dance, music, film, art, etc.) provide fertile grounds for these conversations to continue and for Latinxs to find commonalities across various forms of identifications that border our sense of understanding of self and other. This allows for Latinidad to be stretched and in so doing creating a political subjectivity that recognises

common histories and experiences of postcolonial experiences and conditions that continue to affect Latinxs in London across borders that need to be displaced to spatialise Latinidad. Recreational practices are crucial towards this endeavour. The next section focuses on educational practices that Latinxs undertake to spatialise Latinidad.

5.3 Migrant pedagogies: networks and their potentialities

In this section, I focus on Derrida's claim that to appear, spectres will choose a vessel that speaks its language. The agency Derrida affords these figures is questionable, but this is also an interpretive frame so there is some leeway one can make in situating this frame in sociological phenomena. The concept of hauntology, and therefore spectres, gained traction in popular culture studies, most notably by Mark Fisher (2014: 27), who likens spectres to 'lost futures', figures that bore the brunt of multiple forms of violence which induce temporal disjunctures. He examines the role that nostalgia plays in music, television, films, and novels, and how the market resurrects these spectres in the service of neoliberal capitalism; in other words, how popular trends from a past era make their way into contemporary market culture. In this thesis, I propose a different reading of spectres, one where their relationship to neoliberal capitalism is more complex than simple figures deprived of agency and easily manipulated to enforce systems of capital accumulation. An application of this reading is illustrated in the ways that Latinxs use education of language as a form of work that spatialises Latinidad. The work of philosopher Jacques Rancière, as elaborated by Bingham and Biesta (2010: 49-85), helps to anchor the claim that networks are educational and spatial insofar as the definition of education is dislodged from formal institutional settings which work to devalue everyday and embodied forms of knowledge production and consumption. Rancière underscores the value of informal educational networks not just in the navigation of space but more specifically its production. Patria Román Velázquez (1999) makes similar arguments in her elaboration of Bourdieu's fields, or in her case, networks made up of routes forged through Latin American dance. In this vein, my argument here centres on job finding networks as being educational[26] and spatial.

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[26] I make a similar argument with regards to recreational work and the networks that are forged as a consequence of such work. As previously noted, this is in line with a long line of ethnographic work on

Education requires language, and language requires a deeper understanding of space, or as Massey (2005: .49-54) argues, one that does not reduce space to a residual category of time, an inherited trait from structuralist thinking. In this way, relationality, multiplicity, and potentiality form the grammar and syntax of the language[27] of her understanding of space. The language of space is interdependent with human languages circulating on the surface of its variant dimensions and scales. London, as a constructed dimension and scale of space, has its own set of 'languages' that migrants must learn to navigate to survive. The abstract common denominator in these languages is what Massey (2005: 140) calls the 'throwntogetherness' of place, or 'the unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and a geography of thens and theres); and a negotiation which must take place within and between both human and nonhuman'. As spectral subjects, Latinxs come to London from countries that have experienced or are experiencing political instability, armed conflict, and/or economic displacement related to failed Structural Adjustment Programmes (McIlwaine 2007; Chant and McIlwaine 2008; McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge 2016). Their presence in London bears witness to these forms of violence which is compounded by the structural inequalities instantiated in London's socio-political lifescapes. Thus, learning to navigate the 'throwntogetherness' of place through educational work is crucial to their survival in the city. As in the previous section, such work allows them to form networks that 1) relieve pressures of the everyday, and 2) expand notions of Latinidad.

The observations documented herein come from fieldwork notes and interviews from research participants I met during two English language courses I taught over the course of six months (July 2015- December 2015). For each class, we met weekly for one-hour session. These courses were designed for beginner and intermediate level students, and they were part of a progressive curriculum which was designed to be interactive. My intention was to meet research participants while helping to meet one of the needs of the group which McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011) identified in their report. My initial

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play and the functions of play as educational. The forms of work surveyed in this thesis all intersect and overlap with one another.

[27] Massey (2005: 49) turns to Derrida's (1994) *Of Grammatology* to conceive of language in broad terms, or the extensive economy of exchange of symbols humans use to communicate which, in Derridean language, hinges upon the failure of these exchanges.

observations spoke to the difficulties they faced in learning the English language. Overall, these difficulties can be attributed to structural inequalities in housing, health, and labour. For example, many of my students worked two or more jobs and still came to an evening class before heading off to their next jobs working graveyard shift. Others worked and lived in overcrowded conditions where their process of learning was often interrupted by the various conflicts that arise in interpersonal communication when people are thrust together in a cramped space. These factors lead to or exacerbated already existing health problems, especially mental health.

These are problems, as noted previously, that McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011) and McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) have identified in Latinxs in London; I confirm their findings and extend the impact to education, meaning that enduring these harsh conditions does *not* make for an optimal environment conducive for learning. In terms of learning the English language, neither of my classes progressed to the next level from where they started. I tried various methods and strategies but ultimately the classroom environment would often turn into a support group for practical situations. Our shared ethnicity allowed for an atmosphere of familiarity, and while lessons were outlined professionally, I tried to link and adapt them to their practical concerns. This differed from their other English courses they had taken with charities or local universities in the sense that such networking took place after class. My approach to teaching led me to understand their struggles and how they forge networks that help them negotiate said struggles. Although there was some stratification based on their ability to speak English, this did not have a major impact on their ability to help one another, or to seek help outside intra-ethnic networks, when necessary. This differs from migrant professionals in English speaking countries whom, as Canagarajah (2016) reports, prefer to create networks with people with 'native speaker' accents and pronunciations as they believed it increased their perceived level of social mobility. Though many of my students were professionals in their home countries, in London they worked in low-paid elementary, service, caring, and processing jobs, consistent with McIlwaine and Bunge (2016: 25) reported labour profile of the population, of spectral subjects who form networks to avoid being passive agents in the spatialisation of their own subjectivity.

5.3.1 Educational language networks

Latinx users and volunteers of charity services are critical to the formation of educational language networks which help to relief pressures they experience in London. My initial research participants in both of my classes consisted of people who did not make it onto courses charities and universities were offering as they were full. This discussion on language networks is heavily focused on Spanish speakers in relation to other Spanish speakers and English speakers. My access to Portuguese speakers was limited for various reasons, chief among them was my limited Portuguese language skills. Through my Brazilian research participants who spoke Spanish or English, however, I came to find out about the existence of Portuguese language networks but as far as I could tell these were predominantly outside of the scope of charity work. I did not pursue this line of enquiry, but it is worth noting that these Spanish and Portuguese language networks are divided, and rarely do they come in contact. This is consistent with the divide I addressed in the previous section where Brazilians and other Latinxs sometimes see themselves as separate groups; for instance, only 44% of Brazilians surveyed see themselves as Latin American according to McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker (2011). These tensions also exist on an institutional level, as McIlwaine and Bunge (2016: 17) reports, but these are outside the scope of this research project though they are explored briefly in the next Chapter.

Much like recreational practices, the networks built through educational work to help relieve pressures stemming from harsh housing, health, and labour conditions. Language is particularly important in the forming of these networks. Following the work of Bourdieu (1984; 1991) on linguistic capital and its influence on individuals' positionality within habitus[28], Ginieniewicz (2010) notes that linguistic capital helps to access other forms of capital including institutional cultural capital and economic capital (cited in McIlwaine 2012: 299). In surveying Latinxs in Toronto, Canada, Ginieniewicz (2010) notes that linguistic limitations also hindered their political participation, but he adds an important caveat saying this only applies to electoral not grass-roots politics. I

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[28] My understanding of habitus is that of a border between structure and agency sedimented over space-time which also influences the experience of an individuals' overall lifescapes.

found this caveat to also apply to Latinxs in London as it pertains to their charity work. The networks that formed did not rely only on English as the dominant language, especially for my students in the beginning level course. They had to make do with what they had to meet their needs in housing, health, and labour. These networks were Spanish speaking networks accessed through a variety of channels ranging from person to person to instant message applications like WhatsApp and Facebook groups.

One example of how these linguistic networks function to relieve pressures Latinxs experience in London comes from Franco, a Colombian student in my beginning level course. Franco is a single father of two in his mid-30s, he moved to London following an arrest for a traffic violation in Spain which compromised his migration proceedings towards legalisation. To avoid deportation and risk losing custody of his children to the state he moved to London with his children and immediately found housing and work through a group he found on Facebook who directed him to a WhatsApp group where he eventually made contacts with someone who needed a general labourer in warehouse and was willing to pay 'under the table'. He acknowledged his luck in having enough resources to make such migration in such a short period of time but that all of it would not have been possible if it were not for people who knew the system, the right people, where to go, who to speak with, and how to ask for things. He also used the same networks to seek out legal advice on how to work on his situation. He managed to obtain temporary residency pending a review of his case. Franco was boastful that throughout his journey, he could navigate these networks to find work and housing without ever having to speak English:

'Well, we're not many, but the few of us that are here and have been here for a while know how to move around. And they don't have to do that, to help you, they don't have a reason why, but I guess they understood my situation more than other people. They understood that I had children, and that I didn't want to abandon them. They know that responsibility, what that's like, because some of them, their families were separated. These laws are very strict, too strict. They just want you out. And the people that helped me, they know that, and they know how to make things happen without asking for anything in return. I mean, it's not like I don't want to learn English; I do, that's why I'm here when I can be here, but it's good

to know that you don't have to speak English if you need to move, it's good to have that help, that refuge' (Franco, 8 Sep 2015).

The networks Franco accessed were initially found online and eventually turned into interpersonal networks amongst Spanish speaking Latinxs from various countries. Grenfell (2008) believes this interplay of network navigation can best be explained through Bourdieu's (1986) loose and theoretical definition of social capital, which is also linked to linguistic and other forms of capital. McIlwaine (2012) links up through this theoretical strand and provides a compelling account of how Latinxs negotiate capital at large in transnational social spaces. She argues that one must think these networks as not simply between home-destination but also as comprising of various nationalities. This argument is also reinforced using the Massey-Derrida theoretical strand for similar and different reasons. Similar because the 'throwntogetherness' of place accounts for these networks to operate in transnational spaces, amongst other forms of borders that segregate humans from one another. Different because the nonhuman, in this case, instant messaging technology (even with design in mind, as Massey (2005: 97-8) argues) alters the ways in which these networks are used and mobilised.

The claim that Franco makes about people in these networks helping each other out without asking anything in return was widely disputed by older women in both classes. Santa, a sixty-three-year-old Bolivian woman, said that finding a home after her daughter went back to Bolivia to care for her father, was very difficult for her because she would have to share a room with someone to be able to afford it, and that 'no one wants to room with an old woman'. Petra, a fifty-eight-year-old Venezuelan woman, found it hard to find a job outside the cleaning, care, or service industries despite her English being above average than most of my students in my intermediate class and having professional experience in marketing in Argentina. Paola, a fifty-year-old Ecuadorian woman, found it hard to find other women to accompany her to her doctor's appointments. Most of the older women who reported difficulties in accessing these language networks were in my beginner's level English course and did not live with immediate family. They did, however, find better use of formal charity organisations, and are discussed further in Chapter 6. It should be noted that the experiences these women pointed reflected their experiences as

older women, which does not necessarily invalidate Franco's point. Franco's mobility was evidently facilitated through gendered networks which exclude elderly women, but not elderly men, one of the central figures in Franco's networks was an elderly man who accompanied him to some of our classes—a Bolivian man whom he met in Spain years prior to their migration.

The exclusions in these networks may be reflective of the profile of Latinxs in London as younger working population (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011). They face similar struggles in relation to housing, health, and labour, but have the advantage of being able bodied, younger, male, and immediately connected to family networks on top of the networks that are formed online or real-time interpersonal networks. The exclusions of the elderly women may be linked to their having to compete for what they may perceive as limited resources, as noted in the section about recreation. For those, such as Franco, who can access these networks and are able to mobilise them, they can be critical in their ability to migrate, find a home, a place of employment (even if that means unofficial employment), and even help in accessing healthcare. These practices are in themselves educational as people learn to navigate the city and access resources crucial to their survival. This is true, even when people are excluded, for there are other ways in which they can learn and educate themselves on the inner workings of the city.

This is not to romanticise these networks; there are many illicit schemes that happen within them, (especially the ones found online: pyramid schemes, informal payday loans, and gambling exploits), and some people more than others are vulnerable to exploitation. Indeed, as Bourdieu (1986) may have it, these networks can be thought of culture, rather than as networks. But as Mitchell (2000) argues, a fixed definition of culture is not obtainable, nor desirable as it is ever shifting, what is most important in thinking about culture is its function—what does culture do, on a political level? Mitchell's thesis of culture is akin to Massey's treatise of space but whereas Mitchell overemphasises economic factors while bordering being dismissive of cultural ones, Massey's understanding of space is more dynamic, politically and philosophically speaking. The functions of space, then, can be examined by analysing the blood streams of culture, its networks. Exploitations and exclusions are active for some members, or would-be

members, of the networks I observed. When such things happen, however, with my research participants, I found that they were willing to reach out to networks outside the native language. While the intermediate level class had more success in this endeavour, those that dared to reach out to people outside their native language networks were more inclined to receive the help they needed, especially in the labour market. These endeavours to reach out of the Spanish educational networks served to expand notions of Latinidad, which is discussed next.

5.3.2 An education: finding *'yourself in others'*

In combining Derrida and Massey in the theoretical framework I use for this thesis, the question of structure vs. agency looms large. The agency of spectres to choose their own vessels as Derrida asserts once again comes into question. Time embodied in what is known as history unquestionably has its own form of structural agency, its own sense of will to shape temporal subjectivity in collective and individual ways. Massey's (2005: 59) thesis is that space also has its own sense of structural agency which is often ignored as 'ways to tame' it with language that allows readers to overlook the 'coeval multiplicity of other trajectories and the necessary 'outward-lookingness' of a spatialised subjectivity'. This sense of spatialised subjectivity, as it is formed and negotiated, is not explored in her treatise of space (Massey 2005); nor does she explore these negotiations in her application of her theoretical framework in her book *World City* (Massey, 2007). In *World City*, Massey (2007) is more concerned with the structural[29] conditions that make a 'world city', especially noting the economic exploitation of different groups of people, including migrants from the global South[30]. The contribution I seek to make to this framework that these migrants, in my case Latinxs in London, negotiate the forces of space-time by forming and nourishing educational networks outside their own ethnic groups which works to expand notions of self, in this case Latinidad.

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[29] Ultimately, it seems, the question of structure vs agency was not important for Massey (1994; 2005; 2007); her political intervention was noting the ways in which time and space were differentiated and hierarchised based on anthropomorphic notions of identity (feminine/masculine) and its impacts and reverberations on the human experience (production and consumption) of space.
[30] Notably absent from her listing of migrants from the Global South are Latinxs (Massey 2007: 175).

'In Granada, I encountered a lot of racism. If they want to offend you, they call you *Sudaca*, my bosses used to call me that, and it wasn't just the Spaniards, the Chinese, too. They learned we don't like that word, so they would call you that to get you mad and laugh. When I came here, it was very different because people were different. I used to work with Indians at an Indian restaurant as a kitchen porter when I first came here, and it was the same with the bosses, I mean, they never called me Sudaca, but they would call me stupid if I did something wrong. At the time, my English was not good, but I knew what stupid meant. And my colleagues would defend me, the English ones especially; but I got along with everyone. There were Polish people there, Hungarian, Italian, and Moroccan. And if they moved [changed jobs], sometimes you move with them, you know, help each other out. From that job, I moved to another restaurant with my Italian colleague who was a server, and they needed a prep cook. She knew that I hate my boss, so she asked me to join her and I came along. They trained me, I learned about food safety standards and things like that. My colleague is not there anymore but I stayed. We still talk on WhatsApp. She's learning Spanish, so I help her out sometimes' (Javier, 27 Sep 2015).

There are various elements to unpack here from Javier's story. First, despite his limited English language skills, Javier managed to connect with other migrants in London outside Latinx networks. These networks can be regarded as part of what de Genova (2007: 105-15)[31] calls 'informal solidarity groups' that are formed amongst workers (regardless of ethnicity) that 'help each other out', as Javier puts it. This differs from the family and ethnic networks that are already documented. The one key difference is that Javier had no family ties when he came to London. Outside my English classes, I found that research participants who were single tended to travel outside Latinx ethnic groups. However, it should be noted that those research participants tended to be more mobile—had access to different forms of capital that allowed them to move through the city encountering different peoples in their path. Javier was an exception in this regard, but the point to take away here is that Latinidad is extended when it encounters other ethnic groups in London. This is a

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[31] De Genova (2007) writes about informal solidarity groups amongst workers despite ethnic differences in his article documenting migrant labourers in Chicago, Illinois, USA.

form of spatialising insofar as Latinidad is being mobilised in relation to worker experiences of exploitation. I consider this to be educational work because much of what Javier relates is about education—being called 'stupid' by his boss, learning about his own rights through his colleagues, learning new skills when changing jobs, learning to travel around the city, and (language) knowledge exchange.

The second point to unpack comes from Javier's experience of racism in Granada and London. The experience of racism was echoed across both my classes and most of my participants who had lived in Spain, including Brazilians. In her study of Latinxs in Ireland, Marrow (2013: 657) shows that Latinxs, 'perceived a weaker form of racialization in Ireland compared to the USA, Spain, and (for Brazilians) Portugal'. Her caveat was that this was true especially for Chileans and people from Andean countries. The reason this may be true for these specific groups of people, and not others, is not specified; nor does Marrow provide a working definition of racialisation. This point is an important one as Latinxs may be of different racial backgrounds, and while people may share the same ethnicity, they are not racialised in the same way (Gunaratnam 2003). People with darker skin experience higher levels of racism in Ireland (Mac an Ghaill 2000). As part of Latin America's colonial past, people with darker skin (brown and black peoples) have been institutionally and structurally marginalised. In my research context, most of my participants had experienced racism in Spain except the ones with whiter skin and higher access to capital for mobility. This was reportedly not the same in London.

My research participants did not report the same overt levels of racism as they did in Spain. An example comes from Magda from my intermediate level course. She is a fifty-three-year-old freelance Peruvian chef and she works as an in-house cleaner at an electronic hardware store. She shares her experience of racism in London compared to Spain:

> You learn very quickly that it's not the same thing here in London. Everyone is different, they don't look at you the same way. It's not that everyone is racist towards you in Spain, but it's the way you feel, or the way they make you feel, like you're below them, a kind of rejection. And for me that feeling is depressing. So, when I got to London, my daughter told me that I would hate it because the weather is bad. But I love it because I feel comfortable exploring, getting to know different

areas of the city, meeting different people from around the world, even looking for jobs. People are more curious about you, without assuming your life story before you say hello. And that makes me feel safer, more invited (Magda, 12 Nov 2015).

While Magda's migration to London was through her family networks (daughter), she extended these networks beyond her immediate family and ethnic group. Internalising the knowledge that racism has a deep spatial component made a difference in her willingness and ability to explore the city in practical ways. For her, this meant purposefully seeking out cleaning jobs with companies directly instead of going through a cleaning company. Her experience is somewhat unique as far as the cleaning sector is concerned as most cleaners go through labour agencies (Wills *et al*., 2009: 72-4). Also, in terms of extending her networks, she makes it a point to visit museums and make friends with strangers who may become potential clients for her Peruvian food catering business. The point that notions of Latinidad are expanded here is illustrated not just in Magda's performance of Latinidad within transnational social fields but as being audienced by the people who navigate these fields. She does not work with any Latinxs in her cleaning job so the people whom she encounters read from her a performance of Latinidad that makes its own mark based on how her interlocutors' expectations and the inherent disruptions Magda makes with her own sense of Latinidad.

Most of my research participants in my intermediate course had similar experiences in terms of charting different pathways that allowed them to navigate the city in innovative ways, at least in relation to their peers who had less English language competencies. I had prepared advanced level lessons for this group of students, and while they did not advance to that level, they entered the course with a sense of embarrassment and bashfulness in even trying to speak the language. But my lessons were not geared towards gaining a sense of authenticity; practicality was my goal while teaching that accents in the English language vary, and that even British folks have trouble understanding one another from time to time. Towards the end of my time teaching (December 2015), I felt like my students gained an ability to embrace their accents while working on increasing their vocabulary. The sense of comfort and confidence allowed them a freedom to move about the city and be more independent in terms of meeting their needs, such as going to doctor's visits alone,

especially for a couple of older women who were undergoing menopause and wanted to speak with the doctor privately. Other activities ranged from the simple ordering a meal at a restaurant or speaking to bank representatives over the phone regarding banking issues. These minute activities incrementally added to a wider sense of agency, control, and quality of life for my students.

Going back to the Canagarajah (2016) argument about migrant professionals in English speaking countries preferring to associate themselves with local English language varieties over that of other migrants, this argument does not seem to hold true for migrants who understand the necessity and value of speaking English to access services they want or need. The need for survival thrusts people into social situations where they must negotiate human communication all in relation to the human geography of the city, its affective and material structures. The claim that migrants of different social classes invest exclusively in certain nativist language norm was not replicable in my students, at least not for the purposes of seeking upward mobility. They attached themselves to practical ways of surviving while and in the process found a sense of comfort and a more open-minded way of approaching difference, especially in themselves. This may not necessarily be true of the entire United Kingdom, but this was true of my research participants in London. It may be, as Massey (2005: 79-80) that the particularities of London as a multicultural space thrusts people together to experience difference not merely on a representational level but on the lived experience of the process of radical spatialisation.

This difference between representation and space is fundamental to Massey's radical understanding of the process of spatialisation. In short, Massey (2005: 27-30) argues that representation has a history as being passed off as spatialisation, and since space is framed as fixed and stable that it leads to an understanding of space as separate from time (history), indeed a dangerous equation. In an economy of symbols full of an endless trace of referents, signs, and signifiers, subjects' experiences of the city may end up being on a purely representational level, where it is a common understanding that multiculturalism exists, but it is the actual lived experiences with multiculturalism on the scale of the individual that allows for Massey's process of spatialisation to take place. For

Latinxs in London, this is process that takes places simultaneously between those within such a category and those outside of it, despite the country of origin.

In conclusion, my argument in this section is that educational networks, the linking between peoples (intra and inter group) for learning purposes, allows Latinxs to forge experiences that alleviate pressures of the everyday while expanding notions of Latinidad. This is part of the work that my research participants did to spatialise Latinidad, which includes learning about the differences in geography and what potentialities are opened in up in such understanding, potentialities that are replicated in the networks that pave ways for other Latinxs to feel more comfortable taking control of their lives in ways that the lack of knowledge (of language, for instance) may prevent them. Overall, my classes failed to move on to the next language level, but our experiences together discussing ways to navigate the city and negotiate difference while making the most of our time in London made a difference. These experiences went beyond a representational level, they are, as Massey might say, part of the process of spatialisation, itself a political act.

5.4 Summary

This Chapter works through the metaphor of the spectre to showcase the work that Latinxs do to spatialise Latinidad in London. The empirical data highlighted was meant to add a cultural political element to their contribution to London as a pluralist post-colonial city. As spectral subjects, Latinxs are not mere victims of structural violence, they are active agents in complex forms of spatialisation which also deserve critical attention outside of but related to economic structures that govern their life in the city. This contributes to existing literature about Latinxs in London, as well as existing literature about Latinidad in non-US geographies thus producing epistemological difference which places a great deal of importance to their migratory experiences and the forces which structure such experiences. This Chapter surveys two forms of work that Latinxs perform to spatialise Latinidad: recreational and educational work; this work relieves pressures of the everyday and expands notions of Latinidad, internally and externally, as the construct is always in the simultaneous process of construction and destruction.

Chapter 6: The work of small charities: challenging spectrality

6.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I survey the work of small charities that work with Latinxs in London. In their work, these charities seek to alleviate the conditions associated with spectrality, an experience marked by the absence of presence and presence of absence. This experience has the potential to signal varying degrees of structure and agency. In Chapter 5, this condition is exemplified when Latinx users and volunteers of charity services work to spatialise their own subjectivities through recreational and educational work, which serves to negotiate harsh conditions in relation to housing health, and labour, as well as to expand notions of Latinidad, for themselves and non-Latinxs. This chapter focuses on the work these small charities do to spatialise Latinidad and help Latinxs survive and overcome hardships in the housing, health, and labour. The recreational, educational, and advocacy work these charities do are examined in particular.

The empirical data gathered for this chapter comes from participant observations, content thematic analysis, interviews, and annual reports from the charities herein surveyed. Eight charities are surveyed at length so as to provide a broader perspective of their recreational, educational, and advocacy work; these are provided in charts where the work is categorised accordingly, noting that there are times when these categories of work exceed their own boundaries. The work of two of these charities and the coalition project (CLAUK) is showcased more in depth because out of all the charities which I surveyed, they best exemplify the types of work they do which I sought to highlight in this thesis; that is work that relieves the pressures of the everyday and helps to expand notions of Latinidad in London. For me, the rationale for the organisation in this Chapter seeks to balance the tensions between showing depth over breadth or vice versa. The first two charities surveyed (CASA and Latin Elephant) do exemplary work in recreational and educational work. As mentioned in Chapter 3 when reviewing the history of the organisations, LAWRS is host to CLAUK – and while CLAUK is not a charity in its own right, I felt it was of key importance to document the advocacy work this coalition performed because while each of the charities I surveyed have their own unique

characteristics and organisational culture, they worked together and combined efforts to push forth progressive and necessary agenda that has helped improve the life experiences of Latinxs in London.

For recreational work, I survey the work of CASA Latin American Theatre Festival (CASA) and their annual festival in 2015, for which I was a participant observer during the early stages of its planning and attended most of the festival's events engaging with the themes produced. These themes spoke to the condition of spectrality from multiple angles and these are unpacked in this section. As in Chapter 5, this section continues to explore the different functions recreational work takes on in terms of opening up conversations about what it means to be Latinx not just in London but also in Latin America in relation to its own set of geopolitics. These themes are particularly prevalent in most of the plays featured in the festival which, as per Daniel Goldman, were meant to explore the theme of the personal is political. For me, however, the main theme that came through was that of spectrality, of political disappearances explored through theatrical and poetic methods. The festival also included a community play which is discussed in relation to the rest of the festival. Granted, this community play is not professional theatre, unlike the other theatre troops, but drawing themes for analysis and critique from this particular production was important because it highlights CASA's direct relationship with users and volunteers of their services and the themes that they, as a community group, bring to life through performance—which they chose to lay bare publicly as a way to work through their own perceived ways of narrating their migratory experiences.

Educational work is surveyed in relation to Latin Elephant and a project in which I participated learning photography, video, and research methods to document the users of E&C Shopping Mall and its surroundings. The section describes my experience going through the project alongside eleven other participants and four organisers all of whom worked hard to put on an exhibition which included the photographic evidence we had produced during the course of the project. Through a series of content analysis from the exhibit as well as interviews with participants, I draw out the educational themes that work to spatialise Latinidad by relieving pressures of the everyday through bonding and learning, and to expand notions of Latinidad for themselves and for their audiences.

The advocacy section focuses on the work of CLAUK, the coalition project. This is a project spearheaded by LAWRS and funded by Trust for London. This work is exemplified as it speaks to advocacy work done by all the organisations working together primarily on three different campaigns: the first to address recognition of Latin Americans as an ethnic group, the second campaign works directly with Latinxs and with government official in public health organisations to voice the needs of this ethnic group, and the third is the advocacy of labour rights primarily working with cleaners' campaigns, unions, local government, human rights bodies, other charity organisations, and academic institutions to make sure that the rights of these workers are respected.

6.2 Recreational work: CASA Theatre Festival

While this section surveys the charities' recreational work, what I want to highlight is that recreational work has the potential to take on characteristics of educational and advocacy work which helps to 1) relieve pressures of the everyday and 2) expand notions of Latinidad. This is true for the festival, but it is important to note that these subcategories of education and advocacy spawned out of recreational work. In their annual reports, the charities I surveyed do not feature prominently the multifaceted value of recreational work because it is perceived internally as lacking a professional aesthetic. In these reports and in interviews, administrators of the charities linked recreational work only to psychological health, that is, it functions to relieve psychological pressures of the everyday even if temporary. But the function of recreational work goes much deeper than this: it provides performers and audiences different pathways to expand notions of Latinidad; in this particular instance, this happened through an exploration of Latin America's geopolitics (in this particular festival the focus was Mexico) as well as the migratory experiences of Latinxs in London as best exemplified in the production of the community theatre play.

In this section, I focus on CASA's 2015 Latin American Theatre Festival which was a 10-day festival running from the 2nd to the 11th of October 2015. The festival consisted of 7 plays from 6 professional theatre troops from Latin America though mostly from Mexico primarily because the festival wanted to observe the British-Mexican year, officially called '2015: The year of Mexico in the UK and the UK in Mexico'. There was financial incentive to focus on Mexican theatre as the Mexican consulate in London

provided some funding for the Mexican theatre troops to travel to London to perform. The festival also included three events with live Latin American music and dance, a day of debate which was interspersed with short films, roundtables, and Q&A sessions with the artists, activists, and academics.

I was a participant observer for this festival during the early stages and was only a spectator during the festival attending the majority of the events. I was a volunteer at CASA from February to June 2014, helping around the office, attending weekly team meetings, observing the artistic director's process of selecting the festival's programme, helping with and participating in their Community Theatre Company, and planning to participate in a greater capacity conducting research on cultural consumption of Latinxs in London. The cultural consumption research project required more time and effort than what I had available and the field in relation to my research question was guiding me in different directions. I discontinued volunteering with CASA but returned to see the full production of the festival. Queen Mary University (QMUL) funded the cultural consumption project and the research project was designed between CASA and QMUL. McIlwaine *et al.*, (2016) went on to publish the report 'Cultural consumption and the performing arts among Latin American in London' (McIlwaine *et al.*, 2016). The report published findings that described specific demographics of the festival's audience alongside Latinx's broader consumption practices.

From the festival I analysed the overall themes primarily from the plays and the day of debate using a spectral analysis. This led me to focus on the content of the plays rather than the impact it had on its audience, some of whom included the users and volunteers whom I had work with in some capacity. These users and volunteers benefitted from CASA's programme which provided local charities under the Coalition with free tickets so that some of their users could attend the festival for free. My analysis focuses on the work of the artists, the plays, the day of debate, and the festival as a whole. CASA's artistic director wanted to centre the argument that 'the personal is political', playing with the themes of love, sex, family, and politics. A spectral analysis led me to a different reading of the festival as a whole, one which emphasised the spectral in relation to forced disappearances, loss of industry, border violence, the surreal and the abstract, as well as state sanctioned violence. The notion of the personal being political was present but the

political was often relegated to a spectral position centring the personal, leaving the political for the audience to infer rather than providing a more in-depth analysis from an artistic framework. A description of the work featured in this festival and how it fits into this thematic analysis follows.

The opening play was Montserrat by Mexican theatre troop Lagartijas Tiradas al Sol. Described in the programme as a one-man multimedia thriller, the play was a personal narrative told in an investigative journalistic voice. The play follows the story of Gabino Rodríguez, the narrator, whose mother 'disappeared' when he was six years old. Her haunting figure, prominent in his life, led him to investigate her supposed death. The story unfolds strategically so as to leave the audience wondering what happened to her. As a spectator, having personal experiences with disappearances, understanding the context and severity of the situation, having heard and read stories of kidnappings, femicides, and other forms of violence against women in Mexico, I waited eagerly for the next turn in his story, hoping the representation would not betray the complexity of the violence. I knew that such a turn in this direction in the play would ultimately betray, for as Massey (2005: 28-9) notes, space and representation are often equated to one another. For audiences with little to no experience of the situation, this representation becomes a dominant referent thus reducing Mexico and its complex geographies to this particular representation of it, one that complements mainstream media representations of Mexico's ongoing violence. Massey's intervention against the equating of space as representation because representation fixes and deadens space is important, but the deadening of space, or representations in this post-death form, or spectral form, can also be imbued with particular forms of value.

Gabino's story unfolds in its entirety without any relation to the common mainstream representations of violence in Mexico. After his own investigation, he found his mother alive in Costa Rica; she abandoned her family due to mental health problems, and his father faked a death certificate so that Gabino may have some closure. There is a different kind of violence for which Gabino offers the audience a seat with his script, one that is extraordinary and intimate with elements of family drama characteristic of a soap opera without the trappings of melodramatic storytelling. The value in this form of representation is threefold: 1) the play does not exploit the ongoing violence in Mexico for

the sake of 'awareness', a prominent term in large charity campaigns that is often made the goal rather than the means to a goal: such as one that incites work towards the production of collective questions and solutions, 2) spectres are conjured to do their work: haunting the personal stories, such as Gabino, of those that remain directly unaffected by the current forms of forced disappearances in Mexico, and 3) he provides the audiences with a different blueprint for the geographical imagination of Mexican peoples. At every turn in Gabino's telling of the story, spectres lurk, threatening to appear only to find some sense of relief and betrayal when he finds his mother alive. A sense of relief because he has a sense of closure to his family mystery and a sense of betrayal because, for many others across Latin America, those spectres have yet to appear, and will likely never materialise.

The day after Montserrat, CASA hosted 'The Day of Debate: Mexican Theatre and Politics', an event which included short films, roundtables, and Q&A sessions with Mexican and UK artists, activists, and academics. Several key themes that emerged from this well-attended day of events were the kinds of theatre that emerged in reaction to the violence in Mexico, specifically the events that happened in Ayotzinapa, Guerrero in 2014, where 43 male students were kidnapped *en masse* and whose forced disappearances were attributed to organised crime working with state police. Daniel Goldman, the artistic director who visited before and after Ayotzinapa, noted this event had a massive effect on the 'political act' of making theatre which was reflected not necessarily in the content but more in solidarity gestures with the families of the disappeared including some mention of the 43, as they became known colloquially in political chants, at the end of the show. The 43 spectres, even when conceived of in their sociality as they continue to be disappeared, were mobilised across different sectors of Mexican society and CASA brought their cultural workers, their conjurers, to London to continue on this work.

One of the panellists noted that the emphasis on the 43 needed to be addressed with care because it was a situation that required specific spatial analysis and political response but not in isolation and not at the cost of making invisible other forms of violence, particularly violence against women and Central American migrants who cross through Mexico and are subjected to human trafficking, rape and other forms of sexual abuse and economic exploitation, as well as the surging death toll from the government's failed war on drugs which the United Nations has systematically refused to recognise as genocide

with over 186,000 deaths and 36,000 disappeared[32]. Another panellist agreed noting that this was qualitatively a different form of genocide as the warring factions were not evidently clear but that the death toll required urgent transnational intervention beyond the militaristic form. A theatre director working both in London and Mexico City urged artists to work with these kinds of narratives, noting that narcotrafficking stories were explored in the early 2000s in contemporary Mexican theatre, but the perpetual repetition of the mimetic form, that is to say of similar scripts which required actors to tell similar stories of spectres without agency in relation to drug trafficking, was thoroughly exhausted and abandoned. As the years passed, the violence escalated, and such abandonment reflected theatre practitioners' geographical reference for theatre making, an urban reference point which was removed from different and differing geographies.

The evening of the 3rd October 2015, at the Rich Mix, the theatre troop, Collectivo Alebrije, performed their play titled Aparte, a multimedia interactive production that told the story of the disappearing leather industry in Leon, Guanajuato, a key site of the spectral industrial capitalism in mid-sized cities in Mexico. This play was a perfect match for the artistic director's intention of producing a festival which highlighted the personal as political because each of the play's three performers all had personal stories to tell about their own experiences in this context. The stories all revolved around skin, an organ shared by various species and processed for market consumption as leather. Rather than attempting to articulate a body in its entirety, an impossible task due to the mobility and relationality of materiality, the actors chose to focus on the commodification of skin. This focus allows one performer to speak of her grandmother's rough and wrinkly skin and how it evidences her struggles to raise three children on her own by working in the shoe leather industry in the city market. Another performer tells the story of his mother's touch, which was soft and tender never revealing her physical work from early childhood through her older years as a mother and successful leather shoe entrepreneur until she was diagnosed with the breast cancer that ended her life. The third actor acts mostly as a narrator who

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[32] These were numbers the speaker stated and seem to be accurate for that year. The numbers fluctuate depending on the source but in 2017, The Guardian reported these numbers to be at around 200,000 and 30,000 disappeared (Agren, 2017). There is more about this in Chapter 3 when I review the historical evidence of disappearances in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

constantly asks the audience: what is skin for you? The question is not meant to be rhetorical, there were audience members engaging with the performers.

The performers imbricated their personal narratives with ethnographic work including taped interviews they conducted with local shoppers and vendors, documenting the decline of the leather market, and the disappearance of industry. One resident notes the effects, saying families have been moving away, cockroaches and scorpions have begun to move in—both literal and metaphorical. Crime and drug use in the area has increased because there are no jobs available for youth in poverty. She also notes that one of the city officials has angered the locals by blaming their lack of creativity to change, adapt, and innovate. Simultaneously, another interviewee states, the government opens the door to Chinese leather manufactures who have no concern for the environment, dumping Chromium-6 onto local water supplies. During the Q&A session, one of the performers noted that in his charity work with his church, he noticed a high incidence of leukaemia at the children's hospital, children who come from the same neighbourhoods which drank this water. They also mentioned that aside from documenting these complaints through theatre, they have also filed official complaints with government officials, the same government officials who have threatened to withdraw funding for their productions because, they quote, 'we don't pay them so that they can critique us'. In this instance, the government sought to spectralise in the negative any kind of critique towards them by suggesting that the public funds they gave to this theatre troop should be used for purposes other than critique of the government. From a different angle, I asked if in their research they found any discourses pointing to animal rights and how these were being negotiated on the ground in relation to the documented economic loss. They responded by saying that such framing of politics was not present in their field research.

On 6th October 2015, at the Barbican Pit Theatre, CASA presented the play The Love of the Fireflies by theatre company Los Guggenheim's. The performance was more traditional theatre, but the content was magical surrealism, so rich metaphors abound. My reading of this play in relation to the themes explored in this thesis and in this Chapter is that it allowed for a sense of reflective introspection about the impossibility of representation of self, let alone an entire cultural group (Mexicans in this instance), given the plurality of contradictions and competing interests that are at work in the process of

migration, or perhaps more accurately, in the process of mobilities, at large. The play is about a young mediocre writer who whimsically migrates to Norway taking only her clothes and her enchanted typewriter. The play unravels when she finds a doppelgänger whose steps she begins to trace, losing track of her own identity in the process, not knowing if she died and became the ghost or if her doppelgänger is the ghost who is three steps ahead of her wreaking havoc on her ability to travel and return home. In her journey, she goes to great lengths to convince family, friends, and immigration officials that she is not her other self, her own future ghost, and in the process noting the effects of being homogenised, of losing a sense of authenticity to her other self, to her own spectre, just because her spectre is ahead of her in her journey. From fjords and floods, she travels from Mexico to Norway to Mexico again and finally to Guatemala where her journey tracks her own future ghosts, which have now tripled, only to achieve a sense of comfort with the multiplicity of selves inhabiting the world, or perhaps the afterlife, sometimes visible and other times invisible, like fireflies lighting up the night sky.

On 8th October 2015, at the Rich Mix, Gorguz Teatro and Universiteatro presented Misa Fronterisa / Border Mass, another interactive play where audience members were invited to stand in 'prayer' to the borderlands. Somewhere between satire and solemnity, the play told the story of borderlands culture, a practiced way of understanding and living in the world having to internalise the immediacy of the materiality that separates worlds, in this case Tijuana from San Diego. Aside from the religious connotations that this production employed, the play marks the experience of the migratory spectre – of that figure on the border which does not have to migrate in order to be a migrant, or more specifically, to be a migrant spectre. These borderlands were drawn as the space where wealth and opulence terminate, and where poverty and need begin. As the lead character in this play, the borderlands exist as different forms of capital, as the 'priest' giving mass remembers: a tattoo on his right arm, a childhood memory of sensing beyond the barb wires standing on his father's shoulders, and empty pockets heavy with induced need to migrate, to cross through the barb wires, swim through the rivers, only to be caught by modern technologies of surveillance, entrapment, and incarceration. As the service continues, the wrathful omnipresence of the borderlands as a spatial deity is made evident in the lives these spaces have claimed in the region's topographical features such as rivers and deserts

as well as in the hands of border guards and other extra-legal agents such as narco- and human-traffickers. The mass ends with a plea to the faithful subjects of the borderlands, those who have been interpolated into its spatialities, to disallow its power to harm any form of life and non-life found within such territories, not just the Mexico-US borderlands, but also in Guatemala-Mexico, Palestine-Israel, and wherever else the borderlands are used as technologies to impede hope in relation to transformative justice.

On 9th October 2015, the group Lagartijas Tiradas al Sol presented another documentary theatre piece titled I'll Melt the Snow Off a Volcano with a Match, which tells two imbricated stories they found in their research that seeks to document contemporary Mexican politics. The first story is about the author, Natalia Valdez Tejeda, of one of the central books they used for their research. The second story offers commentary on contemporary politics in Mexico by examining at its history as they sought out to investigate how Mexico's longest ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), had held on to power for 71 years from 1929-2000. Starting from the early years, the performers note that this party appropriated some ideals from the Mexican revolution, curated them for the bourgeoisie ruling class and repackaged them for mass consumption every six years during election time. The performers continue their documentation of the PRI's corruption, policies of intimidation, and violence. Keeping such tactics outside the purview of the public's imaginary, the PRI shows off its propensity for violence when, in 1968, on the eve of the Olympic Games, President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz orders the massacre of 400 students in Tlatelolco. The political commentary comes full circle towards the end when they note that Natalia disappeared in 2000, shortly after she wrote the book for which her own trade union harassed her. In talking to Natalia's relatives, they note that her son had just voted to return the PRI to power in 2012. The play ultimately highlights the deep ways in which forced state disappearances have been normalised to the point that a subject, Natalia's son in this case, is not able or willing to connect state violence to his personal political orientation. In their attempt at solidarity with the murdered students in Tlatelolco and Ayotzinapa, they seek to foster an understanding of Mexicans not as victims of the PRI but rather as a product of it.

The festival also included an international programme which featured a play from Brazil titled NeverWhere Becket, a playful transmogrification of Samuel Beckett's work

through movement and sound, discarding any semblance of script so as to play with mimetic forms through different senses beyond voice. In 2014, CASA hosted a competition for new work to be developed and the work chosen that year was featured on the 9th and 10th of October 2015. The show was initially titled When They Disappear and explored through poetic and visual forms the lasting impact of Mexico's pandemic violence against women. Originally, it was a compelling show but after going through CASA's process and direction, the performers decided to open wide the concept of disappearances, so wide that it lost any cultural context thus devaluing the bodies to which the disappearances once referred. The same trappings exist when playing with concepts such as spectrality or its related concepts such as disappearances, thus it is crucial for researchers to examine the connections to the spatiality that a disappearance produces, its bio- and necro-political structures, economic factors, state de/formations, or other cultural or psychological angles that still acknowledge the presence of absence or the absence of presence. What was produced was a sensational piece of theatre that exploited the figure of the disappeared to elicit an emotional register unsubstantiated by the evidence the performers produced. This critique takes careful consideration of the ways in which an actor, like a beggar, or recipient of charity, is often made suspect to dominant standards of authenticity and ability. However, performance, unlike the conditions necessary to induce in a person the need to beg, needs to be a rigorous exercise that is also grounded.

On 11 October 2015, the festival closed with Open CASA Community Theatre's play which portrayed migratory experiences using the 'dream' trope. This was an original theatre piece written collaboratively with non-professional community actors (users and volunteers of different Latinx charities) and interspersed with poems set to music. The play follows primarily the story of a nameless woman who migrates illegally on her own with the help of coyotes. She encounters extreme difficulties in her journey including abuse and ill-treatment from her fellow migrants, sexually harassed by her smugglers, and ends up dying in the cold, unsheltered and forgotten. In an act that breaks the fourth wall, the community actors intervene to stop the violence and write a different ending to the story, one where the nameless woman does not die, where the bloodshed of the borderlands stops, where she stops asking the stars for more dreams, and love returns in her life and a man who tried to help her during her journey proposes marriage and she accepts to migrate

together to who knows where and where not having purpose is not an impediment. The impulse to change the narrative to provide an uncommon representation of migrants not suffering, especially for this particular group of community actors who have their own histories of hardships during migration, needs to be weighed against the effects of this heteropatriarchal sexist stereotype of a narrative intervention, namely that it attempts to wash over structural violence by reducing 'dreams' to a personal act not induced by transnational conditions of economic displacements, and that migrants have a certain agency in changing these structural conditions if only they stop desiring dreams and instead invest in the fantasy of love. This was an odd choice for an intervention especially when considering these 'dreams' were portrayed in material form earlier in the play, specifically the materiality of the need to eat and to provide shelter for family and community.

This community theatre production is the best example of the recreational work that CASA does with members of the Latin American community in London. My critique and analysis are consistent with the other 'spectral' themes that other companies produced. This does not mean, however, that the level of professional work that went into these productions should be equated. From my experience working with CASA's community theatre group, they are mostly working-class people who have an interest in theatre related activities and have their own set of struggles in making this production possible. These dynamics are outside the purview of this Chapter; my concern was analysis and critique of the themes produced, carefully noting that these themes were produced collectively and with the guidance of a professional theatre practitioner.

Overall, the work of CASA to produce this festival showcases the power of recreational work and its ability to also educate and advocate. The production process was two years in the making, my participant observations speak more about the spectral themes the content of the festival produced. My readings of the work also apply to my descriptions; it does not mean the audience shared any of the views, but I surveyed the majority of the festival so as to provide different angles from which audiences could draw. Holistically, the festival served its purpose to highlight the personal as political and different iterations of such political arguments were presented as the different theatre groups and companies chose. In the two instances where CASA intervened, the Community Theatre Company and the performers who worked to develop When They Disappear, the work can use further

development and be subjected to further constructive criticism; after all, this is the work of student performers or local actors who use performance as a recreational tool which means that the conversation is ongoing, something that is true also for the professional theatre companies and the performances they presented. Finally, pressures of the everyday were relieved noting that relief does not necessarily mean forgetting about complex issues that require complex responses and representations. Notions of Latinidad were expanded, and by focusing on Mexico and choosing a variety of regional representations and different approaches to politics, the festival disturbed monolithic understandings of Latinidad, avoiding stereotypes and presenting complex characters as they were shaped by the politics of one of many Latin American countries. The following section surveys the educational work small charities do to spatialise Latinidad.

6.3 Educational work: My Latin Elephant

Educational work also performs different functions including recreational and advocacy work. In this section, I survey the educational work of Latin Elephant and relate my experience participating in one of their projects which culminated in an exhibition at Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre displaying our work. Latin Elephant is a local registered charity that works to help 'migrants and ethnic groups'[33] contribute and participate in processes of urban regeneration in London. Their work is surveyed at length in the graph (provided at the end of this Chapter) that categorises their recreational, educational, and advocacy work—all of which are instantiated in the project herein described. The project, entitled My Latin Elephant, consisted of a series of workshops designed to research, reflect, and produce video and photographic evidence about the importance of E&C to Latinxs in London. Latin Elephant organised this project in association with InsightShare and Fotosynthesis, two community development

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[33] This is how they describe themselves on their website and various other documents. This is somewhat of a problematic description not just because their work includes mostly one minority ethnic group, Latinxs, but also because, as Massey (2005) suggests, in certain groups the term colloquially defaults to non-white, as if to infer that whiteness, as a racial construct, is devoid of ethnic identities. This is a discursive practice in which whiteness gains spectral position, one of loss and one of gain—loss of its local ethnic histories and gain a position of power by marking difference as 'ethnic' and thus imply unity amongst variant ethnicities that make up whiteness. Hereafter, I use the term minority ethnic groups to refer to Latinxs which also includes, but is not exclusive or limited to, white people.

organisations that use video and photographic participatory and collaborative methods to document socio-cultural phenomena both in the UK and around the world. The project sought to gather Latinxs in London to document stories of how they used the E&C area and to forge a space for dialogue about the area—its history, present, and future. It sought to foster a critical conversation about the wants and needs of this group in relation to the planned urban regeneration of E&C, particularly the shopping centre.

The entire project was advertised as an educational project, a course where participants were going to learn photographic and video methods in order to tell the story of what E&C meant for the participants. Silvia, the project manager and community outreach manager for this project, said she interviewed a total of 60 people; 15 were chosen, and 12 carried through to the final workshop and exhibition. The participants were chosen based on their interests and experiences in order to form a diverse group that represented different age groups, nationalities, and professions. The project consisted of 8 scheduled and organised sessions, two sessions per week (Mondays and Fridays, 1-4PM) starting from 21 September 2015 and ending on 26 October 2015, and we met at two locations: on Mondays Crossway Church and on Fridays at E&C Shopping Centre, Tesco 2nd Floor. InsightShare and Fotosynthis provided all the equipment as well as training in technical abilities, safety use, types of takes and frames, lighting, and how to tell stories with images, portraits, and interviews. Such training was provided during the first few sessions while also going out to take pictures, videos, and interview local users and workers of the area. During the last few sessions we selected pictures and footage in preparation for the exhibition which opened on 28 November 2015 at the E&C Shopping Centre, Tesco, 2nd Floor and ran for a week.

Prior to this work, and prior to knowing that I was selected as a participant for this project, I had conducted several official field site visits in order to photograph the area. One of my questions during my fieldwork was how charity work featured in the built environment of this particular area, which, based on my personal experience and prior research, was an area prominently used by Latinxs in London. From this field site visit on 8th June 2015, I observed only two adverts for charities or charitable causes in the area. One in the metro station from The Motor Neurone Disease Association with the poster of a man named Michael, age 34, and the caption: 'Last summer, I was the only person I knew

who didn't do the Ice Bucket Challenge. Five months later I was diagnosed with motor neurone disease'. Another poster from Space for Giants with a picture of a baby elephant and its mother in the background and the captions: 'I want to live. Stop the illegal killing of elephants in Africa' and a plea for donations through a text messaging service. These photographs, including several others that came from this independent work were not included in the final art exhibition of the project. These two photographs mark the phenomena of the subject in need of charity as being elsewhere, in extreme conditions, and disconnected from local politics, such as regeneration processes which affect and continue to affect people across the world but always locally, as the exhibit sought to capture.

Beyond teaching about the process of collaborative methods using video and photographs, the exhibit served educational purposes for its audiences. We divided the exhibit into several themes including 'Life Histories', which featured an interview with one of the participant's son about his experiences at the E&C Shopping Centre using the communal Ping-Pong table, a recreational space for youth in a city that does not offer many friendly places for them to congregate, aside from chicken shops which offer inexpensive snacks as well as a place to congregate. This theme also featured the photographs of Brayan, one of the project's participants, who shared through photographs stories of his childhood with his family living at Heygate, the housing estate whose demolition had been completed a year prior to the exhibition.

Another themed section was called the Mural of Love which featured stories of several heterosexual couples who had met in the E&C area. The organisers and participants made it a point to feature mixed ethnic families 'to show off integration'. I was not present during this particular session, so I could not voice my objections to the stated purpose of showing of integration; this move brings up a host of issues including the performance of a subservient subjectivity to the discourse of integration, never mind that the couples may not understand themselves or their relationship in connection to this discourse. These couples included four of the participants and their partners, and even one of the members jokingly said that she did not see herself in such ways but that if it served the point, then it was a good thing. Ultimately, that particular purpose was not stated as a reason for portraying the stories, but the point of integration through family was still argued broadly in the exhibit and these photographs were used as evidence without questioning or

challenging the source of such impulse to prove such a point or adhere to the problematics of inclusionary politics that such discourse engenders.

I missed one of the sessions where groups were chosen to develop a theme together, so I was given the task to choose my own theme from the photographs I took prior to and during the workshops. Adverts and announcements written on walls called my attention, as noted in the examples above, so I decided to centre these photographs around the metaphor of a palimpsest, a parchment that has been erased and written upon repeatedly over time, its histories peering through the present existing simultaneously on dynamic space. I wanted to imbricate the different elements of people writing on the wall, the following is a portion of the caption I wrote describing the pictures:

> 'Notice the university, the church, the restaurants, the charity organisation, the bingo club, the day nursery, the fake art store, and the local market. Notice the ways in which graffiti exceeds the frame of a designated space for writing. Notice the sex ad in the men's toilet wall. Notice the corset model and her voluptuous features on display dis/ordering the female body. Notice the "Out of Order' sign followed by an apology. Notice the jack-of-all-trades, immigration services related. Notice the outline of a blue face on the white wall. Notice the torn apart protest and demonstration announcements. Notice the ads for room rentals and home removals ads. Notice the Strata letting agency office. Notice the security guards. Notice the privatisation. Notice how all these elements collide' (Moreno-Tabarez in Román-Velázquez 2016: 76-82).

These all serve to document humans as collective writers of palimpsests at E&C, each expressing different functions, ideologies, sentiments, needs, and desires. I specifically chose to include the picture of the sex ad in the men's toilet so as to disturb some of the heteronormative representations, assumptions, and conversations that were part of the process and final exhibition; this was my response to all the clean, heterosexual, inter-ethnic, white-centring love stories being featured in the Mural of Love section. In the context of intense urban erasures, these particular homoerotic features such as those at E&C are deemed 'dirty immoral laundry' that should not be aired as it bolsters the case of those forces that seek erasure. The question of why these spaces are used for such purposes and the material and affective structures are not taken into consideration when making such

arguments. This was one of many photos in the collage; many of my fellow participants and organisers noticed it, and no one raised any objections to its inclusion, but many eyebrows were raised. Judging from previous discussions about sexual diversity, there was much work to be done in terms of teaching and learning on all sides but at this point we just wanted to put on a show.

There are three themed sections worth mentioning in conjunction which featured workers, businesses, and itinerant sales people. The workers section featured Sergio Rodriguez, the chef of Distriandina, a well-known Colombian bar and restaurant. The businesses section featured photographs shop fronts on Elephant Road and Harper Road, calling attention to the unappealing aesthetics yet still meeting the needs of local ethnic minorities, not just Latinxs. A section titled El Chance / Lucky Game featured an itinerant sales woman selling lottery numbers for a famous Colombian game of luck whose task is to guess the outcome of a lottery or draw. The game is popular amongst Colombians in the area. Aside from lottery tickets, there are many other itinerant sales people in the area selling snacks, cheese, and other goods or services, such as translation services, helping with doctor's visits, helping to find accommodations—in short, services that can be accessed through charity organisations. Aside from the extra-legal nature of these activities, some of them border or cross the line of exploitation. There are also practices that border on labour rights abuses in the area: servers at La Bodeguita and Leños & Carbon, two popular Latinx restaurants in the area, complained that their tips are kept by the restaurant and not shared with the staff. During the project's research process, we observed these situations happening and these conversations were opened especially when considering what to include and exclude in the presentation. Most opted for the exclusion of these topics since they felt it would not help their case against the demolition of the E&C Shopping Centre. Much of the advocacy of this organisation centres on the value of businesses and present a compelling economic argument for why they should be valued as any other space that may be regarded as more aesthetically pleasing. Yet more attention to workers in the area and their labour conditions would help to foster a more complex conversation about regeneration that is not solely business-centric without critically acknowledging the quality of these businesses and the jobs they provide.

Part of the exhibition also included the video[34] we produced together with interviews with users of the area. The video documents differing views on urban regeneration and the effects. Close readings of the material we chose to present yield competing views on what these processes mean and about the impacts they will have. These views range from the informed, uninformed, hopeful, confused, concerned, and angry; and while some of are for and others against the changes, all agree that the loss of place will be felt by its users who have historically used the area as a space for recreation, education, advocacy, and activist projects that have characterised the area. Our intention was to portray these views so as to document that we were here working, living, and playing because most of us expressed a feeling of hopelessness, not understanding fully how the changes were happening despite the short briefing sessions we received from Latin Elephant's Director, Patria Román-Velázquez. In this context, there was a sense that these changes were inevitable and that we had insufficient agency to struggle against the larger broader machines, in this case mobilised through Delancey developers working with Southwark Council.

Similar themes were discussed during the debriefing session as I discussed in my interviews with my fellow participants and the organisers of the project[35]. Three key questions overlap between my interviews and debriefing session; these were open questions free for participants and organisers to express their views. The first is about the most interesting part of the process, the second about what people would do differently, and the third about our take away experiences from the project as a whole.

Most of the participants said the social aspect of the project, the process, and the result were the most interesting. Marinela expressed that she had felt isolated prior to the project, disconnected from her community, and that meeting different people from different parts of Latin America helped to broaden her understanding of Latinidad because the group was so diverse in terms of the countries represented and the fields in which we worked.

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[34] Can be viewed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtC-IFlZKjM

[35] Once the exhibit was taken down, we reconvened in February 2016. My participation in My Latin Elephant project was immersive. I began to interview some of my fellow participants of the project only once the project was over, prior to and after our reunion. In my interviews, I sought to capture experiences of going through the project together and to get more personal background on their stories. I interviewed eight of the participants and three of the organisers. By the time I finished conducting the interviews with the participants, we met to debrief and make future plans on what to do with the research outputs.

Santi did not want the friendships and social links to be broken just because the project was over, especially since working in the project he became more aware of the urgency of the political situation. Jania said she felt like the process was meant to plant a seed, both in the project's participants and in our audiences. Macarena said she found the project to be both inspired and inspirational especially considering the commitment of the organisers. For me, the way we addressed deeply structural issues through such intimate frames was the most interesting part of the process; like for others, the project was inspirational and the most creative portion of my fieldwork because it allowed me to combine my ongoing research with my creative side and place that in a platform where I could substantially contribute to the project, especially most the interviews featured in the video as well as the thematic photographic storyboard.

As for the organisers, most expressed similar feelings about the process. Patria felt that the most interesting part of the process was our adapting of non-traditional research methodologies to foster community. For Soledad from InsightShare, whose line of work centres on using non-traditional research methodologies without labelling them as such, our engagement was interesting as she noticed our motivation to educate others in our community increased as we bonded and learned more about the methods and ways to use them to tell stories addressing local issues. Silvia noted that the response to the multimedia exhibit was overwhelmingly positive and rewarding especially because it was informative for Latinxs and other ethnic groups using the area that were also going to be affected by the proposed changes. Silvia has been working in the area for many years, producing independently and alongside Latin Elephant different projects documenting the presence of Latinxs in the area. During her time working at Express News, a for profit newspaper geared towards Spanish speaking readers, and Migrants Rights Network, a local charity working with migrants from different backgrounds, she developed a healthy network with various people living, working, struggling, and playing in the area. From these networks, she went on to film, edit, direct, and co-produce with Latin Elephant, London's Latin Quarter[36], a short film documenting how urban regeneration is affecting the area using testimonies from several retailers in the area as well as portraying the history of Latinxs in the area and the kind of vibrant lifescapes they bring with their food, music, dances, and

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[36] Can be viewed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRC2cyhpzAM

culture. She mobilised these networks to attend our exhibit and our response was definitively positive, mostly because of the educational aspect of the work for the people who visited. Many Latinxs and other local users of the space were not aware of the urban regeneration plans or the vibrant Latinx lifescapes found there.

When it came to the question of what we would do a second time around the organisers shared critical reflections and participants had something constructive to say. Patria thought we could have spent more time on education about what is happening in the area, acknowledging that we started doing research on the streets without much context, that there could have been more discussion on the socio-political issues, but part of the logic was for the organisers to have less influence with less instruction. Silvia said she would not change much especially because this was a pilot project which provided many lessons, chief amongst them was that more time was needed but that this lesson needed to be negotiated with the observation that attendance dropped off toward the last few sessions of the project. Ingrid from Fotosynthesis agreed that we needed more time as it happened too fast and more sessions at a different pace, less frenetic, could have been useful especially when it came to curating the exhibit with so many ideas from different people; moreover, she noted that more volunteers were needed throughout the process, especially in the technical aspect of the exhibition such as setting up, taking down equipment, and carrying it from one place to the next. Soledad felt that the group's perspectives were distinct but that there could have been more diffusion of responsibilities, tapping into the already existing talent in terms of research, journalism, community embeddedness, and artistic abilities.

In a private interview, I asked Silvia how difficult and/or rewarding it was for her to do this kind of volunteer, non-paid work. She noted that she used to be able to do much more prior to giving birth, after which her child's care became a priority and she needed to readjust her expectations of what was possible in volunteering. She compares her volunteer work at Latin Elephant to that of Express News:

> Silvia: When I volunteered at Express News, I learned a lot about sales, for example writing template sales emails, reaching out to local Latino businesses selling advertisement space on the newspaper. When I studied journalism, I never imagined myself doing sales, but this work taught me a lot about the different

aspects about working at a newspaper. The entire staff was doing voluntary work, they don't have physical offices, and it was like a full-time job. The labour conditions were terrible […] at one point, I was paid part-time, but I was doing a full-time job and I was the only journalist that was paid.

Ulises: Are they a registered charity? Can they use volunteer labour?

Silvia: In practice, yes. In terms of ethics, no. But technically there is nothing stopping them from doing it. The National Union of Journalists asks journalists to report publications that use volunteer work. But most journalists working there do it for the sake of exposure and to maintain some links to the profession until something better comes along.

Ulises: How does that experience differ from your volunteer work with Latin Elephant?

Silvia: Everything is different! Working with Patria is much more collaborative. At Express News, the editor tells you what stories they want. I first became interested in interviewing Patria and several other researchers for my London's Latin Quarter project, but they started involving me in conversations about their research and eventually we started cooperating on different projects including that short film and now this project [My Latin Elephant] with new organisations [InsightShare and Fotosynthesis]. Volunteering with Latin Elephant helps me explore my professional interests, and I have time for my little boy. But, of course, I miss the money, but I'm glad I'm in a position to help right now. And it helps to know all the organisers are in the same situation with the same goals. (Silvia, 20 Feb 2016).

For Silvia, working with Latin Elephant has helped her maintain links to her profession and her community through the organising and reporting about issues that impact the lives of Latinxs in London. She hints at the precarious world of journalism as it pertains to the local area, much of which the group also learned about through Santi, the other journalist in the group who has experience working with Express News. Volunteering at Express News, for Silvia and Santi, was a learning experience, but they acknowledge the complicated negotiations they had to make in order to get some hands-on experience in their chosen profession knowing that their labour was being exploited.

Pertaining to volunteer work, there was some confusion about who was getting paid and who was doing volunteer work in the project. A couple of the participants believed that all the organisers were getting paid for their work which was not true for any of the participants of the project. When the question of what I would have done differently came to me I mentioned that we could think about the call for participants, the language could have been more careful so as to better reflect the organisers' intentions for the project.

> Participant 1: I think it was kind of short, because I spoke to some of the people, and some of the people who didn't know photography, and they were like, well this was advertised to me as a photography course, and actually I didn't really learn much photographic theory, right, so, yeah, it was a bit short. To give them some credit, to explain, photographic theory, and then to explain the social issues that we were going to document, it was all very compact and…
>
> Ulises: Yeah, from what I understand they wanted it to be a longer project but…
>
> Participant 2: Yeah, definitely and even if we look at the attendance and stuff, how many people dropped out, I think for example Ingrid she put so much work into it.
>
> Ulises: Did you have the perception that they were doing this as voluntary work? Or?
>
> Participant 2: Yeah, well, I mean, I understood at the beginning, that they were doing this as voluntary work but then uh I found out that there was some sort of funding, so I'm sure, I kind of understood that they were receiving some sort of remuneration for, um, not only for the materials and stuff for the time that they put into it. (Anonymous, 8 Jan 2016)

Another participant expressed similar feelings:

> Participant 2: 'There was so much work involved and we didn't get paid for it. They were all getting paid for all the hours they were putting in' (Anonymous, 8 Jan 2016).

These feelings were common amongst the group, some held stronger opinions about it than others, with most that continued attending primarily did so for the bonding and educational aspect of the work. But this was the reason for my feedback regarding the language in the call primarily focusing on the educational experience with video and photography. Prior to selecting the participants, Silvia better explained the project and linked it to urban

regeneration issues and its impacts on the local community. However, even after we were several lessons in, some participants expressed that they entered the project with the expectation of learning photography for their holidays or for their special events.

Regarding voluntary work and remuneration, there was a need for transparency about who was getting paid for what work. The project participants or volunteers of Latin Elephant, and most of the volunteers with whom I worked did not have much knowledge about the financial structure of the organisations[37]. Perhaps it was the nature of My Latin Elephant project, we were volunteers in ongoing Latin Elephant research while also being student-participants of the broader project for which InsightShare and Fotosynthesis were in charge of teaching, but some felt the educational aspect that the organisers promised was not delivered. The call for transparency about their financial situation here does not come from a place of ignorance, I had asked the organisers about this information along the way. I understood that Ingrid and Soledad were paid staff members in their organisations, and that this was part of their paid work. However, I also knew that they were working extremely long hours to curate the exhibit and edit the video combining multiple and different visions. This was especially true for Ingrid during the sessions when she had to gather, put away, and carry the photography equipment by herself in the evening to her car; moreover, the hours she put in for the work were above and beyond her paid work, as evidenced by the multiple emails we exchanged between 12AM-2AM during and about the exhibit preparation phase of the project; I was working 20 hours per week for the research group LSE London and would often catch up on those responsibilities late at night. I understood that Patria's remuneration for her work with Latin Elephant was minimal; Silvia was a non-paid volunteer for this project. They both put in many hours to make the project possible, especially Silvia who managed to work with multiple situations, difficult personalities, schedules, and needs. However, most of these questions, misinformation, and

[37] This was a common theme with most of the participants with whom I worked which means that this call for more transparency applies to all the organisations where my research participants do their volunteer work. This, however, should be coupled with the observation that some volunteers did not feel like they needed to be privy to such information as long as they provided a space to work for the greater good. My call for transparency comes from a place where confusion, questions, and rumours can be easily avoided with clarifying these issues before they become issues in terms of the possibility of bonding and working together.

rumours could have been quelled if the organisers had more up-front information and transparency regarding the financial aspect of their work.

Other participants appreciated the organisers' framing of the project as a learning experience, a pilot project. Jania noted that she felt the project should not end but that there were lessons to be learned. For her part, she felt that we could have worked on group cohesion especially when it came to opinions about certain themes. In a private interview on 16 March 2016, my last fieldwork interview, she elaborated with the example of an instance when she felt we needed to learn more about photography, so she surveyed the feelings of other participants most of whom shared her opinions but when she voiced these concerns to the organisers, most of the people whom had agreed with her did not speak up. As noted previously, this sentiment was shared amongst the participants and Jania's comment was not an inaccurate representation of what happened. My feeling when these situations came up was that the organisers were doing their best in terms of negotiating time with the multiple themes and aspects of the project we needed to cover.

Macarena also acknowledged that the project would have benefitted from more time despite the difficulties that a longer project may entail. The structure of the process was already set, and it would help to work on this collaboratively so as to share opinions, perceptions, plans, problems, and come up with approaches to resolutions. The entire project was too fast, the information given for us to learn the equipment or the social issues was sometimes legible, sometimes not so much. We thought we were making practice videos during the first few sessions and some of these scenes ended up in the final video. We could have produced a more professional aesthetic to the video, the background story was needed, the talent was there, and the organisers could have relied more on this aspect of the group. Jania added that more time would have allowed us to learn about the urban regeneration context and be able to articulate better explanations to the people whom we were interviewing. The entire project could have been more collaborative, not just with the group but also with the community; it was not enough just to talk to them, she thought, it was important for us to involve them and take a more active role.

Overall, some of these educational moments throughout the project really speak to the need to address 'awareness' campaigns in charity discourses. This was especially evident during the exhibit when Macarena and I hosted four Q&A sessions after the film

viewings throughout the day. We were unaware we were going to have to do that work so the first session we improvised. Most of the sessions, except for the last one, had a 'full-house' with most of the 50-60 seats taken. The film seemed to have inspired or induced in the audience a particular urgency about organisation, as was evidenced in the questions asking us what we were going to do about the situation. Patria had to step in and field some of the more complex questions regarding the process of urban regeneration, also noting that this was not the first project which Latin Elephant had produced. But that Being Latin in Elephant was to provide evidence, to the GLA for its London Plan, to the council, and to the developers, that local residents and users were also there. Patria also noted the laws that were in place to protect businesses that are owned by ethnic minorities from predatory or exclusionary practices by developers. The London Plan needed to include such protection for businesses owned by ethnic minorities in different areas. One of the construction workers for Delancey, the area's chief developer, was present during the Q&A session and noted that it was not just businesses that were protected under law but that local construction workers were protected, and that were doubts about the developers were meeting these quotas. All of which speak to the complexities of this project in the context of Latin Elephant's work, not just in terms of My Latin Elephant project, but the larger and broader plans for political strategy that such 'awareness' campaigns need to envision for material change and not just discursive 'awareness'.

Part of me felt unprepared for these Q&A sessions, and I would have liked to have been able to address some of those questions with Macarena without the need for Patria to step in. These questions should have been part of the educational process of the project, and while I understand that the organisers wanted to take a less directive approach, the issues that the urban regeneration context brought up and were presented in the film needed a different, more in-depth approach to the education of the socio-political context for the project's participants. Perhaps it is true that time would have been more beneficial, but also better planning for educational work would have helped on every aspect of the project ranging from the technical to the cultural and socio-political. Jania's sentiments about our responsibility to educate the local residents and users of the area, not just take from them a perspective and put it on display, are especially important when noting that several individuals maintained a positive perspective about the plans to demolish the E&C

Shopping Centre, one of whom we interviewed and others that were part of the group. The person whom we interviewed had a certain enthusiasm for the demolition plans despite his working in the area where most of his clients came from; in other words, there was not much reflection on whether he or his clients were going to be excluded, culturally or socio-economically, from the area; he was concerned with aesthetics and projected his presence onto the 'regenerated' spatial imaginary. Many of the participants kept using the word 'rejuvenation' as opposed to 'regeneration'. Both words come with their own set of issues in terms of what they imply, a kind of negotiation between stasis and change, most of which did not reflect the planned changes to the built environment and what those entailed for the lifeblood, in terms of history and present use, of the area.

In conclusion, I sympathise with the idea that this was a pilot project, but such framing was only claimed once the project was over. It was indeed an educational experience for most of the participants in terms of photography, video, group work, interviewing, documenting, producing, planning, conflict resolution, research ethics, as well as cultural, social, economic politics. The project was too short for our ambitions, some of which were imposed on us once we started the project, others we set out for ourselves and needed more education on the context. Regardless, all the organisers from Latin Elephant, InsightShare, and Fotosynthesis worked very hard to provide a space for us to produce an exhibition and video content which can be used for future projects as evidence that we were there. Much of our presence will be spectralised, and with continual struggle, organisation, and education this spectral position can be a source of power. This particular point is the one of the central arguments of the thesis: that the spectral is a space for power negotiations, not inherent marginality.

6.4 Coalition of Latin Americans in the United Kingdom: Advocacy Campaigns

Advocacy work can also have elements of the two previous forms of work surveyed in this chapter. This difference between advocacy work vs activist work is not clearly defined, and charities navigate differently this grey zone in the laws governing charities. This section features the advocacy work of the Coalition of Latin Americans in the United Kingdom (CLAUK), which is a project primarily directed by LAWRS. LAWRS's approach to advocacy is perhaps the most creative of all the charities that work with Latinxs

in London, primarily because most of their work, including the recreational and educational, is geared towards advocacy of Latinx's rights in one form or another; a broader profile of their work is provided in Section 6.6 Appendix #. In this section I focus on CLAUK because this provides a holistic perspective of many of the charities working with Latinxs and their coalitional attempts to influence policy on a local governmental level.

After the launch of the *NLI* report (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011), which was commissioned by LAWRS and Trust for London, CLAUK was formed out of one of the key recommendations of the report. Currently composed of 14 Latin American organisations in London, all of which share the intent to promote the collective interests of and a generalised voice for Latinx populations in the UK. LAWRS, with the help of Trust for London, was funding the services of a Campaigns and Promotion Coordinator since November 2012 and during the timeframe covered in my research; Lucila Granada, now the Director of LAWRS, was the person filling this position. CLAUK primarily worked on three key campaigns. The first project which CLAUK took on was the campaign for recognition of Latin Americans, not labelled as Latinxs or any other variations of such identity marker. Such a project had its beginnings in earlier attempts to create an active coalition campaigning for recognition of ethnic minority status in what became known as Latin American Recognition Campaign (LARC)[38]. This coalition was primarily made up of non-registered charity groups such as Quinto Suyo, Peruvians in the UK, Bolivia Solidarity Campaign, MERU, Movimiento Ecuador en el Reino Unino, and other Latinx related groups and campaigns. LAWRS was the only registered charity that supported and worked with this movement. In an interview, Pablo Allison, an early organiser of LARC, noted some of the former solidarity groups that were part of LARC, such as Centrepoint Point Collective, have now disbanded (13 July 2015). Once LARC was no longer active and the recommendations in the No Longer Visible report were published, LAWRS

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[38] Prior to LARC, there were other attempts at recognition primarily launched by the Ibero-American Alliance which had the support of Ken Livingston as Mayor of London. This group did come up in my interview with Claudio who scoffed at the group as having romanticized versions of European ancestry mixed with right-leaning politics which sought to exploit Latin America for business purposes rather than supporting leftist solidarity efforts. For him, LARC represented a shift in strategy along with the adaptation of Latin American rather than Ibero-American as an identity designation, which he largely supported because it actively sought to denounce colonial links (Claudio, 6 Sep 2015).

formalised a coalition which is now only formed of registered charities. The organisation of the advocacy work of this group is a collective and collaborative effort from representatives of all the member organisations.

The LAWRS annual reports from 2013 to 2016 document the struggle for ethnic recognition in London. The first council to recognise officially Latin Americans as an ethnic minority group was Southwark in 2012. In 2013, CLAUK targeted six London boroughs where most Latinxs reside (LAWRS 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016). They met with key representatives from Lambeth, Hackney, and Haringey Councils, and worked with government initiatives on a petition under the Sustainable Communities Act asking Central Government to issue guidance on the official recognition of Latin Americans as an ethnic group. CLAUK was also being included in relevant conversations on population studies and participated in workshops, events, and forums including the Office for National Statistics, Beyond 2011 consultation, the London Citizen's Diaspora People's Assembly, amongst others. All of this work paid off in Southwark when the council recognised Latin Americans as an ethnic group. They continued to work with Haringey, Hackney, Islington, and the GLA. 2014 marked the 'voter strategy' approach in the work towards recognition, meaning that, as the report notes, 'Recognition hinges on politicians viewing us as electors' (LAWRS 2014). Towards this end, CLAUK hosted hustings debates with MEP and council candidates and their voter registration campaigns helped 700 Latinxs exercise their right to vote. Hackney and Islington also recognised Latin Americans as an ethnic group in 2014. In 2016, they achieved the inclusion of the 'Latin American' category at the London level with the help and guidance of the GLA Group which includes the GLA, the London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority, Transport for London, the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime and the London Legacy Development Corporation.

The second project which CLAUK works on extensively is the campaign to improve access to health services. Much of this work involves developing information campaigns and training to increases GP registrations. Some of this work includes working with Project London which trains volunteers from different coalition organisations on how to access NHS services. Their work also includes direct advocacy through consultations which are carried out through NHS South London Health Care Trust and NHS Southwark where they provide ongoing information regarding the specific health needs of Latinxs in

London. I participated in a workshop and focus group, one on sexual health attitudes of Latin American men and the other on the mental health of migrants in London. In 2014, CLAUK began working with NPL on the 'Let's Stop HIV' campaign after LAWRS and NPL published a study which found high rates of HIV infection amongst Latin American men in the boroughs of Lambeth, Southwark, and Lewisham (Granada and Paccoud 2014). This campaigned reached 1,000 people directly and over 4,000 people through an information campaign. Much of the work in this campaign also included the 'Register with a GP' bilingual campaign developed in partnership with Doctors of the World where 92% reached by the campaign were able to register with a GP using their resources.

The third project which CLAUK organised was on tackling labour exploitations and improving access to labour rights. Their main focus with this campaign was working with different cleaners' campaign including the 3Cosas campaign and other groups working for labour rights. They helped to set up a support network to voice key issues of Latinxs working in the cleaning, catering, and hospitality sectors. In 2014, CLAUK worked with the Equality Human Rights Commission's investigation into the cleaning sector, which included cases of 52 Latinxs as well the views of several organisations in the coalition and unions working with said group (EHRC, 2014). One of the campaigns launched in 2015 was the 'Know your Labour Rights' campaign, in partnership with Southwark Law Centre and Unite the Union, which was an information campaign consisting of workshops and training workers, specifically cleaners, on their labour rights. In 2015-16, their work on tackling labour exploitation continued, partnering with Unison, the largest trade union in the UK, to develop an informative campaign on maternity and paternity rights. This came as a result of high rates of enquiries regarding the matter. Part of this strand of their work also includes quantitative research partnering with local and national organisations, including academic, governmental, voluntary, and activist organisations.

6.5 Summary

This Chapter sought to capture both macro and micro perspectives of the work small charities do to challenge spectrality and spatialise Latinidad. This work often goes unrecognised despite the enormous efforts by those working within the ranks of these small

charities. The recreational, educational, and advocacy work these charities do helps to alleviate pressures of the everyday and expand notions of Latinidad. I provided in-depth examples of the work to show the work from multiple angles. Overall, each form of work these charities perform is complex, each one carries elements of one another. The categorisation was only a starting point to flesh out the organisation that is happening on the ground. The recreational work of CASA takes at least a couple of years of planning, all of which culminates in the festival which also shows off the work of the artists, who are inadvertent charity workers in the web of complex funding structures. The educational work done by Latin Elephant has been invaluable in terms of documenting the use of the area by Latinxs and for Latinxs as well as other users of the area; our work proved challenging but rewarding with many lessons to be learned both from participants and organisers of the project. Lastly, LAWRS has done a more direct approach to government with their advocacy work being most successful when they gained London-wide recognition as an ethnic group living in London; in their process of advocacy work addressing the health and labour rights of Latinxs they have reached out widely to various influential groups to cooperate and collaborate in securing the rights of this group. The following Chapter surveys the politics that govern the world of charity at large with a specific focus on the impacts this governance structure has on small charities.

6.6 Charity work surveyed, organised by themes of recreation, education, and advocacy

CASA Theatre Festival, 2014 -2016

The objective of this charity is to relieve the needs of people who are socially and economically disadvantaged by providing support and activities which develop their skills and capacities to enable them to participate in society. The core of their work consists on producing a 10-day festival of Latin American performing arts featuring experienced and emerging companies from the regions (north, central, and south America), as well as Latin American theatre makers based in UK based which developed through their Artist-in-Residence programme and Scratch Night. Their festivals have also featured complementary programmes of music, visual arts, workshops, and talks to provide a more in-depth experience of the theatre programme; these events give the artists and audiences a space to engage with the work and perceived themes and style of their work, and how these speak to wider Latin American cultures and political economies.

Number of people benefited by the work:

- 2014: there were 400 attendees, many of whom had not previously attended any CASA events
- 2015: the organisation achieved its audience and participants with over 3,000 people engaging in CASA's work, with deeper communication between international artists, UK artists, charity users, and audiences.
- 2016: despite not producing an official festival due to lack of funding, their individual productions and community engagement reaching with 3,500 people engaging with the organisation.

Type of Work	Description
Recreation	- Ran a series of free theatre workshops targeted at Latinxs in London - Fostered a Community Theatre Group which rehearse a play that is performed on the closing day of the festival - Created spaces for intercultural exchange between theatre makers of all backgrounds living in London

	• Engaged Latinxs as audiences and participants in theatre activities
	
	• Delivered a professionally produced festivals (2014, 2016) which included:
	
	    ○ 10 participation workshops for professionals and 6 participation community
	
	    ○ 2 film events, 1 art exhibition, and 2 debates
	
	    ○ 14 complementary events (including Q&As & Meet the Artists talks)
	
	    ○ created a space for the artists-in-residence to work with a visiting international company
	
	• Through CLAUK they organised with five local Latinx social care charities to ensure that over one hundred disadvantaged Latinxs could enjoy free tickets at CASA 2015 through the Open CASA Community Theatre scheme.
	
	• They introduced a new event called "The Night of Ideas", a social casual event that fostered discussion around Latin American culture, politics and sport, but that also had a social slant.

Education	• In partnership with QMUL and Professor McIlwaine, they engaged in a study to determine how Latinxs who live in London consume culture and more specifically, how and why they access theatre and the reasons why they may not do so. The results were published in a report entitled "Cultural Consumption and the Performing Arts amongst Latin Americans in London". • An informative, educational atmosphere was created during the Mexican Day of Debate, which attracted a strong young crowd to explore the relationship between human rights and theatre in Mexico.

Advocacy	• The socio-political issues which the festivals have addressed and explored act as inadvertent awareness campaigns

Latin American Women's Rights Service (LAWRS), 2014 - 2016

The objective of this charity is to promote charitable purposes for the benefit of Latinx women and their children living in the UK by providing advice, information, and support in the areas of social benefits, health, housing, education, employment and training, immigration, family, and the overall alleviation of poverty and distress. Their mission seeks to provide tools for the empowerment of Latnix women in the UK for personal and social change. Their work in addressing poverty, debt, and homelessness includes specialised advice, advocacy, and social assistance on housing, social benefits, and money. They support women in securing housing either social housing or adequate and accessible rental housing. They also council women on how to claim benefits to which they are entitled, especially when it comes to labour rights and benefits.

Type of work	Description
Recreation	• Participated in the documentary, The Elephant, produced with Southwark Youth Services • Organised workshops on musical and lyrical composition which culminated in women presenting their projects and identities through music produced through these workshops • Organised psycho-educational workshops, self-help groups and meditation. • Further developed specialised workshops on lyrical composition through the development of critical awareness of gender roles in video clips and developed their own critical narratives • Organised workshops about the representations of the female body in art through workshops and seminars
Education	• Workshops, group activities on the arts • Budget workshops and financial education • Workshops and counselling on labour rights

	• Workshops on education for young people and teachers • English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes • Weekly yoga classes and informative talks • Self-help and therapeutic workshops and counselling sessions. • Workshops on housing, benefits, budgets and financial education. • Individual assessments and therapy for women survivors of violence, trauma, torture and abuse.

Advocacy	• The advocacy work done through CLAUK is detailed in the chapter
	
	• Specialised advice on defence and social assistance in the areas of housing, social benefits, as well as economic hardships
	
	• Counselling households on housing rights
	
	• Counselling provided for sex workers on safety, rights, and overall wellbeing
	
	• Specialized surgeries including on:
	    o Family law
	    o Labour rights
	    o Welfare rights tribunals
	    o Immigration laws
	
	• Provided in-depth assistance with social care case work and/or counselling
	
	• Work experience through voluntary placements within the organisation
	
	• Programme to intensify, advocate, and work on human rights campaigns for Latin American migrant women and migrant women in general, focusing on the rights of survivors of (physical and psychological) violence, labour rights, migrant women's rights and discrimination

El Teléfono de la Esperanza (TEUK), 2016

The main objective of the charity is to provide support in mental and emotional health and general wellbeing for the Spanish and Portuguese speaking communities in the UK. Technically, as many other Latinx charities, their ability to serve Portuguese service users is not supported adequately. The purpose of the charity is to help develop people's ability to overcome the crisis, maintain hope in difficult times, and develop their full potential as human beings by offering the following services:

Type of work	Description
Recreation	• Congresses and campaigns to combat isolation, promote mental health and foster integration; these events are also educational and advocacy work but as in many other conferences, there is much recreational socialising that happens during these events

Education	• Year-round telephone counselling helpline service run by volunteers who have been trained to listen and help.
	• Workshops, courses and conferences on specific topics, such as:
	  o domestic violence,
	  o improving parents' relationships with their children,
	  o emotional health and the well-being of immigrants,
	  o facilitated by trained professionals in response to identified needs.
	• Training for members and volunteers:
	  o workshops and courses on personal development,
	  o learning to help others,
	  o complying with policies of protection,
	  o confidentiality and protection, and others.

Advocacy	• Family counselling provided by trained family counsellors and therapists in response to specific needs

	• Attend various events to promote mental health awareness of migrants • Work with Southwark Council to facilitate workshops on the specific psychological needs of migrants with an emphasis on Latinx migrants for which they have evidence from a vast network of migrant organisations including their own franchised charity organisations which has branches in Spain and various Latin American countries.

Indoamerican Refugee and Migrant Organisation (IRMO), 2014 -2016

As a migrant-led organisation, this charity works to provide support to Latinxs in London; have done so since 1985. Based in South London, where most Latinxs reside, they provide support in Spanish and Portuguese (not a token statement, Brazilians are integrated into the organisational structure to ensure this group does not get left out in the umbrella of Latinidad). Their approach to their work is holistic, whole person focused, and work across three areas: education, training, and employment; advice and advocacy; and wellbeing. The purpose is to help people unfamiliar with local systems learn ways to navigate it. They also help in the campaigns for Latin Americans to be recognised as a minority ethnic group.

Type of work	Description
Recreation	• Angell Town Community Garden project included activities that helped improve community cohesion and social well-being by bringing residents of all ages and backgrounds together to participate in healthy outdoor activities • Provided support with emotional difficulties with workshops on listening, talks, as well as yoga classes • The seamstress IRMO Women's Group—provided a space for women to talk about their problems and needs while learning to sow • Latin American Youth Forum, designed for young people who attended artistic and educational workshops (photography, music and video) • IRMO summer programme designed for Latinx youth.
Education	• 2 people were trained to be community garden leaders. • English for work, benefited 648 students with 1,404 hours of English classes and 150 hours of conversation. • IT courses; professional certification courses to work in construction

	- Labour rights workshops; immigration law surgeries;
	- Vocational training, higher education counselling, and voluntary internships
	- 1BeOnline Campaign, students were supported to develop their online skills.
	- Latin American Youth Forum, supported 39 young people between the ages of 13 and 20 learning about the educational system and opportunities in the UK
	- Volunteer Scheme helped volunteers and interns develop new skills and work experience
	- Latin American Centre for the Family, integral support with English classes, bilingual homework for children from 5 to 13 years old.
	- Family project: children participated in English classes, homework clubs and artistic and cultural activities; they were also placed in general education (from the remedial courses where they started)
	- Employment rights, 68 Latinos attended on-the-job training workshops.
Advocacy	- 631 counselling in defence and relation to social welfare, housing and debt management
	- Welfare and Housing Advice, families with welfare and housing problems were supported to access their rights with the aim of increasing income for their households and alleviating poverty. Employment rights, 157 cases were resolved on the issue of labour exploitation.
	- Women's Circle, programme which focuses on empowering women to access better opportunities among which women were assisted through the mentoring programme.

Latin American Disabled Peoples Project (LADPP), 2014 -2016

This charity works to improve the quality of life, independence, and community integration of disabled and non-disabled Spanish and Portuguese speaking peoples, their careers, families and communities living in London through information, training, advice, representation, interpreting, advocacy, social and cultural events, and user development and volunteering opportunities.

Type of work	Description
Recreation	- Social and cultural trips to Southend-on-Sea, Margate Beach, Blenheim Palace, Hampton Court Palace, Hasting Beach, Hever Canterbury, Green Park, Eastbourne Lammas festival, Brighton beach, Worthing beach, and Bath - LADPP social meetings throughout the year - LADPP anniversary party - Recreational activities coordinated by the Refugee Council, the Lambeth Refugee Forum and the Southwark Refugee Health Team - Entertainment activities such as dance classes, guitar lessons, therapeutic tissue, gardening, therapeutic tissue, art classes, museum tours, and community festivals - Association with local food banks - Befriending project: since 2011, the befriending project has been supporting users and members from the community who have mobility difficulties because of their age, disability, or physical and mental health problems
Education	- English and computer classes for users and their families - Provided internal training in health and safety at work, housing, tax credit, self-employment and social welfare

	- Contacts are made with other Latin American organizations, such as the Latin American Service for Women's Rights (LAWRS) - LADPP Wellbeing and Mental Health Support Project: - meets the needs of users through a variety of workshops, events and services - delivers the following services: healthy living seminars, seminars on sexual health for women and those living with HIV with the support from NAZ Project, advice sessions on how to access NHS services according to needs and disabilities, and a therapeutic knitting group
Advocacy	- Interpretation service for users who cannot access legal services - Attend medical appointments with those in need - Assistance interviews with legal agencies - Refer service users to various departments and statutory bodies, such as Social Services and other specialized advisory agencies, such as the Citizens Advice Office - Health and Therapeutic services: The LADPP Nurse Session meetings have an average of 69 members participating in ten monthly sessions and 30 people have benefited from other alternative therapies when dealing with problems arising from their health and disabilities

Latin Elephant, 2015 -2016
The purpose of this charity is to promote social inclusion for public benefit by working with people in socially and economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods of London (in particular, Elephant and Castle, Southwark) who are socially excluded because of their ethnic origin (in particular, Latin Americans living in London) in order to alleviate the needs of these people and help them to integrate into society. The organisation seeks to provide a local network group that encourages and enables Latinxs to participate more effectively with the wider community and to increase, or coordinate, opportunities for members of the Latin American community to engage in urban regeneration initiatives, and in promoting inclusion in such engagement, in the areas where they live.

Type of work	Description
Recreation	• 'London's Latin Quarter' Documentary - Launched at Tate Modern - 5th October 2015. This documentary tells the story of London's largest Latin American community in Elephant and Castle, an area currently facing a regeneration initiative • 'My Latin Elephant: Workshops in participatory video and photography' —in partnership with InsightShare & Fotosynthesis. This project culminated with the exhibition 'Being Latin in Elephant' from 28 November - 5 December 2015, EC Shopping Centre. This project is described at length in Chapter 6. • Weaving Migrations: A pause for Reflection 4 February 2016. Director Patria Román Velázquez participated in panel discussion presenting her work on the history of Latin American shops in Elephant and Castle.
Education	• Relocation Alternatives for Latin American retailers in EC Town Centre Development Participatory Urban Design Workshop - 8 March 2016- with Bartlett School of Planning, UCL

	• Elephant News January 2016. Newsletter with information about regeneration. In partnership with Elephant and Walworth Neighbourhood Forum.
	• London for all! A handbook for community and small business groups fighting to retain workspace for London's diverse economies September 2015 - Just Space & New Economics Foundation Launched October 2015 Latin Elephant was chosen as a case study in this community handbook.
	• Towards a community-led plan workshops 27 April 2016. GLA Participant in workshops.
Advocacy	• Towards a Community Led Plan for London with Just Space August 2016-Contributions to Economy and Community Chapters advocating for the value of migrant and ethnic economies
	• The majority of their work is advocacy work, working with local councils (Southwark, Lambeth, Lewisham, Haringey) to acknowledge the legal obligations they have to minority ethnic groups, especially those that they have recognised as such in their charters

The Naz Project London (NPL), 2014 -2016

This charity works on the study, prevention, and diffusion of sexual health, as well as its promotion and development of LGBT support groups, clinical services, HIV tests in London, divided in its four main workflows: HIV care and support; promotion of sexual health, including support for LGBT; clinical services: HIV testing and counselling; and policy and research.

Type of work	Description
Recreation	• People referred for sexual health screens • Events, fairs, shopping centres and places of worship visited for presentations and outreach • monthly peer support meetings, addressing issues of social isolation that provide safe spaces, referrals and case work; this in addition to having 7 support groups
Education	• Education on HIV care and support • Promotion of sexual health, including support for LGBT youth • Clinical services: HIV testing and counselling • Rapid HIV tests delivered by NAZ staff • PREP seminar together with the Voices Hermanas Network, given by Dr Mitzy Gafos, with the purpose of providing an opportunity for people to understand the evidence base around PREP and the possibilities it offers for the prevention of HIV • One on one counselling sessions • Provided volunteering and mentoring opportunities • Distributed condoms and literature on sexual health
Advocacy	• Campaign "Stop HIV" in conjunction with LAWRS, this campaign seeks to raise awareness about HIV prevention, promote safe sexual practices, promote HIV testing and encourage Latin Americans to access HIV tests and other STIs. Benefitting member organizations of CLAUK to carry out 9 workshops and test events in each of the CLAUK organizations

	• Faith Testing Programme, it is an initiative that brings together religious leaders, sexual health professionals, religious organizations and people living with HIV, to raise awareness about HIV and sexual health, through the establishment of a sexual health agenda and the promotion of HIV testing in religious congregations • Tell 26 campaign: it is a campaign focused on HIV prevention and early diagnosis through Portuguese and Brazilian speaking community tests. Its main objectives are to increase the knowledge and understanding of HIV, create opportunities for HIV testing, increase awareness of health services and gather information from the community about the needs of sexual health in the community • Legally supported same sex immigration cases

Latin American House Company (LAH), 2014 -2016

This charity works to promote the benefit of Latinxs in the UK and abroad. As with IRMO and LAWRS, this broader framing of their work allows them to work with European organisations and form coalitions funded by the European Union. As with the other organisations, they work with local authorities, other registered charity organisations, community advocacy groups in common efforts to advance education and to provide facilities in the interest of social welfare for recreation and leisure time occupation with the object of improving the conditions of life of the users of the space. They are able to do this thanks to a deed of property donated to them in the mid-1980s under a covenant granting the occupation of its premises as long as they carry out the objectives described in their constitution.

Number of people benefited by the work:

- 2014: Legal advisors helped nearly 1000 people. Individual case work was conducted for 103 service users, whilst other users were provided with advice at specialist level

- 2015: Legal advisors helped 722 people, of which 60% received immigration advice, 20% welfare benefits advice, 13%employment law advice and 5%housing law advice. Their services are mainly geared towards Spanish-speakers but the number of Portuguese speakers using their advice services are growing. The majority of people accessing the legal advice services are women (62%).

- 2016: Legal advisors advised 685 people on 726 issues relating to immigration, welfare, employment law, housing and family law, which was introduced early in the year. All of the advisors are volunteers, mostly solicitors, but they do have an in-house specialist level immigration solicitor who is funded by TSB foundation.

Type of work	Description
Recreation	• The cultural department runs events such as film screenings and other events to promote Latinx culture and Spanish & Portuguese languages.

	• They also produce the online magazine Ventana Latina which has published themed editions and poetry anthologies • Cine Forum: showcasing Latin American films • Community centre: provides a space to meet people, share ideas, and become more closely acquainted with Latinx culture and their peoples. This is not always open to the general public as it is rented out as a way to generate income • With the support of the Mexican Cultural Centre they hosted Mexican writer, Pedro Palou to talk about his book *El fracaso del mestizo* (The failure of the mestizo) • Hosted several events alongside Centre for Latin American Identity inviting various Latinx artists, writers, and philosophers.
Education	• Provide support for people to improve their employment prospects through a CV clinic, mock interview practice and workshops • Children's Education in Spanish and English: Centro Infantil Menchú or Menchú Nursery is their bilingual nursery—one of the earliest projects since their inception offering high-quality bilingual child care and education for 2 to 4-year olds. Since 2011, they opened the Spanish Saturday School for children aged between 5 and 11. • Community Learning Centre: this department runs adult education classes in IT and English as a second language.
Advocacy	• Immigration advice. • Social welfare advice. • Employment law advice. • Housing and family law advice.

Chapter 7: Towards spectral governance: the impact of policies

7.1 Introduction

This chapter spatialises the metaphor of the spectre to analyse the relationship between small charities and key elements of the structure that impact their performance. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, the analysis focuses on the scales of the group and organisation, respectively, in order to understand holistically their relationship. This chapter examines these structuring forces that produce London's urban borders. My argument in this chapter is that the structure that regulates charities reinforces urban borders through state governance, which primarily concerns policy trends which give preference to the scale and scope of large organisations that provide welfare services in the private and public sector.

The work of small local charities has been made more difficult due to the changing relationship between the state and small charities. This changing relationship is evidenced in the central government's politics and policies which I argue allow central and local governments to work towards a spectral position in relation to small local charities and their users and volunteers. This spectral position fosters a contentious relationship which threatens the performance and very existence of small charities that work locally with niche groups of people such as migrants. Through a spectral analysis, these policies and politics are examined using examples of small local charities that work with Latinx migrants. There are five policy trends which are identified in this chapter as evidencing the central government working towards a spectral mode of governance thus impacting the work of small charities; these include: 1) implementing austerity measures, 2) marketising welfare service delivery, 3) adopting a prime provider model in welfare service delivery, 4) shifting away from grants towards contracts, and 5) advancing a surveillance regime. Together, these policy trends work towards the consolidation of spectral governance which induces in small charities a market-oriented performance that may not match their ethos of collaboration and community building.

It can be argued that many of the policy trends described in this Chapter were designed and implemented to provide a certain kind of transparency to and greater control of what is called the charity or voluntary sector on the part of central governments. This is

especially true of the surveillance regime through which central governments have sought to exercise control over small local charities. Describing these policy trends as working towards spectral governance does not negate this argument, but it does provide a critical reading of the quality of this desired transparency and greater control. As described in Chapter 3, these policy trends have a longer history, but this Chapter focuses on the Coalition and Conservative governments as they were the regimes in power during my time of research. It is believed that most of the voluntary sector is informal which in this context means not registered with the Charity Commission (Scott, 2013). When the Coalition government came into power, under the Big Society Agenda, it sought to push these organisations to register under the premise that they would foster an environment of cooperation and autonomy. The major charities (CASA, IRMO, LAWRS, NPL, Latin American House) with which I worked were already registered when this government came into power. Analysing these particular charities showcases the move towards marketisation and privatisation of welfare service delivery. In the case of the surveillance theme I examine in this Chapter, I am pointing to government policy that treats small charities as spectral subjects, imbued with a kind of suspicion by the inherent nature of their work with marginal populations. This does not imply that small charities are doing surveillance work for the government, on the contrary, I provide evidence of how these small charities actively subvert these government discriminatory policies, under the banner of international human rights laws (including European conventions), to provide vital services for their users, in this instance Latinxs in London. Overall, this spectral form of governance seeks implicitly the disappearance of small charities and the work they perform to challenge urban borders and produce alternative spatialities where value is defined through its social methods and not solely by its market centric outcomes.

7.2 Austerity measures

Austerity measures are one of the central policy trends that have helped central governments work towards a spectral mode of governance. This particular policy trend seeps into all of the others and should only be understood holistically in relation to the effect of the subsequent policy trends this Chapter describes. My argument here is that

working towards spectral governance was purposeful carefully noting that purpose is not always entirely dependent on the specificities of a particular space-time. Austerity measures cannot be reduced to clear-cut ideological forms of economic governance for it was the Labour government that introduced such measures in late 2008 (Van Reenen, 2015). Once it came into power in 2010, the austerity measures that the Coalition government introduced were framed as natural and responsible extensions of the policies Labour had planned in response to the financial crisis (Cameron, 2009; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 2010). These austerity measures can also be linked to Theresa May's 'hostile environment' which seeks to criminalise migrants experiencing poverty while making it difficult for them to endure economic hardships. This in turn necessitates that they use the services of local charities which are also being affected by austerity measures. As Lupton *et al.*, note when assessing the Coalition's government record: 'Despite Government endorsements for voluntary activity and a 'Big Society', Third Sector budgets also fell, with cuts estimated between 50 and 100 per cent in some deprived neighbourhoods' (2015: 4).

Administrators whom I interviewed believed that the 2010 Coalition government's austerity policies impacted their relationship to funding and the atmosphere of their daily operations. Representatives of Latin American House, IRMO, LADPP, and LAWRS noted that they increasingly turned to private funding from 2010 onwards as a result of austerity measures (Stefanie, LAH, 12 Oct 2015; Valentina, IRMO, 20 Oct 2015; Susie, LADPP, 3 Sep 2015; Lucila, LAWRS, 17 Jul 2015). There is correlation between austerity measures (government cutbacks) and private sector involvement in funding structures; this affects small charities that work with minority groups such as Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME), which can include migrants as it does Latinx migrants, because they lack strong relationships to private funders many of whom struggle to understand these particular groups (Hunter, Cox and Round, 2016: 22, 29; Voice4Change 2015; Lipman 2014). This relationship to private sources of funding is changing slowly. For example, Latin American House (2012: 12) received a 'generous sum' from Land Securities, a commercial property developer, to deliver services through their Community Learning Centre which offers 'informal low-cost courses in English, Life in the UK and Information Technology'. Other organisations list as their supporters private funding sources such as Lloyds TSB

Foundations and Tesco Charitable Trust. An IRMO representative told me that for them there were two main reasons for turning to private sources of funding: 1) 'pressure from local authorities' to find other sources of funding after austerity and budget cuts and 2) other sources of funding became available and more accessible (Valentina, 20 Oct 2015). The point here is that successive governments, in this case the Coalition government, sought a spectral form of governance through the implementation of austerity measures which transferred some of the responsibility of welfare service delivery funding to the private sector. These policies were reinforced by local authorities, many of which were also facing budget cuts themselves.

Another notable impact that austerity measures had on small charities with which I worked was on the affective environment of the organisations. The risk assessments in the charities' annual reports requires them to document the steps they have taken to reduce organisational risks. The LADPP 2014 annual report shows what I interpret to be anxious language that matches the affective environment I experienced during the participant-observation sessions of my research where I spent time volunteering in these organisations:

> 'We are *conscious* that access to funds is increasingly competitive. We *continue to work to secure funding*, *investigating new sources of funding and to continue implementing and developing* the Ladpp *long-term funding strategy*. For the last three years *we have been developing our own fundraising activities* which have allowed the organisation to cover basic financial expenses but we *still* required the support from funders towards the support of the main community projects and services' (LADPP, 2014: 9; *my emphasis in italics*).

I place emphasis on the affective words that 'put on'[39] the performance of actively working towards self-reliance and sustainability while also claiming a sense of disappointment ('but we still required…') in not meeting that goal and the standards of measurements that propel that goal into a spectral governance framework. It may be that this performance of inadequacy for the governing bodies may be strategic on the part of small charities, but

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[39] 'Put on' – this phrase is not meant to deny or diminish their work, or to suggest they are deceitful in their language. I use the phrase thinking alongside Victor Turner's (1982: 93) argument that 'performance is making, not faking', and so my analysis of the language focuses on the structure that compels this performance rather than judging the performance using intrinsic merits.

there is an inherent anxiety that propels this performance and it does carry an affective realm that effects the work and psychic life of charity workers and their organisations. This performance should be included as evidence of the affective labour inherent in charity work—the begging, the forced performance of mendicancy to access resources for the respective organisations and their work, which are outlined in my conceptual framework chapter.

Austerity measures and the economic anxiety they induce in small charities need to be placed in relation to the Coalition government's Big Society agenda which requires 'voluntary' organisations across scales to prove they are working towards self-reliance, meaning funding from their localities and private sources (Chancellor of the Exchequer, 2010: 32). The Big Society rhetoric has since then been abandoned in name but the practice of the central government distancing itself from local small charities has continued. There are similarities between Labour government's 'partnerships' and the Coalition government's 'Big Society'—both governments deploy their respective policies which work to relegate welfare service delivery to the private and voluntary sector. However, whereas 'partnerships' seeks cooperation, 'Big Society' focuses on voluntary work— people doing by themselves for themselves. Much of this resonates with a Thatcherian critique of state involvement in the private lives of individuals. From a spectral position, this distinction between private and public carries political economic consequences since housing and health, for example, are framed as private phenomena in which the state should not be involved meaning that these are private issues for which the public is not responsible. This logic carries an equation of the internal/external dualism: 'what is internal should not be external'; the borderlands between these spatial frames remain marginal. In this instance, Big Society coupled with austerity measures place emphasis on 'Society' which is code for the voluntary sector and its imagined associational core which were to solve for any violence incurred by the 'privatisation' of welfare services. Note here that privatisation does not necessarily mean marketisation, but it constitutes an extra-statutory non-informal yet institutional space that does not account for intersectionality between society and the market yet carries markers of both with statutory mandate and authority. This is not to limit the critique but, rather, to signal a state spatiality which I consider to be spectral and its impact on the lives of migrants.

Alongside austerity measures in the Comprehensive Spending Review, the Coalition government announced a £100m Transition Fund 'to provide short term support for voluntary sector organisations providing public services' (Chancellor of the Exchequer, 2010: 35). This Fund was to be administered by the Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations (ACEVO) and the Big Lottery Fund. In their report analysing the applications, ACEVO (2011: 2) noted that the majority (70%) of applications came from medium-sized organisations (with incomes of between £100k-£1M; three of the charities in my research qualified as 'medium' in this definition, none of them were aware the Fund existed. Other charities qualified as small (£10k-£100k) but were also not aware of the funds or did not qualify as they did not meet the other requirement of receiving at least 60% of their total income from taxpayer-funded sources). The report also notes that while small charities (with incomes below £100k) were disproportionally affected, only 8% of them applied for a Transition Fund grant (ACEVO, 2011: 14). Geographically, most applications came from London, but this reflected the number of charitable organisations in the region that qualified for the Fund; areas such as the North East and North West were disproportionately reflected, or over represented, considering the overall number of registered charities that qualified to apply. Note that this report only surveyed the applications received not the applications granted funding; there has not yet been a report publishing a breakdown of these statistics.

Charities that were not aware of or did not qualify for the Transition Fund had to adapt to local government budget cuts by turning to private sources of funding. Four of the charities (CASA, IRMO, LAWRS, and Latin American House) seemed to be more adept at finding new funding streams than others. For example, after being denied a three-year grant from Arts Council England (ACE), CASA worked on developing their partnerships with media organisations, embassies, and corporations; in 2014 this also included relationships with key partner venues such as Rich Mix, Barbican, and The Rose Lipman Building (CASA 2014). IRMO worked to diversify its funding streams much of which now comes from non-governmental foundations and trusts, most notably Walcot Foundation and Oak Foundation (IRMO, 2015). IRMO, unlike other charities in the Coalition, collected almost one fifth (£24,558/£127,995) of their total unrestricted income from donations and memberships in 2015, up from £6,630 in 2014 (ibid; IRMO, 2014). In 2014-

15, LAWRS received significant funding from Lloyds TSB Foundation and Capital International Ltd, two private sources of funding not previously accessed before. For their Christmas fundraising, for example, Latin American House collaborated with Marks & Spencer, Waitrose, Little Bay Restaurant, Small & Beautiful Restaurant, Barraco Restaurant, and Tricycle Theatre to collect donations from local customers (LAH, 2014; 2015; 2016). Other sources of funding that small charities turned to as a result of austerity measures came from the Big Lottery Fund.

Since 2004, the Big Lottery Fund has been a source of funding for charities undertaking health, education, and environmental projects. In 2009, the Awards for All funding programme was designed to help organisations with their charitable projects. The application process was difficult, but in 2012, after a lengthy consultation process and feedback from local organisations, they simplified their application process and shifted their funding priorities to fund small local charities tackling inequality (Sarah, National Lottery, Awards for All, 4 Dec 2015). Since 2012, and especially after 2015, grants from Big Lottery Fund[40] have become a reliable source of funding for Latinx charities including LADPP, CASA, NPL, LAWRS, and Latin Elephant, as evidenced in these specific charities' annual reports. Overall, austerity measures have impacted the performance of small charities and their relationship to funding. Much of this is intertwined with policy trends that push for the marketisation of welfare service delivery.

7.3 Marketisation of charity

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[40] It is worth sign posting that this non-departmental public body deserves more scrutiny on the part of critical economists and experts in the 'voluntary sector', especially those that focus on models of funding in relation to 'compassionate capitalism' and other similar discourses (Benioff, Southwick and Hassenfeld, 2004). In this chapter I want to highlight that it is part of the spectral governance trend that has allowed the state not just to transfer accountability and responsibility to intermediary organisations but also create them and in the process distance themselves from their constituent. All administrative and volunteer research participants who were asked about this funding source expressed positive views. Yet witnessing first-hand the disastrous consequences of a gambling addiction makes me question how this funding body and all the benevolent causes to which it contributes fit together in relation to addiction as a health issue. The argument that gambling is ostracised using moralistic frameworks which work towards the gentrification of certain areas such as High Streets in England (Hubbard, 2017: 147-166) is convincing but it should also be reconsidered alongside a holistic public health perspective on gambling addiction.

In Chapter 3, I described the historical context where Conservative and Labour governments have worked towards the privatisation of welfare service delivery. This section extends this analysis showcasing the overarching trend to marketise managerial responsibilities to private market-oriented organisations. This marketisation of the management and delivery of welfare services allows the state to work towards a spectral position in relation to its constituents insofar as its policies seek to distance itself from direct contact with small charity organisations. This position was rhetorically catapulted through a 'blurring' of the sectors which, in this case, means a lack of proper naming and categorisation of the market-oriented organisations taking on managerial and administrative roles. This positioning was both intentional and accidental: their documented focus was on the delivery of services while being less transparent about the means of service provision, namely the involvement of the private sector. When Labour government came into power it adopted a different strategy.

When (New) Labour government came into power in 1997, they promoted this position by branding it 'partnership', which meant to signify collaborative and integrated efforts across private and public sectors to deliver welfare services. This branding, argue Powell and Glendinning (2002: 1), deserves critical semantic attention because it is distinctive from and more pervasive than previous rhetorical strategies where the practice was not acknowledged. The position was made to appear in policy language which emphasised collaborative partnerships and it helped them restructure the role of the state in relation to welfare policy. In practical terms this meant different departments' functions were altered to make room for the private sector to participate in these activities across local, regional, and national scales.

None of the representatives of the organisations I surveyed worked in managerial roles during New Labour's government (1997-2010)[41]. Thus, I could not gauge the impact these changes had on the performance of their organisations for the late 1990s. Dating these policy trends to this time period shows a longer trend which continued to impact small charities during the subsequent Coalition and Conservative governments. One volunteer

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[41] There were volunteers who had worked with these organisations that would later go on to managerial roles and others that continued to serve as volunteers or event and group organisers, such as Claudio.

who had been active in the organising and volunteering for various Latinx organisations did make an important note about the difference between policies and how that actually worked for the organisations with which he worked:

> Ulises: How did Labour policies change the performance of the charities you worked with in the 90s?
>
> Claudio: No. It wasn't so much that these policies changed their performance, as you say, it was more about how Labour came into power. A lot of the organisations felt they [Labour] were selling out, making compromises that they said were practical but really that meant getting corporations involved and it just wasn't clear what that meant at the time. For the advocacy groups, it really didn't matter because we didn't rely on funding from the state; most of our funding, when we needed funding, came from our members collaborating and donating to causes but most of these were projects to bring awareness about state violence in Peru, Chile, or Argentina. Even for the charities that worked on London issues and relied on local government funding it wasn't clear what was going to happen. I suppose when the changes were felt were much later in the early 2000s when they had to apply for money. In Haringey, Camden and Lambeth, the local councils held out for as long as they could before introducing the changes [to the funding structure] that central government was requiring. (Claudio, 6 Sep 2015)

Central governments' re-configuration of welfare service delivery to include the private sector seems to have impacted governance on a more administrative level. On the local level, for advocacy groups that were not registered as charities these changes were not said to make a difference, and some local governments resisted these changes until they could no longer. In part, Claudio attributes this resistance to an ideological stronghold against privatisation on the part of local Labour governments, but Powell (2002: 23) suggests that much like local charities, local authorities were confused as to what these changes entailed and much of this confusion centred on the ambiguity of language in the policy

implementation directives. Two points can be added to Powell's analysis: 1) there was a lack of communication between different, sometimes rivalling, departments and branches of government which did not always agree on methods of policy implementation if they even agreed on the policy itself (Billis, 2010: 9) and 2) as one representative of a local council that is responsible for partnerships between local government and local charities told me: 'sometimes it's easier to play dumb if you think the policy will not help the charities, but other times you just have to let bureaucracy slow things down' (Ana, Southwark, 22 Feb 2016). Feigned ignorance, lack of clear and concise information, government bureaucracy, and lack of communication between government branches and departments all worked to minimise, or at the very least, delay the impact that the marketisation of charity work had on small charities such as those working with Latinxs on an administrative level.

Claudio also suggested that local charities that worked with Latinx migrants functioned under the radar of major central governments' restructurings because they were not and have not always been entirely dependent on statutory funding. Lucila[42], the Project Coordinator of CLAUK during my time of research, confirmed this in an interview stating that less than 60% of the charities' funding came from statutory funding which would have qualified them for the Transition Fund (24 Oct 2018). The exception to this norm across the charities is Latin American House whose annual reports suggest that a little over 40%[43] of their funding came from statutory sources such as Camden Council, London Councils, and the European Union Social Fund. This included funding from different Labour government initiatives such as Sure Start (seeks to improve early education, health, childcare, and family support) and University for Industry (provides opportunities for adults to continue their training and education through the internet or distance learning). In some instances, accessing statutory funding, as a representative from The NAZ Project London told me, can be difficult as the money can be twice, thrice, or more times removed

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[42] This was a follow up interview via email with Lucila which took place during the time of writing.
[43] Exact figures were not published in these specific reports for this particular organisation. LAH is one of the oldest running Latinx charities in London; they shared these documents with me but not the financial reports dating back that far. The administrative representative I interviewed had worked in LAH since 2011 confirmed these findings adding that their relationship to local government is close because they have facilities and close links with Latinxs in the area (Stefanie, 12 Oct 2015).

from local charities as it flowed from central government to either local government or an intermediary organisation (private or charitable trust or organisation—medium or large scale) and finally to a local charity after they go through the bureaucracy of the application process (Carlos, 30 Nov 2015).

Overall, partnerships between local charities and local governments managing central government initiatives supported their work and operational overhead costs. Other major funding sources these charities accessed included different foundations and charitable trusts such as Trust for London (City Parochial Foundation), Coutts Charitable Trust, Truemark Trust, Trusthouse Charitable Trust, Evening Standard Dispossessed Fund, and Peter Minet Trust amongst others. It is worth noting that these Trusts are not entirely divorced from market sources of funding – donors or donations to the Trusts or the Trusts themselves may be linked to a market firm or individual. In highlighting the impact that the marketisation of welfare service delivery, I am not searching for a sense of purity in either the private or 'voluntary sector'—whenever money was required for charity organisations to function the market (by way of individual or corporate entities) has always played a part. Moreover, it has been argued that charity only exists as a consequence of market activity (Livingstone, 2013). In this way, the relationship between charity and the market can be said to have been spectral—in the sense that money is funnelled through Trusts that are then given to charity organisations. However, in this chapter my focus is on how successive central government policies have altered this relationship. The impact is most evidence once the Conservative-Liberal Democrat government took power in 2010 when they solidified efforts to push the prime provider model.

7.4 Prime provider model

Another policy trend which was found to evidence central governments working towards a spectral form of governance is that of the prime provider model[44] and the

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[44] For clarification, there are two other important models: prime contractor model and alliance contract model which have also played a part in re-structuring welfare service delivery. For small charities, the prime contractor model requires contracting and managerial skills that small charities do not have or do not want to take on. The alliance contract model is more collaborative by design but implicitly excludes local small charities from such alliances because of the risk involved which are similar in the prime

associated Payment by Results (PbR) contracts. The prime provider model is one where a government commissions an organisation or a consortium of organisations to purchase, manage, and organise subcontractors to deliver welfare services[45]. This is qualitatively different from previous versions of this model under the Conservative government of the 1980s and early 1990s where the state purchases the services of a for-profit or charity organisation to do the work which ostensibly means that markets were more immersed. What remains the same is that subcontractors can be either for-profit organisations or small local charities or medium/large charities with local branches in the geographic areas designated for the delivery of such contracted services (O'Flynn *et al.*, 2014: 6-8). PbR is a method of payment introduced by the Coalition government which is designed to do as the name suggests: pay after results are independently produced and verified (HM Government, 2011: 33). This particular model coincides with previously highlighted policies towards spectral governance including the 1980s Conservative government's financial deregulation and marketisation of previously owned state enterprises[46], 1990s escalation of competition and expansion of markets into public services, and 2000s Labour government's changes in commissioning models and the incentivisation of competition in the realm of welfare service delivery (Whitfield, 2012). Health is a major aspect where both the prime provider model and PbR have impacted small charities including the ones with which I worked and surveyed.

In the area of health, the prime provider model and PbR are significant ways of funding welfare service delivery inside and outside the NHS. The most important way in which most small charities are implicitly excluded from being the prime provider or the consortium that make up the prime provider is the design itself. This model allows

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provider model described in this section. Risk requires insurance and insurance costs money small charities may not have.

[45] The category of subcontractor is a difficult one to discern, as Lucila (24 Oct 2018) told me; for example, LAWRS is commissioned by London Councils to deliver Violence Against Women & Girls prevention at schools, advice and counselling sessions, and specialist support for victims of harmful practices, yet such a commission is not considered a subcontract as it is

[46] e.g., British Telecom 1984, British Gas 1986, British Airways 1987, British Petroleum 1979-1987, British Aerospace 1985-1987, and British Steel 1988 amongst others.

government commissioners[47] (funders) to distance themselves from a managerial role which means they can avoid managing relationships with multiple small charities and instead deal with one large charity that has the capability and capacity to take on that managerial or administrative role (Hedley and Joy, 2012; Crowe, Gash and Kippin, 2014). Central and local governments have historically had a relationship with small charities and such relationships are being broken as a result of the prime provider model. These relationships have been important as they allow charities of different scales, including small ones, to play a role in the ways in which policies are shaped to deliver better services, as the Coalition government has recognised in their policy documents (HM Government, 2010, 2011, 2012). What has resulted out of marketisation, austerity measures, and the prime provider model is that corporate contractors are given preference because they have more competitive market rates for the services provided. Large charities are able to participate in the competition to deliver services with a lower 'unit cost' than small and medium charities. This leaves small charities with the option of entering into a consortium with other charities in order to participate in the delivery of services to their service users.

Entering into a consortium to be both the contractor and provider presents challenges to small charities in the UK[48]. Aside from lacking the capacity, capability, and sometimes willingness to organise and manage large contracts, some small charities are suspicious of the ways in which either large charities or corporate contractors approach them to be part of consortiums. Since the Coalition government announced the changes in funding models, small charities have complained they are often used as 'bid candy' for government contracts (Butler, 2011). This means they are included in the bid for funding but excluded from the actual delivery of services which matters significantly if the contract includes a Payment by Results scheme, meaning that charities only get paid for work that is independently verified to have been completed[49]. With respects to this funding scheme,

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[47] Commissioners are themselves facing budget cuts which coincide with the previously mentioned austerity measures adopted by the Coalition government and continued by the subsequent Conservative government (Hunter, Cox and Round, 2016).

[48] LAWRS is the only charity that has taken part in a consortium, as the lead partner, but this was funded by the European Commission not any UK government, with partners in Italy, Poland, and Spain (Lucila, 24 Oct 2018).

[49] This process is detailed further in the following section about the surveillance portion of spectral governance.

Lucila said there was much to learn on the part of policy makers (17 Jul 2015). This critique is well documented across the 'voluntary sector' literature (Jochum, Pratten and Wilding, 2005; Finn, 2013; Crowe, Gash and Kippin, 2014; Whitehead, 2015; Hunter, Cox and Round, 2016) but what is lost in the conversation about the competition between scales is critical attention to scope. Mental health, for example, needs to be holistically understood (meaning whole person, in-depth over space and time), but the prime provider model and PbR do not lend themselves to a holistic organisation of services to address such health needs. For charities that work with Latinx, it has been difficult to navigate this structure.

For charities such as TEUK which focuses on delivering mental health services, their relationship with prime providers is a complicated one. Diana, an administrator who wished to remain anonymous, told me that they are not often approached by corporate contractors to deliver mental health services such as one-on-one counselling or group therapy.

Diana: Look, they [corporate contractors] don't like to work with us because they think we only work with Latinos. And that's true, the majority of the time, but the [Latinx] community also has mental health needs. The [central] government tells us we have to look for private funding, but the private funder doesn't want us. So, we have to depend on the borough [Lambeth Council] and on donations from our service users. This makes me sad because in our culture counselling is seen as a service for the rich. And when our service users donate the ones that can't feel bad or feel obligated to give something even when they can't afford it. Some people may not want to come back because of this pressure.

Ulises: But what's stopping private funders from just adding you to the consortium and just sending you the Latino[50] clients?

Diana: It's racism! Maybe not on their [corporate contractors] part but it feels that way. [One of our fellow organisers from a larger charity] told me that when they add us, they have to justify why the funding for Latinos only is

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[50] I use Latino in spoken language as is common amongst most Latinxs with whom I worked.

necessary. "Why can't it be for everyone?" But our doors are open to everyone and like I told you, we have specific needs, too.

Ulises: And you don't think that the organisations that private contractors hire can deliver the services that Latinos need?

Diana: No, it's not that. They can, but we can do it better because of the way we work with people. It's not always about Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), or lumping people into group therapy, or measuring them with numbers. It's more complicated than that, it's about culture and language, and networks we have developed in the community to make sure that people are taken care of. We get calls from large charities sometimes saying that they have a client that doesn't speak English, so they send them our way. They don't get paid because they didn't deliver any services. But neither do we. And we do, we provide therapy to these people otherwise they're left out. But our organisation doesn't get the funding. And we can use the money that Red Cross isn't getting anyway. (Diana, 28 Sep 2015)

Much of what Diana says is echoed across all the small charities where I worked or that I interviewed. In the last scenario Diana describes where El Telefono could and would benefit from the funds that Red Cross, for example, receives for the service delivery of any one client, it is important to note that these funds may further be restricted to PbR, meaning that payment may not be granted to a charity if, for example, the client does not complete the counselling sessions. Thus, El Telefono, were it to be added into the consortium as subcontractor, would still not be guaranteed funds for the work performed with any clients referred. Moreover, the cultural and linguistic aspect of mental health service delivery is something that needs emphasis for it goes beyond those aspects.

Diana's charge that racism exists in the funding structure that privileges corporate contractors as prime providers is one that needs to be contextualised. Racism is not always deliberate, but it does always have material and psychic consequences. I could not substantiate the claim that corporate contractors exclude small charities that work with Latinxs, or other ethnic minorities, for that matter. However, in the context of governments (Coalition and Conservative) fostering a 'hostile environment' for migrants, the claim is

not far-fetched. Early on in my research, I noticed a similar behaviour on the part of larger charities that do participate in consortiums that address migrants' needs. I interviewed James who worked for a large charity (in terms of scope defined by their funding: £8M in 2014; they had 13 employees when I interviewed James early 2014) where he was in charge of organising consortiums and other contracts that were designed to deliver services to migrants in London. During our meeting, James kept emphasising, with a certain pride, that all of the contracts which he organised were not specific to one particular migrant group. This turned into a barrage of questions asking me to justify the scope of my research: 'Why work only with Latinos?' 'What's special about Latinxs?' 'Other migrants go through the same issues', and at one point even finishing my sentence before I had a chance to do so: '…because they're [Latinxs] unique?' (9 Feb 2014).

While the meeting was not recorded, I wrote down these phrases later in my field notes because of the hostility with which they were delivered and to question its origins. My response to him at the time, delivered in less confident form and language, was that this was a starting point for me to understand the coalitional potentialities of this ethnic group with other migrant groups in London. I am keenly aware of the detrimental effects of framing any group as 'exceptional'; this is especially true of the groups with which I develop my personhood. For me, this ends up being the crux of James' questioning: a concern for exceptionalism in an idealistic world of charity where 'community' concerns supersede those of the individual, especially when addressing it from an economic perspective that concerns limited funding. This example serves to support Diana's sentiment that racism exists on a structural level when her organisation, and others, are systematically excluded from bidding because they have concerns that pointing out certain identity markers, such as race and ethnicity, also means that they are asking for special treatment for migrants that even citizens are not afforded. There are various elements that disrupt this narrative if one uses arguments that reinforce the logics of citizenship (e.g., not all UK citizens understand the English language to speak directly to Diana's point about language exclusion; or 'migrants contribute' to speak to the campaign discussed in the previous chapter) but from a spectral position, the very framework of citizenship is challenged because the evidence suggests that this funding environment seeks (to produce) spectres for citizens, meaning subjects that are devoid of identity markers, such as race and

ethnicity that are also used by the state to mark an element of their existence and to determine who is deserving and undeserving of welfare services which, for some, can be a matter of life and death. The impacts of this policy trend are exacerbated when one notes the shift away from government grants to government contracts that are discussed next.

7.5 From grants to contracts

What has been established in this chapter thus far is that central governments have implemented austerity measures, marketised aggressively the delivery of welfare services, and privileged a prime provider model in funding; all of these constitute policies that hinder significantly the ability of small charities to continue their work with local groups. Altogether these policies have created an environment of increased demand for charity services especially on smaller organisations which have been hit the hardest financially by the policy changes (Hunter, Cox and Round, 2016). Adding to these policies is central government's long-term reduction in grants in favour of contracts. This trend can be traced back to the early 1990s and has intensified over the past decade impacting negatively small charities including those that work with Latinxs in London. This section surveys this policy trend which shows central governments working towards a spectral form of governance is the shift away from grants towards contracts.

In the early 1990s, the Conservative government involved voluntary and for-profit organisations in the delivery of welfare services under the banner of a 'mixed economy of welfare' or a 'quasi-market' which was based on 'competition' meant to increase efficiency and choice (Le Grand and Bartlett, 1993). The Labour government's approach amplified this environment, but they distanced themselves rhetorically: 'collaboration' became 'competition', yet the 'contract culture' that Conservative government initiated was intensified (Lewis, 2005: 122). Lewis (1999: 260) argues that this culture signifies a shift in governance that diminished the power of state and relegated the 'voluntary sector' to an 'instrumental' role where they became 'alternative providers' of services for which the state had responsibility. However, from a spectral position the history of charity work in London begs for a different argument, one that recognises two points: 1) post World War II, charities took on the work that was outside the development framework of the welfare

state; they were, in spirit, the spectres that haunted the would-be socialist utopia, and 2) the state increased its power by reducing its presence as it allowed them to transfer both accountability and responsibility to the charity organisations across scales. Contracts are important in understanding this restructuring as they are designed to mimic market-oriented economies of social value.

The intensified 'contract culture' of central governments institutionalised a separation between purchasers and providers[51]. Commentators highlighting this policy trend emphasise the ongoing impacts contracts had on the everyday organisational life of charities (Flynn, 1996: 58-68; Lewis, 1996: 98-112; Scott and Russell, 2001: 49-63; Cox and Schmuecker, 2010: 41). One of the key reasons for this impact is that the relationship between purchaser and provider is unequal: the purchaser has more power to dictate the terms and conditions of the contract. This relationship induces in charities an impulse for greater formalisation and professionalisation to which trustees and volunteers need to adapt. Charities entering into these contracts are advised legally to '*act like any other business* or organisation in deciding which agreement to enter into' (Blake and Hart, 2010, *my emphasis in italics)*.

I recall an instance when a member of CASA kept pacing behind me as I worked on a data entry project, mumbling repeatedly to herself the phrase 'We must act like a business! We must act like a business!', tapping her fist to her palm. She was brainstorming the language to include in a grant application for funds from ACE. Again, the application was for a grant, not a contract, yet the impulse to 'act like a business' was already an embedded mindset imbued with a certain fist-to-palm urgency. For some charities, this business-oriented performance may not match the ethos reflected in their mission statements which means that they need to drift away from or change their mission statements if they wish to access funding available through contracts. Charities can also establish trading companies to take on contracts that are outside the purview of their

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[51] For a comparison and trajectory of the income received from government contracts and grants see Figure 1 which tracks the financial history in £billions from 2000/1 to 2014/5. Figure 2 shows a breakdown of how this impact varied across scales from 2008/9 to 2012/13: income from grants to small charities (defined financially as having an income between £25k-£100k) was reduced by 62% while income from contracts increased by 9%; those with incomes between £100K-£500K had a 53% drop of income (Crees *et al.*, 2016); except for NAZ Project London, all of the charities I surveyed fall under these income brackets.

charitable activities stated in their mission statements. The 'medium' charities (defined financially as having incomes between £100k-£1M) that I surveyed had established these companies; the smaller ones (£10K-£100K) were either in the process of registering a trading company or declined to do so entirely because it went against their founding principles to pursue communal organisation free from market and state influences.

Instability is another impact that contracts have had on small charities: contracts are often designed to be short-term funding streams, they do not foster a sustainable environment, and one funding stream for small charities can be the difference between surviving and continuing to provide services. Government funding by way of contracts reduced dramatically for Latinx charities, as Lucila notes the effects:

> 'I can tell you that most foundations offer 1- or 2-year projects that don't offer much financial stability, it doesn't allow to plan long term, and it puts a big question mark on the possibility to capitalise on the investment in staff and volunteers training, as they may start looking for another job 6 months before the end of a programme. If staff stays (which is our case most of the time), this doesn't offer much certainty for staff that they will have a job after these periods, it's not great' (17 Jul 2015).

For arts charities working in recreational economies, this is an important point to highlight as contracts for this kind of work are minimal, if at all available[52]; they rely mostly on ACE and private sources of funding to survive. For CASA Theatre Festival, this meant having to shut down their annual festival in 2016 because ACE declined them the application for a three-year grant. This grant scheme was meant to support small arts charities struggling to cope with austerity measures and the instability that came with 'contract culture'[53]. This culture has been imposed across the 'sector' so much so that the difference between contract and grant has been blurred: 'Language more commonly used in grant agreements

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[52] Contract funding for recreational economies has been awarded based on arguments that emphasise the benefits of theatre arts, for example, to mental health. This funding came from local government which is why it is not emphasised in this section pertaining to central government and what I want to emphasise in this paragraph is instability of contracts as funding streams. The example I am referencing here is a small community theatre arts project in south London that is examined further in the previous chapter.

[53] Providing support to small charities facing uncertain financial futures because of 'contract culture' was one of the key recommendations Crees *et al.*, (2016: 3) made to public and private funders. In this instance, ACE was ahead of the recommendations since they published this grant in 2014 but the example serves to highlight the parallels between contracts and grants and the influence of the former on the latter.

can be found in contracts, and vice versa. For example, documents entitled 'grant agreement' can turn out to be contracts' (Blake and Hart, 2010). Whereas previously ACE funded projects annually, the new grants were meant to provide longevity (three-year funding) to those small and medium charities that needed help finding alternative strategies to cope with financial uncertainty. The reasons ACE declined to fund CASA are unknown yet the very inception of the funding stream alongside the environment in which the application was made ('We must act like a business!') both serve to highlight the instability small charities face even when measures that are meant to support them fail to do so.

Macmillan (2010: 5) also notes that certain contracts may have specifications that limit the autonomy, character, and ability of charities to do advocacy work that speaks directly to government policy. Much of this is contingent on the stipulations of specific contract but the point to highlight here is one that Diana made in the previous example where a holistic, whole-person approach to mental health is devalued over a specific brand of therapy which lends itself to be measured quantitatively; CBT, for example. This extends beyond mental health or health in general to all aspects of the work that the small charities that I worked with do, including labour and housing. Grants have allowed charities the freedom to provide services in ways that respect cultural locality, especially when such locality is made up of migrant populations that have variant needs. This has meant that funders can be assured that the funds are being used for the purpose which the grant was intended: 'to help Latin American migrant groups in Southwark' (as expressed in the LADPP reports, for example), a relevant example of the explicit generality in grant documents. At the same time, charities have the autonomy to provide services in a responsive, adjustable, dynamic, and innovative ways that speak to the needs of the individual in relation to the group.

Contracts can be restrictive in the kinds of approach they require to address a particular issue an individual is facing. The Work Programme, for example, launched by the Coalition government in 2012 was meant to allow service providers of all kinds the flexibility and dynamism to help individuals move from welfare to work (Department for Work and Pensions, 2012). The charities I surveyed provide ample educational support for their service users to help them in the labour market, including English and IT classes, employment support, job hunting sessions, and workshops on employment skills,

employment rights, debt and finance management, photography, video, music, CV enhancing methods, women's rights, and sexual harassment in the workplace. Yet as Valentina, an IRMO staff member, notes:

> We don't qualify for those contracts [Welfare-to-Work government contracts] because they usually require that people go into work. But most of our users are already working or are in unique extraordinary situations [related to disability, mental health, elderly] where their benefits and health would be compromised if they took more work, so they come to us because we help them improve their skills. Our work should really be recognised and funded because we contribute to the labour market. But the contracts don't really work for us. It's not just about getting people into work. It's also about the kind of work people go into. Educating people on their rights and helping them improve their skills so they can get better jobs or do better at their current jobs is good for everyone. (Valentina, 20 Oct 2015).

Charities, including small local ones that work with BAME groups, are actually funded by central and local governments to deliver welfare-to-work contracts under a specific tier of the Work Programme (Rees *et al.*, 2013: 11). But there is truth to the claim that they overemphasise the requirement to get users into full-time work. Not taking on direct government contracts allows some small charities to do educational work that negotiates carefully the complex and multiple needs of disabled and elderly people, as described in previous Chapters, and their relationship to the labour market.

The policy trend that signifies a shift away from grants towards contracts has become commonplace. Debates about the fundamental role of the state and what this policy trend (and others) signified date back to the 1980s and 1990s in current 'Third Sector' literature, yet these debates are seldom referenced (Macmillan, 2010: 5-6). These debates often lament the diminishing power of the state (Lewis, 1999), yet a spectral analysis suggests that the state siphoning off accountability and responsibility to the market and charities through the multiple policy trends featured in this chapter constitute a re-orientation of power towards a spectral form of governance. The debate about the state and its proper role in welfare service delivery is a complicated one which cuts to the core of ancient debates about democracy, anarchy, and other forms of organisational life. It is not

my intention in this thesis to take a stance on these debates; current debates in critical geography advocate for a re-production of space focusing on use-value over exchange-value. In his attempt to align deconstruction with Marx's historical materialism (Derrida, 1994: 114) points out that use-value is open to corruption as much as exchange-value. My argument in this thesis is that regardless of the form of value that the state deploys institutionally, spectres will haunt such structures begging for their spatiality to be recorded. For small charities in London and elsewhere in the UK, these trends towards spectral governance signify an induced business-like, anxiety-ridden environment where their autonomy in tackling social issues through their charity work is limited significantly. What is at stake here is the rich diversity of organisational models that small charities use to function; these models that are not subservient to the demands to scale-up and standardise across space but the policy trends I have thus far described make it difficult systematically to survive in this re-structuration of power. To these policy trends, one can add surveillance mechanisms the government has put in place to monitor small charities; this carries a whole set of implications that are discussed in the next section.

7.6 Surveillance

The last policy trend that shows the central government working towards a spectral mode of governance is surveillance. This section primarily focuses on the effects of the surveillance environment which the Coalition and Conservative governments have fostered. The word surveillance carries with it an implication of illegality or at least intrusive without a sense of reasonable cause. It may be that in some cases, such surveillance is necessary, but what I want to document here is how small charities at large, especially those that work with minority groups in London, get caught up in this environment. The overarching context for this section which links surveillance to a form of spectral governance, is detailed further in Chapter 3. This section deals directly with the effects of such an environment. As mentioned earlier in the Chapter, I am not suggesting that small charities (those with which I worked and beyond) are state agents conducting surveillance on their service users. This section highlights central government enacting

surveillance policies that target small charities many of which work with minority subjects in London and across the UK.

For the charities with which I worked, the question of surveillance was a sensitive topic of conversation. For example, on 17 October 2015, I attended a conference titled the IV International Athena Network congress. I helped TEUK with advertising for the event and took several of my English language students with me. The conference brought together academics, charities, and mental health practitioners to explore the mental health of migrants in terms of risk factors, assessment, mental disorders, and intervention strategies. Franco, one of my students previously discussed in Chapter 5, went with me to the event; he had expressed concerns about the new laws that required landlords to check tenants' immigration status (Home Office, 2014). His legal status fluctuated, and he feared being asked for proof of his residency at the wrong time and subsequently being deported or evicted leaving his two teenage children parentless as he is a single parent. This government policy was being critiqued as ostensibly giving landlords similar powers as that of a border guard or immigration agent (Palmer, 2015). Surveillance of migrants was a discernible theme in the literature about migrant groups in London, especially Muslim groups (Aas, 2011; Graham, 2011). With these concerns on my mind, during the question and answer session I decided to approach the topic about how Latinx charities fared in this environment of government surveillance. This exchange is quoted at length and the pertinent issues that are implied are detailed further:

Ulises: I have a question regarding issues of legality… and how, for instance… for the two organisers here in the UK… how that impacts the types of services that you provide. There are so many different… policies that have been imposed, um, very subtle ways that push charities to …. become agents of immigration… in so many ways, um, like landlords becoming agents of immigration. Are there ways that this is impacting your organisations? Like benefits here… in order to provide these benefits, you have to have legal documents to reside in the country and I'm wondering if charities have to check legal status before you provide services or advice; are any of the new rules being imposed impacting who you provide services to?

Panellist 1:   Hmm! I'm thinking of how to answer your question. So, we have organisations that are members and there are some requirements for that membership. Some of the requirements for that membership is that those organisations have policies in place and a key policy that ideally all organisations should have, especially if they are community-based organisations that are registered with the Charity Commission is an equal opportunities policy, where the organisation embraces equality and diversity. And by equality and diversity I don't mean a policy that sits on the shelf, no, I mean one that's put into practice, and that organisations across all these services implements it. So, organisations will not discriminate based on their immigration status. Everyone is welcomed! Of course, there are barriers to what some of those services can provide or the advice that an adviser can provide for a member of the public if their immigration status doesn't allow the person to apply to a certain… for example, welfare benefits. Because then they say, you're telling that you're experiencing difficulties at the moment, that you're sleeping in a room with four people, you've put down some money, you've got an employer that's keeping, retaining part of your salary, and you're telling me that your immigration status is that… you have overstayed in the country for a while, we're not sure about that, but these are your options. The advice that the adviser will be giving that person will be restricted by the access to certain services. And hopefully that adviser and organisation will be resourceful enough and be part of a wider network of services where that person can be signposted to access key services to meet that person's needs. So, if there's an organisation like [name of organisation] that offers medical support for someone that is undocumented, they'll be able to refer that person to that service, or they may know of other initiatives to support the individual, but in principle, nobody, nobody, nobody, no organisation nor services will turn anybody

down based on immigration basis. And this is all based on equal opportunities policies in the legislation, the Equality Act 2010. And we have to put it into practice. That translates into systems of the ways in which you implement these policies into practice.

Panellist 2: Can I just add to that? Two minutes. The legal status is not something that is incurrent to the person. That can change. And legal advice in immigration is key for how people without legal status, without papers, to access legal advice on immigration so that they can…

Audience member: But advice is not the solution, isn't it?

Panellist 2: It's not the solution, and obviously that will depend… we are still talking about what people can do, that's what [Panellist 1] was saying, that any advice agency will be limited by the available options in the country so like if the immigration law says it's 20 years with documents and proof then it's 20 years with documents and proof in order to access services [if they have been in the country illegally and wish to access welfare benefits after they go through the immigration process], but advice is different. The point is the organisations… I don't know why you [Ulises] were saying that in some ways organisations are turning into immigration officers, enforcers of [immigration] policy, I'm not sure where that comes from, but just so you have an idea of what the real challenges are in terms of working with undocumented migrants. It's not, uh, it's no secret that our community has been targeted by immigration raids, last year in particular, I mean we had raids in a Latin borough at the tube station, at a concert even, and we had, we were seriously targeted by immigration raids, so there's one organisation in the coalition that is opening the services with [name of organisation], actually, to provide health checks, and advocate for access to health for undocumented migrants. They can't promote this service openly

because of the fear of being targeted by immigration enforcement. So, just so you know, there's some things going on as well, that in this sensitive context people may not know about. (17 Oct 2015).

This exchange is quoted at length as it highlights different elements that are related to the government surveillance culture that impacts small charities and the work they do with vulnerable and targeted migrant populations. This is particularly important to underscore as it situates my argument showing the effects of the broader surveillance culture the government fosters – an environment that the small charities with which I worked find active ways of resisting. These impacts speak to the affective state of charities which includes a kind of paranoia of about state infiltration, a mis-perception about the limitations of charity organisations, and a constant struggle to fend off the perception of the migrant as a benefit scrounger.

The transcription does not convey the emotion in the room, especially that of panellist 1 whose tone was clear indignation at the implications of the way I phrased my question. Many of these implications became clear during other moments of the conference including 1) that charities would work with Immigration Enforcement ('*becoming agents of immigration*') and 2) that charities would be complicit in the abuse of the UK welfare benefit system ('*like benefits here, you have to have legal documents*'). To be clear, these were not the implications I meant to convey during this moment, but these were the implications that Panellist 1 sought to denounce with right cause (despite these not being my intention in expressing. The transcription also does not convey my stuttering and other personal difficulties in formulating and articulating a coherent question at that particular moment, hence my prior explanation of the multiple issues that I was trying to encompass with my attempt at a question. What I am pointing to in this section is a misunderstanding that became a learning experience and a useful 'spectre' to exorcise: that spectre being that charities are somehow complicit in state surveillance—which, as I document in this section, is far from the case as these charities actively resist discriminatory state policies working under the rubric of international human rights conventions which is also part of the European Convention of Human Rights that was inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

Later in the day I was approached by a conference attendee letting me know that he felt my question was insensitive because small charities already operate under a kind of paranoia of infiltration, and that I was only adding to that environment of mistrust by even suggesting it not just for the charity workers but also for the volunteers and service users. I did not know how to respond in that moment, so I thank him for his feedback and went on to the next panel session. I was well aware of the immigration raids and the environment of fear and paranoia amongst Latinxs holding different immigration statuses; these were documented in my literature review draft prior to doing fieldwork. I was also sitting next to a person whom I had helped navigate a difficult situation with his legal status: helped translating and filling out forms, accompanied him to different charities providing legal immigration advice, and gave him English classes. And he was not the only research participant with whom I worked that experienced fluctuations in their legal status and the subsequent affective states this situation induces. Of course, there was no way for anyone outside that circle to know this in this public setting; and so, the accusation that I was heightening fear and mistrust by airing it out in public is the key issue here.

There is a discordance between activist groups, such as Anti Raids Network[54], and small charities about this topic: activists believe this is a conversation that should be had in the open to inform the public of what is at stake; charity workers[55] were more inclined to have restrained public conversations about the topic. I tend to agree with activists that it needs to be an open, public, and frank conversation as the environment fosters a variety of difficulties and opportunities that need to be addressed. I understand the difficulties the question presents but it is one worth asking because even the question of having that conversation addresses: 1) fears and mistrust in people that may not be affected or 2) fears and mistrust in people that need to take extra care to protect themselves from persecution, and 3) the need to build in the process of this conversation empathetic bridges to link those two groups of people and anyone else in between. This is also especially true in a public

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[54] This network is made up of different activists who campaign actively against immigration raids in London since 2012. It was started by different Latinx organisers concerned with labour rights including Latin American Workers' Association.

[55] There was overlap of charity workers I met that were also doing activist work outside of their charity work; for them this was a spatial negotiation that needed to happen, the spatiality of charity and activist work required a different conversation in terms of methods and analysis.

panel that was meant to showcase the work charities were doing to tackle the psychosocial issues migrants face[56]. However, as both panellists responding to my question pointed out, the stakes for charities are higher because they have to negotiate sensitive spatialities effected by legal structures including those from the Charity Commission and other central government policies previously outlined. This also includes the ongoing environment of surveillance and immigration raids impacting different migrant groups in London (Corporate Watch, 2016). For small local charities that work with vulnerable migrant groups, this means negotiating the fine line between the definitions of activism and advocacy work.

An audience member who was at the panel saw me walking the halls between presentations of a later session, visually distressed replaying the moment in the aforementioned scene. She was a charity volunteer and activist whom I met during a labour rights awareness campaign event at Elephant and Castle. She took the time to speak with me about what she perceived in the panel's question and answer session. She started by saying that she was glad I asked the question because it made the panellists talk about the limitations of small charities. She continued by explaining that this spoke to a popular perception that charities have the capability and ability to solve social problems, especially the complex cases which are beyond the scope of their work. For her, the crux of the problem was the conflation between providing a service as opposed to solving a problem: charity service users are often in search of quick solutions to complex problems, and the marketised environment where charity users are treated as 'clients' exacerbates this mentality[57]. She explained that Panellist 1 sounded upset because of the common

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[56] It is worth signposting a broader critique of psychotherapy approaches that relegate the psychosocial effects of political economy to the individual. These are dominant models of psychotherapy which depoliticise an effect of structural socio-economic forces impacting lived experience, including mental health. Many of these models work under the premise that 'one cannot control the situations that affect us, but one can control the reaction to them'. Therapy in Latin American circles in London, formal and informal, is imbued heavily with religious intonations: 'Talk to god', 'God be willing', 'Blessed be God', etc. These may include what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence', a form of attachment or identification with a symbolic a-temporospatiality devoid of context that induces self-flagellation. Spectres are inherently linked to these discursive phenomena in Abrahamic religions (Father(, Son,) and Holy Spirit). My project here is to highlight spatial elements, abstract and material, with the purpose of disturbing neat discursive formations which thrust responsibility to the individual for structural conditions that need to be addressed holistically in a relational political economy.

[57] This perception is addressed further in the previous chapter as a source of tension between charity users and service providers; this was especially true for users that attended the charities one or two

perception not just that migrants abuse a welfare system but that small local charities help them do so. In research terms, this was a new finding for me.

Of course, I was aware of the framing of the migrant as a 'benefit scrounger'; this framing also extends to the citizen in a culture that continues to produce what critics term 'poverty porn' (Garthwaite, 2016) which includes mediated representations of people who 'abuse' the welfare system. This works to reinforce the historic division, highlighted in Chapter 3, between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor which is now being represented primarily through the lens of reality television[58]. It was the notion that small charities that work with migrants are framed in similar ways that was new to me. Further research into this led me to the language in the Coalition government's Prevent Strategy: 'Social movement and social network theory emphasise that radicalisation is a social process particularly prevalent is small groups' (Secretary of State for the Home Department, 2011: 17). Moreover, charities were deemed a priority area alongside education, faith, health, criminal justice, and the internet. Specific to charities the document notes existing laws put in place by the Labour government in the Character Act 2006 which requires charities to be open to all as long as they have the 'public benefit' in mind, restrictions on how to raise and use funds, face consequences with the Charity Commission in cases where charities abuse charity or charitable funds, and require trustees to be legally responsible for their charity's appropriate, prudent, lawful use of funds. The 'next step' strategies they outline state that further exploration is needed to explore how the Charity Commission can play a more entrenched role in Prevent strategy which is separate from their counter-terrorism role. How this entrenching unfolded is a longer story suitable for a different document.

The point to underscore here is that small groups (including small charities) were specifically named as targets that needed pre-emptive protection from radicalisation

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times. Here it is worth addressing once again as an impact linked to a surveillance environment where small local charities have the task of dealing with difficult cases that are produced in relation to the ongoing immigration policies fostering a 'hostile environment'.

[58] One might argue this is an industry in its own right which includes newspaper articles, reports, investigative journalism, amongst reality TV shows, such as Saints and Scroungers, Nick and Margaret: We All Pay Your Benefits, On Benefits and Proud, Benefits Street, Benefits Britain: Life on the Dole, The Great British Benefits Handout, The Scheme, and Born Famous all of which have received academic attention in media, poverty, and social justice studies (Jensen, 2014; Jensen and Tyler, 2015; Garthwaite, 2016; Pemberton *et al.*, 2016).

through surveillance and other mechanisms (including financial monitoring). In other words, the state imbued small charities, as it does with small ethnic groups (Heath-Kelly, 2017: 306), with certain elements of criminality (even by susceptibility) which in the broader sense links to the figure of the immigrant benefit scrounger that circulates in mediated cultural productions. This should not imply that I am equating terrorism with 'benefit scrounging'; what I am pointing to is the broader trend to single out this particular scale of human activity and organisation as suspect, criminal, or susceptible to criminality. Thus, the introductory 'social movement and social network theory' book[59] that the Coalition government used to justify surveillance of small groups needs serious geographical perspective—both theoretical and applied—of scales including their productions and interactions to develop better prevention policies that also address problems that exist on larger scales such as the housing crisis and precarity in the labour market due to automation, datafication, and corporate tax incentives, all of which affect the most vulnerable in and beyond the UK's national borders.

Overall, small charities working with migrant populations are subject to surveillance. I do not know whether any of the charities with which I worked are or have been under surveillance; but as this section shows, it does not matter for the overarching environment impacts their affective state. There may be more or less programmes that are not being advertised than what was revealed during the conference. Laws and policies will always be haunted by spectres they do not consider in their equation or if they do consider them it is a way that seeks to conjure the spectre thus eradicating it. Juridical structures will continue to be haunted by spectres thus forging informal spatialities, some of which are flattened out, spatialities that Massey, in her ideological underpinnings, considers to be reductive notions of space. And while that may be true in theory, some of these flat spatialities are structured in such a way so as to make it difficult to survive in them. These spatialities are the cause of juridical systems which gain legitimacy through the attempts

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[59] The book in question, not even properly cited in the specified government document, is Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani's (omitted from citation) Social movements: an introduction, 2nd edition (della Porta and Diani, 2006). Their approach to extremism has been critiqued for lacking geographic attention (Ghosh, 2007: 771). The central ground of this critique is that such monumental policy that affects all foreigners and citizens deserves more in-depth attention to theory than an introductory book on social movements.

at exorcising informality, yet these two forms of imagining space are intertwined; to borrow from Derrida's words – one must learn to live with some ghosts. In this environment of surveillance, some charitable activities that serve the public good are forced to labour underground where sometimes desperate and precarious lives await relief.

7.7 Summary

This chapter shows consecutive central governments working towards a spectral form of governance. The overarching argument made in this thesis is that Latinidad in London needs to be understood as a spectral subjectivity that negotiates urban borders in relation to charity work, especially that which is performed by small charities. In Chapter 2, I provide a theoretical understanding of spectres as neither powerful nor marginal figures but rather as spaces where power is negotiated in relation to the necro- and bio-political. In Chapter 3, I outline the material conditions which make Latinidad a spectral subjectivity because of their historical experiences with state violence by way of forced disappearances, economic displacements, and transnational capitalisms but also in relation to the conditions they experience in London. Chapter 5 focuses on the recreational, educational, and activist work that they perform to spatialise Latinidad and contest urban borders. Chapter 6 highlights the recreational, educational, and advocacy work small charities do to aid the spatialising of Latinx subjectivities in London.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis worked through A Massey-Derridean theoretical framework to examine the relationship between charity and migration and more specifically between small charities and Latinx migrants. The following section summarises each empirical chapter, highlighting the ways in which each Chapter sought to make a contribution to knowledge on a theoretical and empirical level, and how these contributions map onto the field of geography and critical studies at large. Next, the limitations of the research are discussed which include the single focus on one ethnic group and not several, thereby being able to make empirical generalisations. This discussion leads to the future studies that are opened in this line of enquiry, following what came before and charting new research trajectories that are already at work with other ethnic groups in London.

8.2 Summary of arguments

Spectres have haunted human geographies across temporalities. Their apparitions in human imaginations have been used to serve story telling paradigms that reflect politics of specific yet interconnected space-times. The Greek Chorus and Shakespeare's ghosts reflect changes in their historical functions; this history suggests that the instructional role spectres had in terms of guiding or instructing audiences into a particular affective register became much more nuanced, a hidden plot device that was worked through dialogue and character development. This also reflects a kind of focus over time, an optimisation of knowledge production where the function of spectres was to help the poet make more specific arguments and commentary about the ways in which life and death are intertwined in human dramas. Another facet of spectrality in this sense is how reconceptualisations of spectrality have shaped debates and negotiated tensions between universalism and particularism. Death and spectrality, as traditionally conceptualised, are universal experiences. Thus, the impulse to generalise is strong, yet the importance of space, conceived from a Massey-Derridean framework, cannot be underscored enough. Yes, death is a part of life, but not all pathways to death are produced in the same ways, thus attention

to geography from a political economic perspective is important so as to produce analysis that can help create political action.

Derrida's spectres are contextualised in relation to political power struggles that characterised the 20th Century, namely the Cold War. These power struggles are inherently related to Marx insofar as capitalist states have sought to exorcise their spectres through different forms of political violence. These struggles are relevant to Latin America, as this geography was one of the key battle grounds for this power struggle. The violence inflicted upon Latin American people, not just Latinxs, as well as the lands themselves, has been systematic. Spectres do not necessarily have a particular form; they can incorporate in different entities, haunt them. Thus, for scholars, it is important to stay attuned to the functions these spectres seek to perform. The violence in Latin America continues, and it is interconnected to the world politics that need to be examined. For this, Derrida's deconstruction imbued with Marx's spirit of critique, and more specifically, self-critique, helps to showcase the contradictions in any given structure, capitalist or socialist. The very production of binary political ideologies and the materialities they engender produces violence across spectrums, across space. For this reason, a Massey-Derridean framework, or what I call a spectral analysis, in the spirit of Marx's critique, seeks to highlight the ongoing production and destruction of life and death. The research question guiding this thesis was: 'What is the relationship between Latinx migrants and small charities in London?'

As discussed in Chapter 2, a Massey-Derridean framework and its focus on spatial analysis, hence spatial spectrality, needs to engage literatures beyond philosophy. Post-humanist, cultural, human, urban, and political geographies have produced work that can inform political economic analysis that is not solely focused on markets but also include a variety of paradigms. In the course of this research project, one of the early critiques I received was that my theoretical framework had a mix that looked like foods that should not go together. In this thesis, I sought to push against this notion that metaphors are just metaphors, that they should not be taken literal. If Derrida, the jester theorist, is to be taken seriously, then attention to the ways in which this critique seeks to order the sense of taste is important. What I sought to produce in this thesis is an ethnography that tries to work with the abstract and metaphorical notion of the spectre and its promise in order to think

conceptually about situating the spectre in socio-economic positionalities and the experiences these entail when it comes to life in London as a migrant. There is no purity in critique; there is no purity in concepts; purity is an endeavour of white capitalist patriarchy, as well as different configurations of structuring difference vertical and hierarchical. Massey's advocacy for space here is of key importance, as it can reveal histories of food as we know as a product of creative experimentation, evidence of historical, present, and future violence, and evidence of love, however demeaned that word is in positivist fantasies. Another aspect of this food critique is that the ingredients can all melt into one another, diffusing the possibility of differentiation. That was not my intention in this thesis, thus I specified theoretical strands that have worked with the specific issues I sought out to examine in my research question, namely: charity work and Latinidad in relation to the technologies that produce these concepts alongside their inherent spectrality, or their negative and positive difference and deferral.

In Chapter 3, through a literature review, I sought to further spatialise Latinidad, the spectres that continue to haunt Latinxs in Latin America and how these connect to broader transnational histories of capitalist violence. The violence evidenced in the Latin American context is meant to showcase different factors that induce the desire or need to migrate. The spectres documented are themselves deeply politicised in Latin America, for those that do have access to resources to migrate or do not wish to migrate. These forms of violence are part of Latinxs migratory experiences in London, they remain connected and affected. Indeed, many of these struggles forged the very charities with which I worked as most started as political solidarity groups, as opposed to registered charities, whose function changed according to the needs of their time, especially as new waves of migration flowed into London from different Latin American countries. In an effort to provide evidence of spectres in England, I presented a historical overview of different iterations of charity work in England. The working premise to start from this perspective is that if one is to conjure spectres, the history of charities is one of the best sources to do so. This Chapter provides evidence of the different functions that charity work has had in relation to markets and the state. The poor, or poverty, appear to be a core element of spectrality, when it comes to social political issues; part of the problem is that the market and the state have constantly imagined the poor as a problem to be fixed, this as opposed to poverty. As

such, the poor as a spectre has factored into concepts of nation building, class, and empire. During the 1800s, working class people began to rebel against the notion of charity work, at least in the top down approach, and they sought to forge more cooperative forms of living through Friendly Societies, for example. These forms of organising influenced greater social democratic activities during the interwar years.

The history of charity work in London, indeed England at large, is one that is deeply intertwined with the history of migration post-World War II. The historical records of the LCSS provide ample evidence of this coalition. The charity sector had much learning to do with regard to the needs and lives of migrants and how to organise charity work around these needs. The history that I outlined is meant to highlight the effects of the British state organising the welfare state with an assumption that the spectre would not revolt: the spectre here being the migrant, the social worker, the charity user, the volunteer, all of whom included the elderly, women, people of colour, disabled, etc. These stories become intertwined with Latinx migration to London. The history of Latinx migration is one that is linked to the histories of violence in Latin American, socio-political violence but also transnational economic violence linked to the IMF and structural adjustment programmes. While most of the recent wave of migrants are economic migrants, economics cannot be cordoned off, because it is linked to the socio-political issues where the US capitalism has played a major part in attempting to suppress leftist movements. This is not to dismiss internal corruption, but again, these are all scales that are interconnected and need to be understood as such if one is to take the responsibility of care that we have inherited from Marx and his spectres.

Chapter 4 situates the Massey-Derridean framework into a functional methodology to examine the relationship between Latinxs and small charities in London. This method can be thought of as one of many to conjure spectres, to value negative space where human bodies and beyond are relegated to survive, not to live. When applied to social phenomena, questions about the technologies which produce these spectral spatialities come into question: What are its structures? How do they function? Who seeks to wield power over spectres, and how does that power translate into material conditions? These were useful questions to ask while conducting my research using urban ethnographic methods. These methods require an engagement with different iterations of binaries which are treated as

symbiotic rather than oppositional, dialectic rather than monolithic. This also relates to the ways in which scales are imagined as fixed containers rather than produced discursively as material conditions that impact the lives of persons imagined as inside and outside these structures. This also requires attention to scope and how a scale, despite being small, can wield more power through its range of scope, and vice-versa. Chapter 4 also provides a more in-depth account of the fieldwork I conducted to collect data. This fieldwork included participant observations and interviews with different research participants. Moreover, I conducted archival research, most of which is evidenced in Chapter 3, in the section that describes the relationship between charity and migration from the umbrella organisation for small charities in London. NVivo data analysis software was used to examine my field notes, interview transcriptions, and archival data, including documents from NCVO, LVSC, Trust for London, and annual reports from the majority of the charities with which I worked. While not all of these documents made it into the final thesis, the information was used to understand the social, political, and economic dynamics which influenced the relationship in question.

In Chapter 5, the metaphor of the spectre is situated on the scale of the group. This helps to document how Latinxs negotiate spectrality as a condition which limits their life chances in the city. The Chapter also highlights the ways in which Latinxs actively resist structural conditions through social networks. This is not to romanticise their resistance, as such resistance is often limited, for the structural conditions are too great. However, their own sense of Latinidad is forged through these negotiations and encounter with internal differences. This expands to British Latinxs as well, for the experience of co-ethnic bonds transcends nationalities. Chapter 5 documents recreational and educational work as empirical evidence that contributes to contemporary knowledge production about Latinxs in London. The notion that recreation can be a form of work was conceived of through a spectral analysis which seeks to disrupt binary notions engendered in the divisions of work and labour, where work is devalued simply because it does not factor into market logics.

Chapter 6 focuses on the scale of the organisation to survey the kind of work they do to help Latinxs spatialise Latinidad. Three forms of work are presented from the ethnographic research I conducted. Recreational, educational, and advocacy work are the three themes which emerged from data analysis. These themes are presented in narrative

form to present a more in-depth and immersive experience of the work these charities do. However, appendices are also provided that present a more in-depth profile of the major charities with which I worked and all of the work that they do to help spatialise Latinidad. In Chapter 6, the three charities that serve as case studies, per se, that highlight this spatialisation are CASA, Latin Elephant, and CLAUK. CLAUK is not a registered charity but rather a project funded by Trust for London and managed by LAWRS; it is the coalition or umbrella organisation of the various charities that work with Latinxs in London. CLAUK is one powerful project that has been working actively to challenge the lines between advocacy and activism. They actively seek to work with various sectors of society which can influence the betterment of the lives of Latinxs in London, particularly when it comes to social needs and quality of life.

Chapter 7 examines spectrality on the scale of the state, particularly policy trends that have worked against small charities, especially those that are local and rely on funding from statutory sources. There are five policy trends I examined and found to have direct impact in the everyday work of the small charities with which I worked. These policy trends have a history that dates back to the 1970s, and become prominent especially after the 1980s, though they are not solely the product of Conservative political ideology. The New Labour and Coalition governments also pushed through major reforms which implemented austerity measures, marketised welfare service delivery, adopted a prime provider model, shifted away from grants towards contracts, and advanced a surveillance regime.

8.3 Contributions to scholarship

This thesis makes several contributions to the existing scholarship. From a theoretical perspective, the Massey-Derridean couplet is new and productive. On the one hand, Massey (2005) critiqued Derrida in her manifesto for space, yet these critiques reflect a different reading which produces an adversarial either/or category of critique. To move beyond this framing, it is useful to engage Derrida's understanding of spectres, for they provide a politicised possibility to the understanding of negative difference which Massey (2005: 51) rejects as she finds it 'politically disabling'. It may be read as pedantic to claim that such a characterisation is an ableist metaphor; another iteration of the internal fragmentation to which she signals. This would be understandable if one is only working

with language, but beyond the fact that these are conditions people have to negotiate in relation to structural conditions, it can also be argued that some politics need to be disabled, hence turning disability into a form of critique. These critiques begin with valuing the negative, the dead as a source of power, the dead as a part of the constitution of space. On the other hand, Derrida's notions of spectres remain all human, bound to discourse as merely produced from human-to-human relations. Massey's (2005: 122) most powerful contribution to the Derridean thought is that she unhinges space from the merely human to the transhistorical, the pre- and post-human, which is mobile, dynamic, and 'magical'. Placing these theorists in conversation produces critical ethics and analytical tools for trenchant critique, necessary to work through the existential threat that spectres pose for humanity.

From a methodological standpoint, I proposed the spectral as a useful concept for ethnographic research, particularly for use in urban ethnography. The spectral, or that which resides in the negative space of the optical, then becomes the core element that can be used in a critical analytical tool for ethnographers, or critical scholars at large. But it is not just the spectral by itself that is important: Massey rightly demands *space* in this configuration, hence my concept of *spatial spectrality*, unbound from confines of humanity, yet conjured to do critical work of reading the world as the positive and negative difference. This produces a politic, an analytic, or more specifically, a *spectral analysis* which maintains an ethical relationship to that which is no longer and that which is not yet. As an ethnographer, the challenge is to live with spectres, despite the intuition to gather from the world only that which can be 'seen'.

From an empirical standpoint, each of the key concepts benefits from this scholarship. The question in itself is one that has not been documented historically in London. There are histories of migration, histories of charity work, but not of the relationship between these two concepts. This is not a relationship that is framed as new but rather as part of a processual story of the ways in which charity has been a site of power negotiation between societies, markets, and states in London which is itself a spectre of migration. The notion that for charity, the migrant is the new poor, is a critical contribution, noting the ways in which migrants have been historically left out of crucial conversations that impact their lives. Small charities in London have done exemplary work in terms of

listening, adapting, and organising around solidarity and empowerment, particularly when it provides unfettered space and other resources for local communities and groups to organise by themselves and for themselves though not in isolation. Over the past few decades, the state has played a key role in limiting these potentialities, seeking instead to turn to the market to provide solutions. Thinking of the ethics engendered in spectrality, there is nothing inherently wrong with the market taking responsibility for social welfare, except that the logics of it have been to co-opt the state to maximise profit, turning those in need of charity as another site of resource extraction: in this case the precious resource is life, for often accessing social services can be a matter of life or death. The production of spectrality is a *business*, and such structures need to be examined so as find its negative and accelerate the deconstruction of this logic.

8.4 Limitations

One of the limitations in this study is that Latinxs are a small number: they are not a representative sample of other ethnic minorities and struggles. This is true if, of course, one understands Latinxs as being solely defined by their ethnicity which is itself a constructed category to mark difference, both positive and negative (Gunaratnam, 2003). Unfortunately, when it comes to government policies, this kind of thinking of race or ethnicity as fixed categories is prevalent. This impacts the ways in which the environment of competition is intensified. This influences the contentious yet sometimes cooperative relationship between small and large charities. Large charities have a competitive advantage because they have the internal structure in place to afford the capacity (space, funding, insurance, and bureaucracy) and capabilities (knowledge of positivist methods) to conduct the kinds of measurements of value and social capital that are currently privileged.

The discussions in Chapter 7 on spectral governance describe the surveillance as a governing technology which places small charities at a disadvantage in relation to large private and public service providers of charitable services. Absent in this discussion is a thorough delineation of how policy gets made, disseminated, implemented, and adopted. There are provisions in place that encourage service providers of all kinds to collaborate and form consortiums to deliver particular services. However, these collaborative consortiums are not outside the purview of the competition framework, especially when

noting that small charities that work on niche issues with marginal populations are considered 'too niche', perhaps too small, to be categorised as part of these kinds of assemblages. Moreover, small charities may not want to form coalitions with large organisations that may use them as 'bid candy' to show off diversity not just in terms of scale but also in terms of minority subjectivities. The government's move towards the Payment by Results further isolates small charities because the holistic value they produce is not recognised as a desired result. Moreover, the inflow of clients is not guaranteed in any consortium especially when noting that large charities are accused of 'cherry-picking' the easy cases and transferring the more complex cases to small charities; this holds true even outside consortium agreements as large charities often lack the cultural and language competency of migrant service seekers. The competitive environment is also characterised by the austerity measures and the subsequent increased demand on small charities as larger charities lack the trust the local small charities have fostered over years of work in trust and community building. Overall, the power disparities that privilege large scale charities need to be scrutinised and corrected for because small charities can potentially produce necessary challenges to current deployments of value that is reduced to market forces. Future research can serve to highlight these power disparities from other perspectives which are more focused and rigorous on the analysis of the process of a policy from its inception to implementation.

Another limitation that warrants future research is that this study surveyed only the work of charity users and volunteers. The local charities did work with activists, LAWRS more than any other charity, but these connections remain unexplored. This has much to do with politics of visibility. Spectres, by definition, are always-already embedded in politics of visibility. Much of debate of what is considered political and what is not political has been driven by what I argue is an attack on identity politics, or at least what I perceive to be a straw man for the sake of argumentation that picks bits and pieces of identity politics without considering the depth of the philosophy that comes along with serious work on identity and subjectivity as two sides of the same coin. This theme, i.e., attack on a straw man version of identity politics, is most common in the work of continental philosophy which understands divisions based on identity in labour struggles to be no longer politically relevant, that they were never relevant but rather, were a distraction form the real issues,

the political in proper form which boils down to economic exploitation. These theoretical strands find partial fault in identity politics (a perceived impulse for singularity, isolation for the communal) for the failure or splintering of the labour movement that 1968 witnessed. It is important to note that, like most rhetorical concepts, the definition of 'identity politics' is a geographic and contested notion. Theorists and activists are not often in sync when utilising these terms. Theorists in Latina/o studies, such as Casas-Cortés (2014), is careful not to romanticise these conceptualisations of precarity as coherent, linear, or necessarily progressive, but her work does reveal how some on-the-ground iterations are challenging academic theoretical conceptions by working through the symbolic realm of difference instead of dismissing it. This is, after all, precisely what Massey (2005) advocates for in her understanding of not just space but also space-time. In other words, our understanding of identity politics can and have also been understood as embedded with complex philosophical understandings of space-time.

This discussion on identity politics is an important one to open up for future research, because much of the work this thesis does centres on the very notion that Latinidad hinges on identity politics as being in the realm of the political proper. My understanding of identity politics points to the potentialities of working through identity politics to build political moments that are centred around political issues of housing, health, and labour. These are issues that Latinx migrants face in London, and they are part of subject formation that need to be discussed without the assumption that to speak of Latinidad (as an identity and subjectivity) means claiming some sort of stable and closed category that is not influenced by the constructions of space-time. To speak of Latinidad means to explore a process of spatialisation, specific to London as its own set of geographic coordinates which themselves are also interconnected to different iterations of political space-times. Activists have done tremendous and effective work, and these histories should be documented in future studies.

8.5 Final reflections

Urban borders are complex forces that induce complex needs not just for migrants but also for citizens and other subjectivities in between these legal constructs; as such, they require complex challenges that small charities sometimes pose through their work which

is increasingly threatened by state spectrality—an absence of presence and presence of absence in the areas of governance, surveillance, and competition. As a small charity or minoritarian subject, advocating from a position of spectrality is not a desirable position. The notion of power in spectrality does not necessarily mean that such power can be activated in any particular space-time; the right conditions need to be in place in order to be able to advocate for spectres. This is to say that there is a real possibility that small charities may disappear as a consequence of the current structure, fostered by the state and market that privilege large scale private and public service providers. At stake here is the social labour they perform which, for small charities working with Latinx migrants, has mostly meant working towards a holistic model of service provision and community building efforts that make possible coalitional moments for diverse groups of people. From an epistemological social perspective, this means producing spaces that are not subservient to positivist methods of measurement, especially when they reduce value and social capital to monetary forms of exchange. Similarly, for researchers, this means that research projects that focus on small scales do not automatically make such projects non-viable; the challenge is to answer the question of how such a scale negotiates spectrality—intersectional forces that seek to structure its life and death. It is my hope that this thesis helps contribute to the de-spectralisation of these forces, make them appear and appear legible so as to aid in their deconstruction.

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