THE BODEGA ON THE CORNER: NEIGHBORHOODS, TRANSNATIONALISM,

AND REDEVELOPMENT IN PHILADELPHIA

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School-New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Geography

written under the direction of

Robert W. Lake

and approved by

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New Brunswick, New Jersey

October, 2007

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Bodega on the Corner: Neighborhoods, Transnationalism, and Redevelopment in

Philadelphia

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This dissertation examines the relationship between immigration and urban

redevelopment through an analysis of two sites of immigration debates in the City of

Philadelphia: the city's promotion of increased international immigration as an economic

development tool and the experiences of one group of immigrant entrepreneurs – small

neighborhood grocery stores owners from the Dominican Republic. I interviewed city

policy makers, neighborhood economic development officials, Dominican storeowners,

and conducted participant observation in Dominican-owned stores. I argue that pro-

immigration policies embody a form of citizenship whose boundaries are delineated by

the needs of the market. The policies act as a form of governmentality because they seek

to condition the behavior of immigrants. Similarly, my work with the grocers suggests

that their sense of citizenship is coerced and performative: they expressed incredible fears

of crime and violence, yet bent over backwards to serve their customers, obey

neighborhood codes of conduct, and appear as contented neighborhood residents. The grocers' actions are therefore designed to preserve their fragile situation as middlemen minority and are not a reflection of feelings of community belonging. My research uses the immigration debates in the City of Philadelphia to suggest new understandings of scale. In looking to other countries for the workers needed to revitalize the city, pro-immigrant policies rescale development to the global level. In contrast, by demanding economically profitable actions from immigrants, the policies rescale economic development down to the bodies of urban residents. The grocers' mobility questions the appropriateness of the "neighborhood" as a scale of economic development and suggests the need to integrate theories of economic development with theories of migration, transnationalism, and mobility. To this end, the grocers survive through a process I label "temporary permanence" through which they are embedded in Philadelphia neighborhoods while simultaneously using their mobility to constantly transgress neighborhood, urban, and transnational boundaries. Likewise, my work suggests that households constitute an essential scale in the process of urban redevelopment. Because bodegas are family-run businesses that make the social reproduction of families in urban neighborhoods possible they illustrate that households are a vital scale of urban analysis.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my committee for supporting me in this project. In my original dissertation proposal I argued that bodegas in Philadelphia were the perfect place to study the various forces shaping the institution of citizenship and the process of economic redevelopment. While this sounded good at the time, once I started conducting the research and doing the participant observation the complexity of the issues my proposal raised overwhelmed me. At the end of the proposal defense my committee told me I should "keep my eyes open" and not limit my investigation to the themes raised in the proposal. This amazing advice allowed me to talk to bodegueros and their customers about race and gender, explore class and neighborhood tensions with Philadelphia policy makers, and use Judith Butler to think through the problematic institution of citizenship. I'm incredibly honored to have been given such trust and am eternally grateful to have had such a committee.

This work could also not have been conducted without the support of the La Association De Bodegueros Dominicanos and Research for Democracy. I spent hours conducting this research: in bodegas talking to the owners, attending parties at Concilio, and at bars in North Philadelphia attending meetings of the association. I am thankful for their cooperation in this process.

The most wonderful thing about the geography graduate programs is the way that they group together students with different academic backgrounds, research methodologies,

and research sites and asks us all to communicate with one another. At Rutgers I found a wonderful cohort of students who asked challenging questions about my research and engaged in the hours of wonderful debate. In particular I want to thank Adam Diamond, Mark Pendras, Rich Nisa, Jessica Kelly, Gwangyong Choi, Ben Niemark and Bradley Wilson for their conversation and support.

Throughout this process two sets of friends kept me centered. In Minneapolis "the crew:" Dave, Dave, Sloss, Tat, Bao, and Froggi never ceased to remind me that there are really no boundaries to true friendship. In Philadelphia I was privileged to have a group of true friends who helped me think through all of the ideas in this work and supported me through the last seven years. Importantly, they helped me understand the relationship between the academy and the wider world, and critically analyzed every assertion I put on them. Sharing dinners with Ellen, Spanish lessons with Elizabeth, and rum and Cokes with Vincent were amazing sources of inspiration. All in all, this was a group of friends who never tired of hearing me start a sentence with "so I was hanging out in a bodega and this amazing thing happened…"

And last, a million thanks should also go out to my parents and my sisters who were a source of guidance and support during this entire process. They made numerous trips to Philadelphia, hosted me on trips home to Minneapolis, made fun of me, and basically did what a family is supposed to do: always make you feel like an "insider."

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Chapter One. Introduction and Methodology

Taped to the Plexiglas divider between customer and storeowner at a small Dominican-owned neighborhood grocery store in a neighborhood in Philadelphia with many vacant buildings is a picture of the foundation and the half-built walls of a house the owner is building in the Dominican Republic. I discussed this house with the head of a local Dominican organization asking whether he thought the owners were ever going to be able to return to the Dominican Republic and live in that house. He answered:

> *It's a dream, it's a dream [that they will be able to return]. And that's what gives them the energy to get through their day and accomplish their objectives. But once they start to go [to the Dominican Republic] the kids won't want to, and so they'll need to figure out where they will live.*

> *AP: and I'm thinking the picture was pointed out so the customers could see it, not pointed towards her so she could see it…*

> *[she's thinking]"you see me locked in here, I'm more than this, I'm not a slave [laughs]…"I have more of a life than this enclosure 18-20 hours a day."*

Two years previous to this conversation Philadelphia City Council member James Kenney proposed that Philadelphia take steps to increase the rate of international immigration to Philadelphia, arguing that the city was losing population and needed entrepreneurial and hardworking residents like the Dominican grocers to help revitalize the city. To me, this small, half-built house emerged as a concrete object bridging the two goals of development in the Dominican Republic and the redevelopment of Philadelphia neighborhoods: its construction was made possible by a store in the US and its very existence points to the weakness of place-based economic development models that seek to develop one place and not another. What role do those who live in multiple places play in this process? Can we construct a model of urban citizenship that recognizes the importance of immigrants' mobility?

Introduction

Globalization has led to an increasingly complex relationship between the processes of immigration and urban economic redevelopment. As a result of changes to US immigration laws in 1965, the US is now in the midst of the largest wave of international immigration since the arrival of large numbers of Europeans in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Gerstle and Mollenkopf 2001). Because many native-born Americans are choosing to move away from cities into suburbs and exurbs, immigrant communities play

a key role in repopulating urban areas. The economic development brought by immigrant communities is therefore not an adjunct to the larger urban economy, it is the urban economy. However, because of the increasingly mobile nature of capital, labor, and culture in the global economy immigrant communities are increasingly becoming transnational and are therefore emotionally and economically invested in the multiple spaces in which their lives take place.

I explore the relationship between immigration and urban redevelopment through an analysis of two different sites of immigration debates in Philadelphia. First, I explore the debate within Philadelphia that was started when City Council member James Kenney proposed the formation of a "welcoming center" to encourage more international immigrants to move to the city. Second, I analyze the experiences of one group of immigrant entrepreneurs: bodegueros from the Dominican Republic who own and operate hundreds of small neighborhood grocery stores, clustered in neighborhoods suffering from population loss and blight.

Philadelphia City Council member James Kenney introduced a bill in Philadelphia City Council in 2001 proposing the creation of a new city department whose goal would be to increase the number of international immigrants moving to the city. He argued that the city was losing population and desperately needed new residents. His reading of the data on population mobility in the US indicated that most native-born Americans will eventually leave the city and suburbanize and therefore that the best source of population growth for the city was from new international immigrants. Kenney's motivation for

promoting international immigration was decidedly economic. A report authored by

Kenney's office argued that

> A key component of the success enjoyed by [Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Boston, Phoenix, and San Diego] in offsetting their population losses has been their ability to attract new immigrants from all over the world. The settling of thousands of new immigrants in many of these cities has helped to revitalize many decaying neighborhoods and increase local tax revenues.
>
> Were it not for its concerted drive to attract new immigrants, New York City would have lost nearly one million people in the last decade, approximately one seventh of its population. New York City made a determination that the influx of immigrants to their city would help offset the exodus of residents to the surrounding suburbs and would help mitigate not only the loss of local tax revenues, but also the loss of federal assistance that is allocated to cities and states based on population figures.
> (A Plan to Attract New Philadelphians, 2001: 2)

This new department never came to be. Increased concerns about terrorism in the wake

of 9/11 ended the conversation in Philadelphia about increasing the rate of international

immigration. However, as a result of the increased attention to immigration brought by

Kenney's bill a public-private partnership called The Welcoming Center for New

Pennsylvanians did start, and this organization works closely with Councilman Kenney,

economic development organizations, as well as local colleges and universities to

increase the size of Philadelphia's immigrant community. The Welcoming Center serves

as a resource center for immigrants, offers legal assistance to new Philadelphians,

sponsors events that raise the profile of Philadelphia's immigrant populations, and

generally touts the importance of immigrants to Philadelphia's economic health. In this

research I examine how Philadelphia policy makers involved in the Welcoming Center

view the role of immigration in the economic redevelopment of the city.

Immigrants from the Dominican Republic are involved in just the type of "bottom-up" entrepreneurial economic redevelopment envisioned by Councilman Kenney and the Welcoming Center. I worked over the summer of 2003 with *La Asociación de Bodegueros Dominicanos* (The Dominican Grocers' Association) to conduct a census of Dominican-owned *bodegas* (small neighborhood grocery stores) in the city, and to conduct a survey of the conditions of *bodegueros* (storeowners) in the city. La Asociación de Bodegueros Dominicanos represents bodegueros across the City of Philadelphia and is a member of the Eastern Pennsylvania Organizing Project, a community-organizing group whose organizing methodology and theory of change are deeply influenced by famed community organizer Saul Alinsky (Alinsky 1946; Alinsky 1971; Wood 2002). There are roughly 400 Dominican-owned bodegas in the city, located primarily in African American and Latino neighborhoods. In our research we found that by far the main concern of bodegueros was a fear of crime and personal injury. To this end, the organization was founded in the aftermath of a rash of bodeguero killings during attempted robberies. The work we did conducting the census helped to start El Comercial, a newspaper published by La Asociación de Bodegueros Dominicanos.

In Philadelphia, just the term bodega is somewhat contested: while the grocers refer to their stores as bodegas and themselves collectively as bodegueros, these terms mean very little to shoppers and non-Latinos who instead refer to the stores as "corner stores," or "mom-and-pop stores," and the owners as simply "Mami" or "Papi." The fact that the grocers call their stores bodegas while their customers call the stores something else hints at the complex position that the bodegueros occupy. To the bodegueros themselves the

stores are paths to upward mobility as well as prisons that lock them in one place for 14 hours a day; to shoppers the stores are community meeting places and vendors of the goods needed for social reproduction; and to community activists the stores often represent capital moving out of the neighborhood and are symbols of their neighborhood's lack of empowerment.

I developed my research methodology in order to explore the connections between this group of immigrant entrepreneurs and the larger policy-level discussions that the opening of the Welcoming Center created. The central question of this analysis is: in an era of transnational immigration, what is the relationship between immigration and urban redevelopment? In order to analyze this relationship my analysis looks at three different sites of the immigration debate in Philadelphia: 1) among city policy makers; 2) within bodegas; 3) and among neighborhood redevelopment officials and community leaders.

First, I asked how are immigrants constructed as economic actors by policy makers? I answered this question through a content analysis of press reports and interviews with 25 key policy makers in the immigration debate sparked by Councilman Kenney's push to increase international immigration.[1] Identifying a group of policy makers to interview concerning an ongoing political debate took a certain amount of guesswork, connections, analysis, and forethought. I interviewed two city council members, the directors of various refugee resettlement and immigrant services groups, prominent immigration attorneys, and community activists working in Philadelphia's immigrant community. This is a diverse group, and my task in this dissertation is to sort through the various

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[1] For a complete list of questions please see Appendix A.

motivations and theories that led them to support these pro-immigrant policies. While I actively sought out opponents of immigration, their view is underrepresented in my sample. Most of those opposed to Councilman Kenney's bill worked behind the scenes to stop its passage and did not make anti-immigrant speeches. In addition, as the security issues surrounding 9/11 came to dominate Philadelphia politics the immigration issue lost relevance and it became a difficult topic to conduct interviews about. This is a clear problem with my research strategy. However, the lack of vocal anti-immigrant views underscores the hegemony of the discourse that immigrants are hard-working, cosmopolitan, and a benefit to the urban economy.
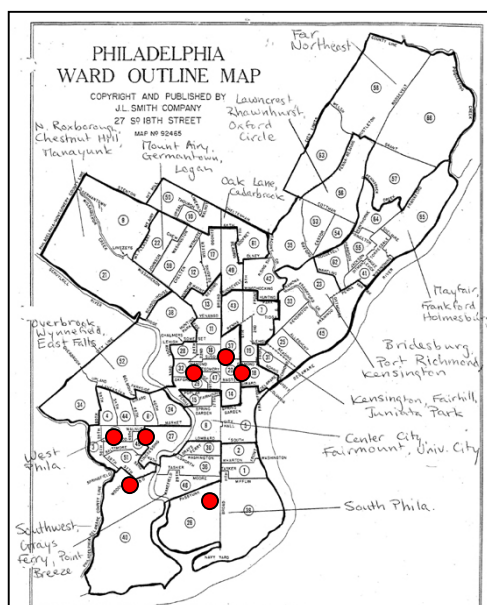
Map 1. Bodegas studied in Philadelphia

Second, I asked how do bodegueros engage in economic redevelopment? I examined this question through an in-depth ethnographic analysis of seven bodegas in different neighborhoods around the city (Map 1 shows the approximate locations of the stores). At each of the stores I interviewed the owners, asking questions about various aspects of their life including their relationships with the surrounding community, the Dominican Republic, and their families[2]. I also engaged in extensive participant observation within each of the stores analyzed. During this portion of the research I worked stocking shelves, worked behind the counter, talked with customers, and generally "hung out" at the bodegas. I took

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[2] For a complete list of questions please see Appendix B.

detailed field notes, and engaged in participant observation following the guidelines of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1999). [3]

Last, I asked how do immigrant entrepreneurs relate to the "local community" surrounding their stores? I addressed this question through two sets of interviews. First, I interviewed five local community economic development officials and neighborhood activists in the neighborhoods surrounding each of the stores I researched. [4] Second, I interviewed shoppers about their experiences shopping at the bodegas. [5] At each store I interviewed ten shoppers.

This nexus between research and community organizing points to the problematic relationship between research and "justice." As David Harvey, Neil Smith and other Marxist critics have observed there is a relationship between academic production and the dominant mode of production (Harvey 1990; Smith and Godlewska 1994). Examples range from the establishment of geography in France as a way of rationalizing military conquest and colonialism to the rise of positivism in geography during the postwar expansion of the US economy when industry benefited from this new "spatial science" (Smith and Godlewska 1994). As a geographer stepping into a marginalized community, I realized that the history of this migration from university to the field was a problematic one.

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[3] The names of all of the storeowners and neighborhoods have been changed to protect confidentiality.
[4] For a complete list of questions please see Appendix D
[5] For a complete list of questions please see Appendix C.

This relationship between knowledge and power was explicitly recognized by La Asociación de Bodegueros Domincanos. The work I was involved in with Research for Democracy conducting a census of bodegas was initiated because of the bodegueros' belief that "research" on bodegas would help them in their mobilization for political power because it would put an official seal of legitimacy on their problems. During the first presentation of our research findings after conducting the census we were told that what we found was already known by everyone, and they simply needed the research done in order to prove to others how many stores there were and what kind of problems they were facing. Further, the model of community change embraced by The Eastern Pennsylvania Organizing Project is that of community organizations learning about how policies affect them and using this knowledge to construct protests. In this way La Asociación de Bodegueros Domincanos and other Eastern Pennsylvania Organizing Project groups were not merely individuals studied from the outside, but were also active agents of their construction within academia and local politics.

Situating Dominican Migration within Philadelphia's Changing Economic and Demographic Profile

Philadelphia is an excellent city in which to situate a study on the relationship between immigration and neighborhood redevelopment. The city has consistently lost population since the 1960s and deindustrialization has ravaged many of the city's inner city neighborhoods. At the same time, neighborhood-based groups and organizations have come to play an important role in the city's redevelopment efforts and community

development corporations and neighborhood councils work with the city to articulate their vision of community change. Philadelphia has a smaller immigrant population than other large US cities: the population mix in the city is only 9% foreign born, as compared to 26% in Boston, 36% in New York City, and 60% in Miami (US Census 2000). However, the Dominican population in the city increased 250% between 1990 and 2000, making it one of the fastest growing immigrant groups in the city. Further, because of their economic investment in Philadelphia neighborhoods, bodegueros are involved in just the type of entrepreneurial activity imagined by Councilman Kenney and other backers of increased immigration.

Philadelphia is a large deindustrializing city located near the middle of the East Coast megalopolis. The original grid of the city – which survives to this day in a subdivided and altered form – was laid out by William Penn in 1683 between the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers. Originally the city served as one point in the British Empire's global network of urban centers and developed an economy based on shipping and small scale manufacturing (Adams, Bartelt et al. 1991). Independence from the British and the arrival of the industrial revolution marked the transition of the city from its colonial past to its manufacturing future. In 1854 the original two square miles of William Penn's Philadelphia were consolidated with Philadelphia County to create a city of 100 square miles. Many neighborhoods in Philadelphia retain their original names from this expansion. The city developed a remarkably diverse manufacturing economy based on textile production, and later other forms of industrial production.

Philadelphia's population growth and urban morphology during its development as a manufacturing center reflected national immigration policy and typical US patterns of ethnic and class segregation (Hershberg 1981). To this end, Philadelphia's population reflected US immigration policy, which at this period promoted immigration from Europe. As the city's population swelled, German, Irish, and later Italian immigrants came to dominate the city (Graph 1). Because of the city's weak transportation system and the importance of manufacturing as a source of employment for new immigrants, neighborhoods tended to reflect the ethnic background of their workforce. Hence Philadelphia neighborhoods developed as segregated clusters surrounding the factories that employed so many urban residents (Davis and Haller 1973; Hershberg 1981).
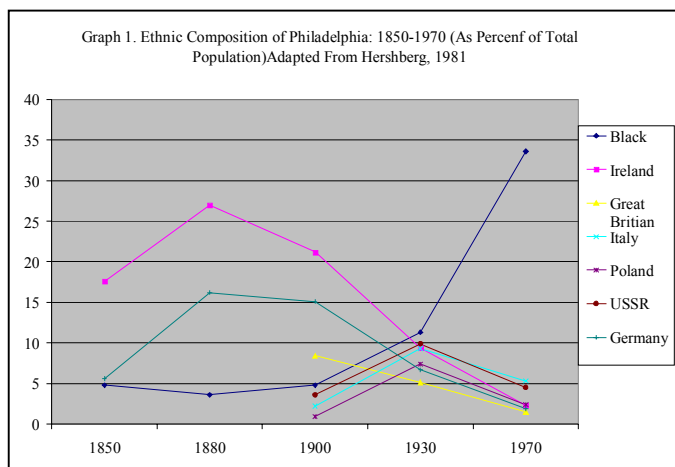
Graph 1. Ethnic Composition of Philadelphia: 1850-1970 (As Percenf of Total Population)Adapted From Hershberg, 1981

In addition to international immigration, internal migration also changed the city's demographic profile. Beginning in the early 1900s with the breakdown of Reconstruction and the emergence of Jim Crow segregation, the Great Migration of African Americans from the South began to arrive in the city which brought a fast increase in the city's African-American population (Litwack, 1998). As Graph 1 illustrates, as European immigration slowed during the depression and WWII years, the African-American population grew.

While Philadelphia was one of the first American cities to industrialize, it was also one of the first to deindustrialize. Beginning in the late 1940s manufacturing employment started its slow decline as increasingly footloose industries – beginning with the textile industry – began to seek out newer and more cost-effective locations. A myriad of specific issue are often discussed to explain this process: over-powerful labor unions, lack of city and regional cooperation to address economic restructuring, and the particularly footloose nature of Philadelphia's industrial base (Adams, Bartelt et al. 1991). However, most germane to our analysis was the population loss that accompanied industrial restructuring in the city. As Graph 2 illustrates, the city has consistently lost population since the 1960s.
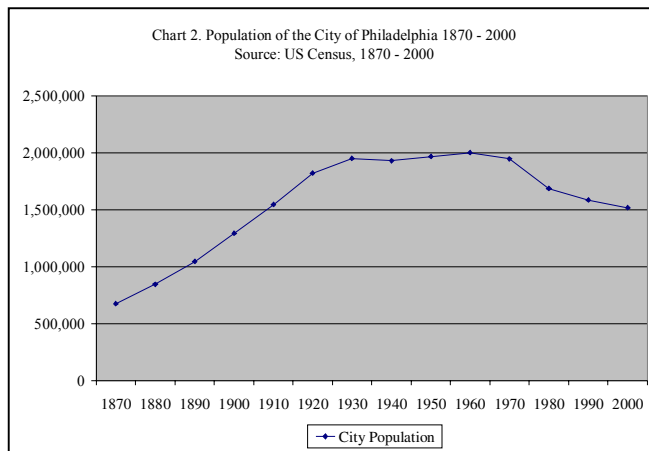
Chart 2. Population of the City of Philadelphia 1870 - 2000
Source: US Census, 1870 - 2000

The process of population change that accompanied deindustrialization in Philadelphia was differentiated by ethnicity, nativity, and space. Population loss was not equally distributed across all racial and ethnic groups. Instead, whites left the city in great numbers, settling in the region's growing suburbs and in other metro areas, and African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans began to account for a larger proportion of the urban population. For example, as Table 1.1 illustrates, between 1990 and 2000 the demographics of the city changed. For a variety of reasons including racism in the

housing market (Massey and Denton 1993) and the overrepresentation of African

Americans in the declining industrial economy (Wilson 1987), African Americans

Table 1.1 Population Change by Ethnic Group (1990 – 2000).	1990		2000		Percentage Change 1990 – 2000
Total Population	1,585,577	*	1,517,550	*	-4%
White	848,586	54%	683,267	45%	-19%
Black	631,936	40%	655,824	43%	4%
Asian	43,522	3%	67,654	4%	55%
Other	61,533	4%	110,805	7%	80%
Latino	89,193	6%	128,928	8%	45%
Data: US Census, 1990 and 2000, Stf 1 and Stf. 3					

did not have the opportunity to suburbanize and the city's percentage of African

American residents grew.

As the city's economic base deteriorated, the city's in-migration of international migrants

also declined (see Chart 3). The city's foreign-born population in 2000 was 137,200,

Chart 3. Proportion of Philadelphia Population that is Native-Born and Foreign Born (1860 - 2000)
Source: US Census 1860 - 2000
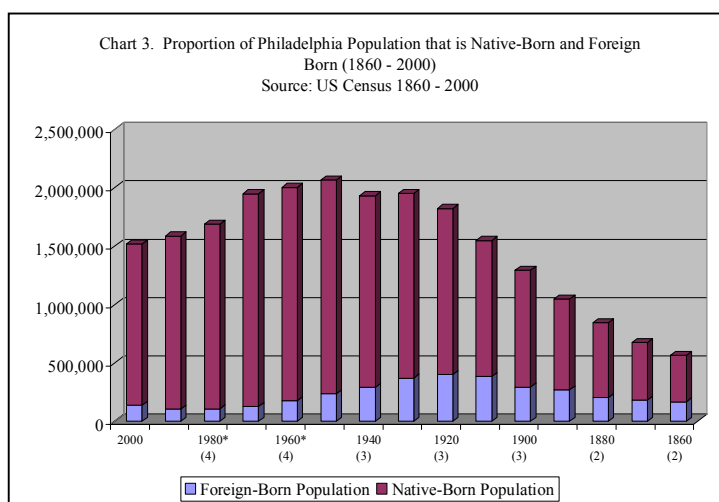
which accounts for roughly 9% of the total population. As noted, this is a considerably smaller percentage of foreign-born residents than other East Coast cities such as New York or Boston. While other large US cities have lost native-born population they have gained foreign-born residents and thus avoided significant overall population decline. While we can see strong growth in

Philadelphia's foreign-born population in the 2000 census (a 31% increase from 1990 to 2000), the starting percentage was so small that the city has continued to lose residents to both its suburbs and other regions of the country.

Strategies to combat population loss have been a perennial subject of political debate in Philadelphia. In October of 2000 the Pennsylvania Economy League published *Immigration in Philadelphia: A Call to Action.* The report argued that in order to stem population loss and better-position the city in the global economy Philadelphia needs to take concrete steps to induce more immigrants to move to the city. The report argued that out-migration from Philadelphia has been about the same as that from other deindustrializing cities, but because the city has had such a small number of new international immigrants the city has suffered population loss. The city is classified by migration scholar Audrey Singer as a former gateway city (2004). While the population of the city swelled in the 1900s with Irish and Italian immigrants, the new post-1965 immigrants have not moved to the city.

As the population of Philadelphia changed, new political and spatial issues have emerged. Literally and figuratively, the Latino population of the city stands as a bulwark between the white and black populations. As Maps 2-4 indicate, they are right between the predominantly White Northeast, and the mainly African American communities of North Philadelphia and Germantown (Appendix E). Similarly, Latino voters can play an important role as a swing vote in citywide elections. And, because the Latino community is growing, it is poised to become an important political voice in city politics.

The connections between deindustrialization, population change, urban redevelopment, and the changing ethnic and racial mix of the city are recurring themes in this thesis. Philadelphia has historically been known as the "city of neighborhoods," and it is within these neighborhoods that the effects of changes in the global economy can be seen (Warner 1968). Rowhouses, many of them vacant from population loss, are tightly packed adjacent to abandoned factory buildings that once employed many workers. The trend in economic redevelopment towards neighborhood-based institutions playing a leading role in neighborhood redeveloment has also affected Philadelphia. The city has over 500 community development corporations, and much of the city's redevelopment efforts focus around organizations that operate within neighborhood-defined boundaries (Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations, 2007). These boundaries are strengthened by the fact that Philadelphia has a very strong ward-based political system: in order take over an abandoned house you need your ward leader's approval. Likewise, almost every bodega is housed in one of the corner storefronts that are on nearly every block in the city and symbolize an earlier era when neighborhod retail was ubiquitous. How to redevelop these areas left vacant by deindustrialization has been a recurring conversation in Philadelphia politics (Kromer 2000). Downtown Philadelphia (known as center city) has been one of the few areas of the city to see its population grow, due in large part to the efforts of former Mayor Ed Rendell's promotion of the space as a tourist and restaurant district. Yet the city is still struggling to bring the same sene of vibrancy and economic growth to its neighborhoods.

Immigrants from the Dominican Republic are not only involved in economic redevelopment in Philadelphia neighborhoods, but are also one of the fastest growing immigrant groups in the city, and one of the most transnational.

Table 1.2 shows, the largest immigrant groups in the city. The population of Dominicans grew to over 4,000 in 2000, up from just over 1,000 in 1990 (US Census, 2000): a 250% increase.

Table 1.2. 10 Largest Foreign-Born Groups in the City of Philadelphia	
Region and country or area	Number
Vietnam	11,533
China	10,354
Ukraine	8,326
India	7,610
Jamaica	6,994
Italy	6,097
Russia	5,275
Korea	5,209
Cambodia	4,536
Dominican Republic	4,281
Data: US Census, 1990 and 2000, Stf. 3	

Dominican immigrants are also one of the most transnational groups. In 2000 764,945 Dominicans resided in the US, while the Dominican population was 8,442,533, meaning that almost 10% of the Dominican population lives in the US (Sagás and Molina 2004). The close proximity to the US, ease in communication between the two countries, and large population has led to an unprecedented "melding" of the two societies as Dominican presidential candidates come to the predominantly Dominican Washington Heights neighborhood to campaign, return migrants transfer New York culture is to the Dominican Republic, and remittances from the US alter the housing market in the Dominican Republic. Dominican scholar Luis Guarnizo, summarizing the strength of the connections between the Dominican Republic and the US argues that "contemporary Dominican transnational migration [is] more like the mobility of people within national borders than across international ones" (1997: 237).

I saw ample evidence of these transnational connections during my field work. Many bodegueros were active the Dominican presidential campaign – leaflets for Dominican presidential candidate Leonel Fernández were literally all over the streets of North Philadelphia – and voting took place just across the river in Camden. In addition, all of the grocers in my study sent money home to their families and such remittances account for the second largest source of foreign currency (after tourism), adding an astounding $1.5 billion to the Dominican economy in 1999 (Duany 2004). As well, the grocers I studied had extensive family networks in the Dominican Republic and either made, or wanted to make, frequent trips home to visit them.

The Dominican Republic is located in the Caribbean Sea, and occupies one half of the island of Hispaniola. The island was originally "discovered" in 1492 on Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the "New World," and *La Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo* (The Autonomous University of Santo Domingo) is the oldest university in the Western Hemisphere. The country's main industries are sugar processing, tourism, mining, and textiles. With a per capita GDP (PPP) of $7,500 (as compared to $42,000 in the US) and a 17% unemployment rate intensive domestic out-migration has created a net migration rate of -2.79 migrant(s)/1,000 population as well as international disputes: illegal immigration from the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico (in order to facilitate movement to the US) has arisen as a key problem between the two countries (CIA Factbook 2007).

The current strong connections between the US and the Dominican Republic have long historical antecedents. Between 1916-1924 US Marines held the country under a state of military occupation in order to protect US-based debtors and protect US strategic interests in Caribbean basin. During this time a number of important changes took place. First, the population was disarmed and the Dominican National Police were trained and professionalized by the US (Pons 1998). This change ended an era of frequent revolutions and coup d'états that had destabilized the country, yet put the country under the de facto control of whoever governed the National Police. It was therefore not difficult for Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, the US-trained head of the Dominican National Police, to take power in in 1930, only six years after direct US military occupation ended, and remain in power for the next 31 years.

During this time the country was "modernized" and reoriented towards the US. Under US occupation the country's education system was strengthened and work began on the first complete road network linking the island together, as well as the first complete mail service. Government employees were paid regularly and government service was professionalized, and this era saw the country develop away from its traditional agricultural background and establish a service and industrial economy. The US replaced Spanish and European hegemony over Dominican political and cultural life. Markets were opened to US goods, American baseball became popular, and the US established itself as the regional hegemon, thereby establishing US education institutions and US culture as the preferred choice for the Dominican elite. As Dominican historian Frank Moya Pons summarizes the effects of the occupation "[f]rom this time on, the exercise of

sovereignty would be understood by Dominican leaders as always conditioned by US foreign policy" (1998: 338).

Trujillo's control of the Dominican economy during the 31 years of his authoritarian rule was astounding: it has been estimated that during his rule 50% of the Dominican economy was run through his bank accounts. While Trujillo quashed dissidents and amassed a vast personal fortune, he is credited with furthering the modernization projects begun under US occupation. Trujillo's state-centered economic policy allowed for the further development of a Dominican middle-class and created more industrial employment. Likewise, his close relationship with the US (during a period of anti-communist mobilization in the Caribbean basin) helped him to secure additional US funds for development. US military troops returned to the country again in 1965 – actually strafing the city of Santo Domingo under the pretense of "protecting American lives," while in actuality putting down a supposedly communist-inspired protest movement that arose in the complex political vacuum following the death of Trujillo.

Out-migration from the Dominican Republic to the US is directly related to US support for Trujillo. Grasmuck and Pessar argue that the original Dominican migration to New York City following the rise of Trujillo was the result of a tacit agreement between the US and the new Trujillo government whereby his political opponents were allowed to relocate to New York City where they would be less able to create political insecurity at home and thus "stability" in the Dominican Republic would be preserved (1991). Grasmuck and Pessar argue that the enormous wave of post-1965 immigrants to the US

Table 3. Dominicans Admitted to the US: 1931-2000	
1931-1940	1,150
1941-1950	5,627
1951-960	9,897
1961-1970	93,292
1971-1980	148,135
1981-1990	252,035
1991-2000	335,251
(Sagás & Molina, 2004)	

(see Table 1.3) served as a much-needed safety valve, allowing under-employed and disenfranchised leftist opponents of Trujillo loyalist Juan Bosch to migrate to the US instead of remaining in the country and consolidating their strength into an organized opposition. In this sense the Dominican labor surplus migrated to the US. This migration allowed the Dominican Republic to remain a pro-US bulwark against communist Cuba and allowed surplus labor to be absorbed into the US labor market, thereby reducing the need to create employment in the Dominican Republic. Likewise, the fall of Trujillo came in 1965, the exact year that immigration laws changed in the US to a system supporting family reunification. The coincidence of these two policies allowed the Dominican community in the US to grow rapidly.

The strong transnational connections between the Dominican Republic and the US have been well-studied and have helped to delineate the contours of transnational scholarship (Georges 1990; Duany 1994; Guarnizo 1994; Pessar 1995; Guarnizo 1997; Schiller 1997; Levitt 2001). In this introduction, three aspects of Dominican transnational movement will serve as an introduction to the unique identity this mobility creates and the types of struggles faced by bodegueros in Philadelphia. First, transnational identities are constructed in part as a result of racism and the inability of immigrants to assimilate into receiving states (Schiller, Basch et al. 1995). For example, Dominicans in the US have been stereotyped as drug dealers and blamed for siphoning funds away from urban communities through their ongoing connections to the Dominican Republic (Duany

2004). These stereotypical constructions have led to Dominicans adopting a variety of different coping strategies such as rejecting labels denoting their connection to the US (such as Dominican-American or Dominican-York) and favoring more nationalistic/individualistic labels such as *Dominicans ausentes* (absent Dominicans) or simply "Dominicans" (Duany 2004). These stereotypes have also influenced relationships between those who stayed in the Dominican Republic and those in the diaspora – especially return migrants – and thus complicate any notion of a monolithic immigrant community. In the Dominican Republic return migrants have been characterized as uncouth *nouveau riche* drug dealers as their remittances have drastically impacted the domestic economy.

Second, racial identities and gender norms in the Dominican Republic and in the Dominican American community have been redrawn through the transnational connections of Dominicans. Migration and mobility are factors which influence the social construction of both racial identities and gender norms. For example, Itzigsohn and Cabral, in their discussion of Dominican American racial identity argue that in the Dominican Republic – as is common across Latin America – there are intermediate categories between White and Black and socioeconomic status and other cultural factors influence racial identity, while in the US race is strictly dichotomous: people are defined as either white or black (2000). Itzigsohn and Cabral argue that the meeting of these two different systems of racial ascription and identity construction results in Dominicans adopting the racial identity that opens the most doors for them; hence they avoid the negative label of "Black" and instead embrace a Dominican and pan-ethnic identity

which reaffirms their connection to the Dominican Republic, and helps their acculturation to the US economy (see also Waters 1999). Importantly, this "new" racial identity in the US is also constructed in accordance with Dominican ideas about race where "Black" is a pejorative label for Haitians, and denotes not only racial difference, but also national, cultural, and linguistic pride.

Gender is another socially constructed identity that is reformed through the process of migration (see Silvey 2006). For example, Fouron and Schiller argue that women and men from Haiti have a different sense of identification with Haiti: while both men and women express that they are nationalistic, this statement means different things to the different genders (2001). The authors note how Haitian nationalism is narrated as a story in which women play prescribed roles as mothers and wives. However, for Haitian women who have found economic opportunities in the US – often better than Haitian men – this national "script" is outdated and unrealistic. Because transnationals live within two different nations, each country shapes their gender and political identity. Similarly, the increased economic opportunity for Dominican women in the US affects their interests in returning home as Dominican women often prefer to stay in the US because of the economic opportunities available to them in the US labor market (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991).

Last, the transnationalism of the Dominican population has radically reshaped Dominican politics at home and has been a key aspect of Dominican politics in the US. In 1997 the Dominican Republic legalized the participation of Dominicans living overseas in the

country's presidential election (Duany 2004). Yet this change merely codified the already transnational elements of Dominican political life. During the Trujillo years Juan Bosch and other opponents of Trujillo used Puerto Rico and the US as staging grounds for their political activity. In addition to overseas voting initiatives, Dominican presidential candidates both campaign and cater to the overseas community; because this community could represent over 10% of the electorate they are not an "adjunct" to the domestic vote but an important power base on their own. Similarly, Dominican political identities have influenced the lives of transmigrants in the US; differences between political parties in the Dominican Republic created tensions in La Asociación de Bodegueros Dominicanos, and the continued participation of bodegueros in Dominican politics was often cited by many observers of the Philadelphia Dominican community as an impediment to their assimilation into US neighborhoods and politics.

The experiences of Dominican immigrants in Philadelphia highlight the relationship between the transnational identities and lives of current immigrant populations and the place-based process of economic redevelopment in the US. Out-migration has radically reshaped Philadelphia's population as the city has endured decades of economic restructuring and job loss. Looking for new immigrants to repopulate and rebuild the city forces the city to confront complex questions of belonging and citizenship: how will these new immigrants situate themselves into this aged metropolis? And, most importantly, how do the transnational identities of Dominicans interact with the identities of long-time Philadelphia residents?

Central Arguments of the Thesis

My analysis of the relationship between immigration and urban economic redevelopment advances three arguments regarding geographic theory and urban planning. First, I argue that the transnational mobility of bodegueros highlights the tension between the mobility of people and the immobility of places. Second, I argue that Philadelphia's efforts to achieve revitalization through immigration underscore the problematic nature of urban citizenship in the neoliberal metropolis. Last, I maintain that immigration can help scholars better understand the politics and process of "rescaling."

In examining the tension between the mobility of people and the immobility of places, I argue that the grocers engage in a process of "temporary permanence" in which they are both embedded in Philadelphia neighborhoods while simultaneously using their connections (both transnational and intra-city) to other places to advance their lives. The Dominican Republic and inner-city neighborhoods in Philadelphia are similar in that as the standard of living declined in both of these spaces the more mobile have sought out more advantageous places to live; in Philadelphia out-migration to the suburbs and other regions of the country has led to incredible population loss, and the political and economic instability of the Dominican Republic has created a world-wide Dominican diaspora. While the root causes of economic change in the two places vary broadly, population decline is a uniting factor. The problem faced by both the Dominican Republic and the City of Philadelphia is how to create wealth in a particular place when in the service-economy wealth is created primarily through the skill-level of workers: the most mobile factor of production. I argue that the bodegueros create wealth through a

process of "temporary permanence:" their stores are profitable only if bodegueros are completely embedded in the informal codes of Philadelphia neighborhoods, yet they are simultaneously looking to become more mobile through leaving their store and getting into other businesses. The bodegueros' mobility illustrates the importance of imagining places not as static sites of production, but instead as translocal sites enmeshed in global networks.

Second, because immigration and economic redevelopment are each processes overseen by the state, they can be understood only through the lens of citizenship. I argue that two separate readings of citizenship can be seen in the pro-immigration debate in Philadelphia. On the one hand, the call for increased immigration can be seen as an example of a liberalist understanding of citizenship. Because immigrants are expected to revitalize the city through their own entrepreneurial initiative, pro-immigrant discourses act as a form of "governmentality;" they instill in immigrants the types of market-based behaviors necessary for economic growth. Second, I argue that creating a positive relationship with the community is an essential task of the bodegueros. Therefore the grocers "perform" to the expectations of their community, while simultaneously expressing incredible fears of crime and violence. In this sense their citizenship performance is coerced and is an expression of fear and economic necessity as opposed to a true reflection of their sense of belonging. In combining these two understandings of citizenship, I argue that community expectations for immigrants act as a conditioning agent; in the neoliberal city where state support for immigrants is lacking, existent anti-

immigrant bias guides the behavior of immigrants and sets the parameters of their understanding of citizenship.

I argue that James Holston's conception of "insurgent citizenship" can be used as a guide for constructing a form of citizenship in which the problematic aspects of neoliberal citizenship identified above are addressed (1999). In brief, Holston argues that urban citizenship must be constructed based on the outcomes of grassroots struggles against modernist planning strategies, and the everyday lives of urban residents. I use the bodegueros' experience creating a sense of belonging in Philadelphia neighborhoods to pose two additions to Holston's model. First, because of the transnational lives of the grocers, urban citizenship must be re-conceptualized to include those whose lives are lived in motion, and whose economic and social lives are based in multiple places. Second, I argue that neoliberal citizenship is coercive, and is, as Faranak Miraftab and Shan Wills argue "an ideology that claims to equalize through the promotion of formal political and civil rights yet, through its privatization of life spaces criminalizes citizens based on their consumption abilities" (2005: 202). Bodegueros purchase neighborhood belonging through their performance of the ascribed identity of neighborhood provider. An insurgent form of citizenship would allow them to assert their own sense of identity and citizenship, and not be coerced into accepting an alternate identity.

Third, I use the experience of the bodegueros and the immigration debate in Philadelphia to make two arguments about the politics and process of rescaling. I argue that the promotion of immigration as an economic redevelopment strategy engages in two

incongruous forms of rescaling. On the one hand, I use the Foucouldian concept of governmentality to view immigration as a rescaling of economic development down to the individual bodies and behaviors of workers. On the other hand, immigration can be read as a rescaling of economic redevelopment to the global level as Philadelphia looks to other countries for the workers needed to revitalize the city. In this instance, the process of urban labor force development is expanded beyond the spatial limits of the city to include any country that could possibly be a source of workers. I also engage in the scalar debates within geography and argue that households play an essential, yet often overlooked, role in urban redevelopment. Bodegas are family-run businesses, and therefore gender norms, generational differences, and the life-trajectories of the families of bodegueros are intertwined with their businesses. Likewise, for residents of Philadelphia neighborhoods without cars or access to other shopping venues the bodegas allow social reproduction to occur.

Structure of the Thesis

This dissertation has eight chapters.

Chapter two *Mobility and Economic Redevelopment* lays out the conceptual framework I use to discuss the relationship between migration and economic change. This section draws on four different literatures: migration, citizenship, neoliberalism, and scale. My intention in this conceptual framework section is to draw linkages between neoliberalism and the type of citizenship that this form of economic policy denotes and the transnational lives of immigrants. I analyze how mobility interacts with the citizen-

making practices of modern states and how these practices are actualized in both policy discussions and urban neighborhoods.

Chapter three *Selecting Citizens* draws mainly on interviews with city-level economic development officials and addresses the relationship between immigration and economic development in Philadelphia. I argue that the call for more immigrants highlights the coercive nature of neoliberal citizenship: immigrants are desired only if they conform to the desires of urban policy makers and put economic growth at the forefront of their agenda. Likewise, I argue that this linkage between the actions of citizens and the economic life of the state illustrates a rescaling of the economy from the urban scale to the body scale. Individuals become part and parcel of economic growth.

Chapter four *"Insurgent Citizenship" in the Neoliberal City* addresses the process of recreating Philadelphia as an immigrant metropolis. Here I analyze the ethics of encouraging immigration and the ways in which policy makers imagine these immigrants can be attracted. I argue that multiple voices are active in promoting immigration, and this multiplicity of voices uncovers the myth of state unity, and instead exposes the "institutional assemblage" of state policy (Jessop 1990). Further, I maintain that these other voices within the policy-making community advance alternative understandings of citizenship that conflict with the neoliberal norms identified in chapter three, and help to understand the notion of "insurgent citizenship" as theorized by James Holston (1999).

Chapter five *Invaders?* examines the role of immigrant entrepreneurs in Philadelphia neighborhoods, and situates their business practices within an understanding of citizenship. Here I argue that the grocers do not feel as though they are members of the Philadelphia polity or experience any sort of sense of belonging in their neighborhoods. Instead, they perform to the expectations of community residents.

Chapter six *"Temporary Permanence"* examines the relationship between the mobility practices of the grocers and the lack of mobility of neighborhood residents. I argue that while most of the shoppers at the bodegas like the store and consider the bodegueros to be an important part of the neighborhood, economic development officials and other neighborhood activists are much more likely to paint the bodegueros in negative terms. I argue that one reason for this difference of opinion is that bodegueros use their mobility to both administer their stores and achieve upward social mobility for themselves and their families. In contrast, neighborhood activists tend to utilize an understanding of "neighborhood" within which connections (to other countries or to other areas of the city) are viewed as problematic. In this sense, the root of the tension between bodegueros and neighborhood activists is their different understandings of how mobility affects urban redevelopment.

Chapter seven *The Bodega Business as a Family Business* examines the ways in which gender and family affect the operation of the bodega. I situate this gendered analysis of bodegas within the geographic literature on scale, and argue that the household must be understood as an essential location of economic redevelopment. In essence, bodegas

exist at the intersection of two families: the families of bodegueros and the families of those who shop at the stores. In examining the stores as sites of social reproduction I argue that understanding family dynamics is an important skill that successful bodegueros must posses; within family businesses family dynamics constitute labor management. Similarly, the stores make social reproduction possible in low income neighborhoods suffering from a lack of retail opportunities. I argue that this gendered analysis of bodegas highlights the importance of the household as an essential, yet often overlooked, scale in the process of neighborhood change.

Chapter nine *Constructing New Forms of Citizenship in the Neoliberal City* revisits the arguments offered by the dissertation and offers suggestions for further research into the relationships between citizenship, scale, immigration and urban change.

Chapter Two: Mobility and Economic Redevelopment

Employers not only seek to obtain labor, but to obtain labor that can be used under specific conditions of organization of the labor process.
>*-- Saskia Sassen, The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow (1998: 39)*

The way we define citizenship is intimately linked to the kind of society and political community we want.
>*-- Chantal Mouffe "Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community" in Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community (1992: 225)*

Introduction

The economy, the state, and citizenship are interrelated aspects of the process of

economic redevelopment. However, each of these processes manifests itself in different

ways in different sites. Philadelphia policy makers have argued that by encouraging new

immigrants to move to the city the economy will grow. Yet this urban economic

redevelopment strategy works only when these new citizens "perform" to the

expectations of policy makers: they behave entrepreneurially, are hard-working, and act

as though economic growth were an essential aspect of their being. Similarly, the

bodegueros carefully observe the prevailing norms in the neighborhoods in which their

stores are located and alter their behavior in order to be accepted as middleman

entrepreneurs. Their ability to "perform" to neighborhood codes of conduct is not simply

an aspect of their economic lives; because of their status as neighborhood outsiders their

performances of citizenship are integral to their economic survival. Yet the bodegueros

are also similar to other immigrants in that they live transnational lives and are

simultaneously embedded in more spaces than simply the City of Philadelphia. They remit funds home to the Dominican Republic and have identities which are reflective of these multiple spaces. In this chapter I explore how the multiple discourses of belonging that policy makers, bodegueros, and neighborhood residents manifest interact with citizenship and the process of economic redevelopment.

As a geographer my interest is to understand how citizenship, the state, and the economy are constituted across various spatial scales. Neoliberal economic policies lead to the clear favoring of some locations over others, and this process of uneven development serves as the root cause of migration (Smith 1990). However, conversations about immigration are different at various spatial scales: while city policy makers saw immigrants as entrepreneurial and a benefit to the city, community activists tended to be more critical of immigrants and saw their transnational lives threatening neighborhood cohesion and redevelopment. In this research I examine how neighborhoods in Philadelphia compete for investment and how the transnational lives of immigrants complicate this process. Further, I examine how immigrant households rearrange their lives in order to survive economically. It is this dynamic interaction between capital mobility and population mobility that serves as the organizing principle of this study.

I explain the theoretical framework for this study in four sections. First, I examine the process of migration. This section is divided into three subsections: (1) migration and US urban development; (2) transnational migration systems; and (3) race and gender in the migration process. There is an essential link between migration and urban economic

growth: population is both a marker of the economic development of a city, and, as workers find employment in cities, they are also causes of this growth. Yet the long-held assumption that individual workers "permanently" relocate and become new citizens of their host country and city is unraveling as immigrants become "transmigrants" and are "simultaneously embedded" in multiple locations. This mobility changes the already contentious relationship between migration and economic growth as transmigrants live economic and cultural lives in which multiple locations are important to them. Last, migration challenges existing gender and racial norms in both sending and receiving states. The changing norms of these socially constructed aspects of identity interrelate with the process of assimilation and play a role in the constant negotiations between insider and outsider that immigrants engage in.

Section two explores the concept of citizenship and analyzes the connection between individual urban residents and the political authority of the city. As Chantal Mouffe argues in the epigraph "[t]he way we define citizenship is intimately linked to the kind of society and political community we want" (1992: 225). The prospect of citizens bringing economic growth through their behavior assumes a liberal understanding of citizenship in which individual workers must take responsibility for their individual survival. Yet as Mouffe's comments allude to, citizenship is more than a green card; other notions like belonging, transnational identity, and the ephemeral concept of community all affect the types of communities that immigrants create and the way others relate to immigrant communities.

Section three takes our understanding of migration and citizenship and places it within the literature on neoliberal economic development. I argue that neoliberalism promotes competition between people and between places. We can see this expressed in the state's preference for citizens that have the skills needed in the global economy, and in the direct competition between places for the most profitable citizens – and of course the most profitable corporations. This spatial fragmentation leads to economic growth in some regions and stagnation in others. Migration is therefore one way of "coping" with the negative effects of fragmentation; however, transnationalism complicates the idea that places can actually be neatly separated from each other through lines on a map.

Section four uses the geographic literature on scale to provide a vocabulary for the linkages this study draws between the individual, the neighborhood, the city, and the international economy. This section is divided into two subsections: (1) scale; and (2) governmentality. I draw upon the rescaling literature to argue that the scale at which social problems are solved is socially constructed. I then tie the rescaling literature to the Foucouldian concept of governmentality to explore the importance of bodies and individual behavior in the process of neoliberal restructuring.

Migration

Migration and the US Urban System

The process of urban growth is a question of both the in-migration of new urban residents and the rate of natural increase of the existing urban population (Pacione 2001). Population dynamics in the US are somewhat different from those of other advanced

industrial nations; most European countries have total fertility rates of less than 2 and are experiencing population decline. In the US the fertility rate is 2.08, indicating that the US has a stable population, which is augmented by international immigration[6]. With a stable national population, the locational decisions of internal and international migrants are key elements of urban population growth and decline.

However, the destinations of internal and international immigrants are very different. In the US international migration remains essentially an urban process, with migrants moving overwhelmingly to major cities (Singer 2004). For instance, four out of every ten migrants end up living in only two cities: New York and Los Angeles (Waldinger 1999). Likewise, three-quarters of immigrants concentrate in only six states: California, New York, Texas, Florida, New Jersey, and Illinois (Borjas 1999). In contrast, internal migrants are moving away from large metropolitan areas – especially deindustrializing areas in the Rustbelt – and favoring suburban locales and cities in the Sunbelt (Frey and Liaw 1998; Frey 2002). To this end, since the 1950s we have seen a gradual – yet radical – redistribution of the US population away from the Mid-Atlantic and towards the West and Southwest as cities like Detroit have lost population and cities like Phoenix and Los Angeles have become major population centers.

Recent data suggest that this trend of immigrants moving to cities is changing as many rural and suburban communities that have traditionally not been immigrant destinations are becoming new destination areas (Suro and Singer 2002). Many immigrants are now

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[6] A country's totally fertility rate refers to the number of children the average women will have during her childbearing years (usually between the ages of 15 and 49). A rate of 2.1 is important because it indicates the "replacement level" wherein population size will remain stable.

moving to urban areas, but are bypassing the city and traditional ethnic enclaves in favor of suburban locales. This change has led to the creation of what geographer Wei Lei has termed "Ethnoburbs" as formerly homogenous suburbs have become more ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse and embedded in the same transnational networks that have transformed urban spaces (1999). However, this change in the locational choices of new migrants does not alter the fact that a small number of cities are still home to large concentrations of immigrants, and these concentrations play an important role in the maintenance of immigrant networks and the creation of immigrant communities.

Understanding why different migration streams exist for internal and international migrants is an unanswered question for geographers and other social scientists. One reason for these different migration streams is that internal migrants tend to relocate based on economic necessity and are pulled by the dynamics of economic restructuring. In contrast, international immigrants – because of chain migration, US immigration policy, and their need for the support of other immigrants – tend to relocate to existent immigrant communities regardless of the dynamics of the local economy (Frey 2002). Another distinction between internal and international migrants is the power that they have in labor negotiations. Saskia Sassen argues that "[e]mployers not only seek to obtain labor, but to obtain labor that can be used under specific conditions of organization of the labor process" (Sassen 1988: 39). To Sassen, migration is not merely a process of movement, but a process of *negotiation* wherein employers seek out workers who are willing to work for a lower wage under a more demanding labor regime. Stephen Castles uses the term "ddd" to describe the occupations that international immigrants work in:

dirty, dangerous, and difficult (2000). These jobs are not necessarily unskilled; instead they represent jobs demanding advanced training, are low in status, or involve significant risk and are therefore unwanted by native populations who have more power in the labor market. For example, Sassen indicates that in Western Europe the preferences for international immigrants exists because they demand fewer social services than native workers, are willing to occupy older housing, have below-average consumption, are more productive than native workers, and costs such as disability and unemployment can be "exported" when immigrants return to their native country (1998). Native workers, because of their stronger social networks, more nuanced understanding of the job market, and higher reserve wage will choose not to accept these jobs.

There is no simple relationship between migration and economic restructuring (Pandit and Withers 1999). On the one hand the process of urbanization demands the movement of people to cities. Urbanization is an outgrowth of the birth of capitalism and the concurrent restructurings created by this new form of development. The rate of urbanization for the entire world increased dramatically after the dawn of capitalism and the industrial revolution in the UK (Pacione 2001). Urbanization led to large numbers of rural-to-urban migrants as those forced off their land looked for work in cities and became the first industrial labor force. Capitalist development, with its inherent concentrations of capital in the form of factories and other places of work forced people to become mobile in order to provide for themselves (Brenner 1998). The enormous growth of urbanization during the industrial era and its concurrent disruption of the "traditional" patterns of life resulted in the great urban theorist Henri Lefebvre's classic

The Urban Revolution (2003). To Lefebvre, the city is the ultimate form of the "production of space," wherein the transition to a capitalist economy has crushed previous "organic" uses of space and replaced them with the imposed rigidity of the capitalist order.

On the other hand, industrialization also creates a push of people away from cities because of differential demands for labor in the urban economy. Industrialization often increases a country's rate of emigration as workers gain the income needed to leave their country of origin and workers gain skills that are in demand in the global economy (Pacione 2001). The largest sources of immigrants to the US are therefore not the world's poorest countries, but instead are rapidly industrializing countries such as China, Mexico, and India whose economies are growing but not creating opportunities for all their citizens (US Census 2000). In the same way that Europe exported millions of people across the globe to new "neo-Europes" during its industrialization, newly industrializing countries comprise an important source of international migrants to the US (Crosby 1986).

Although international immigration has historically been an important source of urban population growth, the financial costs and benefits of these migrants have been a much-debated aspect of their arrival in urban neighborhoods. There are currently two different perspectives on the relationship between immigrants and neighborhood scale economic development. The first argues that today's immigrants are of lesser skill than native residents and therefore lower the economic standing of neighborhoods (Borjas and Freeman 1992). Borjas and Freeman argue that since the 1965 changes in immigration

regulations towards a system favoring family reunification immigrants have been less educated than their native-born counterparts. Because of the decline in manufacturing jobs that provided employment for previous waves of migration, today's migrants must seek work in cities with a growing service sector, which offers high wage employment to workers with specialized skills, but produces mostly low wage jobs for those lacking advanced training (Cox 1995; Sassen 2001). To Borjas and Freeman the US has structured its immigration laws to promote the migration of unskilled workers which will in turn create a new urban immigrant underclass. Other scholars agree with Borjas and Freeman and argue that because the US lacks a federal policy to support education and job training for immigrants, these under-skilled migrants will become an urban underclass. Frey and Fielding (1995) note that because of the geographic clustering of migrants (Massey, Gross et al. 1994; Allen and Turner 1996), this movement will result in large urban areas of concentrated immigrant poverty.

The second view argues that immigrants, regardless of their level of formal education, bring economic development through transnational business connections and through entrepreneurial "spunk" and initiative that native residents lack. A growing body of literature argues that immigrants bring investment to cities through transnational business contacts, enclave economies, and a propensity for small business development (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Winnick 1990; Portes 1995; James, Romine et al. 1998; Lin 1998). Proponents of this theory disagree with the predictions of a growing immigrant underclass and note that while immigrants *initially* earn less than their native-born counterparts, over time their earnings increase so that after ten years in the country many immigrant groups earn more than the average native-born American (Clark 2003).

Further, Lin theorizes that transnational immigrant enclave economies are integrated into global capital markets and therefore bring new money into the local economy (1998). Therefore, immigrant businesses do not merely circulate already existent capital in the community, they bring with them new transnational connections to financial markets and therefore create economic growth. Likewise, proponents of the enclave economy model argue that enclaves create economic growth through the creation of businesses that serve the local immigrant community and cater to immigrant entrepreneurial spirit. Proponents of immigrant-led revitalization argue that in addition to bringing economic development, immigrants repopulate urban neighborhoods and carry on the process of housing filtering as whites suburbanize and demand new housing on the urban fringe.

These two different perspectives on the relationship between international immigration and neighborhood development embody different perspectives on the role immigrants play in US society and the proper pace and form of immigrant assimilation. For example Harvard economist George Borjas has argued that in order to protect the US economy the country should move away from an immigration policy that supports family reunification and instead embrace a point system that favors educated immigrants, regardless of familial connection to the US (1999). This change would counter what he sees as the development of low-income and disempowered immigrant communities. Likewise, to those that see transnational immigrant enclaves as important spaces of economic advancement, American multiculturalism and immigrant networks are of vital importance to neighborhood economic development.

The relationship between migration and urban economic development is not straightforward. The US urban system is a dynamic organism within which migration plays but one role in determining economic growth. While economics form the broad context of population mobility, this framework leaves important questions unanswered; for example, how do prospective migrants choose what nation to relocate to? Immigrants often do not move to the closest higher wage country, but instead move in circuitous routes governed by visa requirements and family networks. In the next section I look beyond the economic models of population movement and examine the non-economic aspects of population mobility.

Transnational Migration Systems

Central to an understanding of the confusing process of population mobility and economic development is the idea that migration is not the act of self-maximizing individuals who relocate in order to take advantage of economic opportunities offered by wage differentials between sending and receiving states as imagined by simplistic push/pull models of migration (Zelinsky 1971). Instead, migration occurs as part of a migration system which links two places together (Castles and Miller 1993). These links are formed as a result of economic connections such as foreign direct investment, colonialism, military intervention, as well as direct labor recruitment and other types of contact such as tourism. Once these original connections are made, migration continues through moves to achieve family reunification, formal and informal information networks, and the growth of enclave economies. Migration systems theory views

migration as a result of the interplay of state policy, households, and economic restructuring.

Migration systems theory does not conceptualize migration as a one time event, but instead understands migration as a long-term process within which the connections and networks formed between individual places and people evolve over time. This theory also focuses attention on the ways that the choice to migrate is influenced by macro level forces, yet the actual decision to migrate takes place within households (Lawson 1998). This interaction between the household and the international economy asks scholars of immigration to analyze issues such as the gender and household relations in order to understand how places are linked through population mobility (Lawson 1998; De Jong 2000; Salaff and Greve 2004). Hence, migration system theory privileges research strategies that analyze the ways that these networks link sending and receiving countries together; therefore research strategies that combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies are often essential in order to decipher the complexity of migration (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Vandsemb 1995).

In the same way that migration systems theory altered past thinking about migration, transnationalism has radically reshaped simplistic models of immigrant assimilation. Initially it was assumed that migrants became "acculturated" and later assimilated to the dominant society in a universal and unidirectional process (Schiller, Basch et al. 1995). The central tenet of transnationalism is that migrants are simultaneously embedded in more than one society; in this sense the move to the US does not demand a total

separation from the country of origin. Rather, through improvements in communication technology migrant communities create new forms of identity through their multi-threaded connections with different spaces and communities around the world (Appadurai 1996). These connections link the sending and receiving state and thus affect the politics, culture, and economy in both countries involved in migration. For example Dominicans in the US are simultaneously involved in both New York City politics and Dominican politics, linking these two political spaces in ways that would have been unimaginable 100 years ago (Itzigsohn 2000; Itzigsohn and Cabral 2000). In this sense the idea that immigrants will "acculturate" are problematic because of the likelihood of continued contact between immigrant communities and "home."

Transnationalism challenges traditional notions of nationalism and political involvement in which the state is the sole arbiter of citizenship. Nationalism is a product of state strategies of constructing communities based on the creation and continual upholding of a shared common *imaginary* past (Anderson 1983). Yet the construction of these stories is challenged by transnational migrants who become embedded in multiple imagined communities (Appadurai 1996). To Appadurai the role of imagination is important because migrants are constantly thinking about home and reinterpreting home from their space abroad. Appadurai has gone so far as to predict the eventual destruction of the nation-state in favor of a new system of non-localized hybridized identities (1996). To Appaduria while this moment seems far-off, migration and globalization pose such vexing problems for the nation-state that its position as the foremost marker of identity will inevitably slip away.

Transnational connections are maintained through the networks that families create and operate across vast distances. Advances in communication technology allow families living apart to maintain close connections, for example through low cost phone cards (Vertovec 2004). This often entails an extremely complex and emotionally difficult process of organizing family and community rituals across space (Bailey, Wright et al. 2002; Gardner and Grillo 2002). For example Bailey et al argue that among El Salvadorans in the US who have "temporary permanent" status – a visa issued to migrants that can be withdrawn at any time – the time and emotional energy they invest in maintaining their connections with El Salvador work against the formation of a local El Salvadoran community in the US. The difficulty of being embedded in multiple spaces has led to the axiom "trouble at home, trouble abroad" which calls attention to the anguish this simultaneous embeddedness often brings (Schiller, Basch et al. 1995). Similarly, transnational identities affects family rituals as families reinterpret traditional practices in spaces far beyond their traditional locus (Mand 2002; Salih 2002). Mand, for example, notes that a Sikh wedding which took place in Punjab with participants from multiple continents involved the performance of a ritual rarely performed in Punjab, but widely practiced in the Kenyan Sikh community. The ritual was performed and taped for those Kenyan Sikhs in absentia in order to fulfill the expectations of that facet of the Sikh community.

Further, by continually moving between different locales transnational immigrants exemplify the interconnections between places in the global economy and force us to rethink simplistic and compartmentalized notions of "migrant" and "place" (Appadurai

1996; Silvey and Lawson 1999). To Silvey and Lawson the binaries of "migrant" and "non-migrant" obscure a true understanding of how mobility is involved in the construction of all communities. Similarly, while a great deal of research focuses on how institutions, discourses, and capital flows create places, Silvey and Lawson argue that immigration creates communities and households that live transnational lives and offer unique insight into the mobility practices that go into the creation of places.

Transnationalism is also affecting urban space in the US (Lin 1998; Smith 1999; Wei 1999). For example Wei and Lin each examine the ways in which transnational Chinese communities are remaking major US cities. Li Wie's analysis of "ethnoburbs" in Los Angeles explores how new real estate markets and ethnic spaces are being created in suburbs as traditional Chinese enclaves expand into these new spaces. Similarly, Lin argues that in New York the economic growth of Chinatown in Manhattan is an example of the "revalorization" of this established urban space. Michael Peter Smith suggests that in studying transnational urban spaces scholars should:

> start with an analysis of networks situated in the social space of the city and with an awareness that the social space being analyzed might best be understood as a translocality, a place where institutions interact with structural and instrumental processes in the formation of power, meaning, and identities (1999: 133).

To Smith, studies of transnational urbanism should complicate the relationship between people and place and instead use the metaphors of "network" and a "translocality" to understand how the processes that connect people across space affect the creation of urban space. Because of the importance of migration to urban change, transnationalism

marks an important shift not only in thinking about migrants, but in thinking about cities in general.

While previous theories of migration posited that population movements are singular events motivated by wage-differentials between sending and receiving states, migration system theory and transnationalism instead describe migration as a dynamic process that is characterized by immigrants' simultaneous embeddedness in multiple locations and their multilayered linkages between places maintained at multiple spatial scales. These links create new economic, social, and cultural identities based on the mobile lives of transnational migrants. While these links do not necessitate a weakening of state power, they create a blurring of the once solid divisions between "here" and "there." As noted by Michael Peter Smith, the dynamic connections that immigrants create between places challenge the rigidity of urban boundaries and ask scholars to conceptualize cities as impermanent nodes within a malleable urban system.

Race and Gender in the Migration Process

Migration is a process that changes the demographic profile of both sending and receiving states. The effects of these changes can be seen in the labor market as new people enter the workforce and are confronted with existing gender and racial norms. These demographic changes can be analyzed at a variety of different scales; for example at the level of the nation-state migration changes the relative size of minority and majority populations. In this section I analyze the gender and racial changes brought by

immigration, paying particular attention to how these changes are manifested in urban households and neighborhoods.

Ethnic categories are created in large part through population mobility: as different groups come together ethnic differences interact with identities, labor force policies, and power differentials to create racial distinctions. Therefore the way new ethnic groups are assimilated into – and of course challenge – existing US ethnic relations and patterns of segregation plays an important role in determining the future contours of ethnic relations in the US (Castles and Miller 1993; Castles 2000). Population mobility alone does not create racial categories; instead racial categories are socially constructed through the use of observable phenotypes by those in power to construct so called racial distinctions (Omi and Winant 1994). Examples of how migration has interacted with racial categorization include the forced migration of Africans to the US as slave labor, the treatment of post-colonial labor migrants in Western Europe post-1945, and the varying forms of immigration restrictions applied to people of Asian descent in the US (Castles and Miller 1993; Takaki 1998). When migration brings different groups together, there is no natural, predetermined rule, as to how the groups will interrelate. Instead, racial identities are ascribed to migrants in historically specific processes directly related to demands for labor in the economy, notions of nationalism, questions of citizenship and other factors (Ignatiev 1995). The historical specificity of this process indicates that ethnic relations are not set in stone, but evolve over times as different groups arrive in the US, labor needs change, and political and social forces evolve (Winant 2001).

The connection between race and migration can be seen in the timing of immigration reform in the US. Prior to 1965, the goals of US immigration laws were growing the US labor force and keeping the country white. To this end the US employed a system of racist regional quotas that supported migration from European countries and limited immigration from non-white areas. These laws changed in 1965 to support family reunification migration. This change occurred as part of civil rights era legal reforms and privileged the growth of existent immigrant communities over the goal of keeping the US majority white (Massey, Arango et al. 1993). Some supporters of these changes thought that because the US was predominantly populated by European immigrants and their descendents, privileging family reunification would not have a significant impact on the ethnic composition of the US. However, as a result of global economic inequality and differential interest in relocating to the US, most migrants to the US are now from Asia and Latin America.

Urban space in the US has been constructed in part through the place-making strategies of immigrants and the nativist actions of long-time residents. The allocation of urban space has historically been used to codify and enforce racial boundaries, with severe economic consequences for people of color (Anderson 1987; Massey and Denton 1993). Anderson, in her analysis of Vancouver's Chinatown argues that urban space was racialized and defined as inferior through a process of othering by Vancouver politicians. Similarly, studies of racial segregation in the US clearly indicate that urban space continues to be unequally distributed through a process of forced segregation that denies African Americans the economic benefits of homeownership and ensures the continued

survival of racial inequality in the US (Massey and Denton 1993). Further, the use of racialized metaphors of spatial difference remains a component of popular discussions of migration and mobility in the US (Ellis and Wright 1998). Because of the geographic concentration of immigrants in inner cities, the discourse of immigration is incredibly important in understanding the relationship between neighborhood development and migration (Alba, Denton et al. 1995; Allen and Turner 1996; Ellis and Wright 1998). For example, scholars of ethnic entrepreneurship in urban neighborhood note that the relationship between customers and storeowners reflect larger ongoing debates about ethnicity and assimilation in the US (Chang 1993; Castles 2000).

Glenda Laws, drawing on immigration coverage in the popular press, argues that globalization and immigration have led to a resurgence of nativist sentiments across the country (1997). Laws argues that "English only" legislation and legislation to deny welfare benefits to immigrants are examples of anti-immigrant mobilizations (see also Huber and Espenshade 1997). These types of policies work to the detriment of immigrant communities and reinterpret citizenship as a "tiered" institution in order to deny immigrants the benefits that other citizens have available to them (for example see Staeheli 2003; Staeheli and Clarke 2003). These debates are important because migration is not a short-term phenomenon; rather the incorporation of migrants into the host community determines future racial configurations as migrants become long-term settlers, who must be incorporated by the State into society (Portes 1995; Castles 2000).

Metaphors of movement play a role in the continuation of myths of racial inferiority (Bryce-LaPorte 1993; Tesfahuney 1998). Bryce-Laporte argues that European migrants to the US are considered voluntary migrants and are often considered entrepreneurial and hard working, in contrast to African American's history of involuntary migration. He argues that there are a variety of voluntary movements among African Americans (for example the Great Migration and movements of Afro-Latinos to the US) and argues that these histories must be understood to appreciate the diversity of experience among African Americans. In this sense mobility is directly related to the process of citizenship and racial coding.

The shift in migration research towards the study of networks that develop to support migrant communities highlights the ways in which migration is a gendered process (Grewal and Kaplan 1994; Ginsburg and Rapp 1995). Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Fouron, in their exploration of gender and nationalism among Haitian Americans, argue that because of their improved social position in the US, nationalism among Haitian women is expressed in distinctly different ways from its expression among Haitian men (1998). Similarly, many scholars of migration have noted the tensions within families as immigrant women seek to play different roles within families and the wider labor market after moving. Often this process entails assimilating into existing gender norms within the host society (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991). To this end, because of their improved educational and work opportunities in the US, many Dominican women have been less interested in returning home than Dominican men. This differing relationship with home and abroad influences, for example, remittances home as women choose to make investments in the life in the US as opposed to remitting funds home.

The ways that gender identities change through the process of migration draws our attention to the social constructedness of all gender identities and the idea that expressions or manifestations of these gender identities can best be conceptualized as existing along a continuum, rather than existing as rigid binaries (Giddings, 1998). The varied materializations of gender do not mean that gender is not linked to power dynamics;[7] rather it means that gender is one of a set of socially-produced realities that undergoes change through the process of migration. In this analysis I focus on the ways that Dominican men and women reconceptualize their gender identities through their positions as ethnic entrepreneurs: while for Dominican women this change meant seeking employment outside the home and renegotiating their place in the family based on their new earnings, for Dominican men it often meant learning how to serve and provide for their predominantly female clients and how to renegotiate their position in their families based on their diminished power in the US.

In terms of demography and women's position as signifiers of racial purity, geographers argue that the process of "predicting" the future ethnic makeup of the US based on current population growth rates (fertility rates) is a racial project, not an unbiased demographic exercise (Ellis and Wright 1998). As nativism in the US rises and immigration changes the ethnic makeup of US cities, these trends have important consequences for immigrant women. Anthropologist Shellee Colen, for example, in her

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[7] for an excellent summary of how migration research has been used to understand the interconnection of race and power see Silvey, 2006

work on immigrant childcare workers in New York uses the term *stratified reproduction* to explore how different populations in the US are differently enabled to support their families within the US (1995). Questions of citizenship and race are naturally gendered questions which must be analyzed in terms of how women's bodies and lives are used to promote racial purity and national honor.

The state's role in monitoring women's fertility points to the differential treatment of women by the state and different definitions of citizenship for women as compared to men (Allen 1990; Eisenstein 1996). Feminists argue that traditional state theory conceptualizes citizens as autonomous economic and political units. This construction is gendered because it is built on the model of a patriarchal nuclear family in which processes of social reproduction are performed by women. Thus the "autonomous" male is supported by other, uncounted and unremunerated, labor. Feminist state theorists have fought to reconceptualize the subjectivity of a citizen to include a broader definition of personhood, one that recognizes the interdependencies of family and social reproduction.

Migration can best be conceptualized as a raced and gendered process. The movement of people is part and parcel of the process of racial categorization; therefore debates about immigration are directly linked to discussions of urban segregation and racial stratification in the US. Similarly, the change in gender norms brought by migration highlights the social construction of gender codes. Understanding how migration influences race and gender demands moving away from a normative view of "the immigrant" as a monolithic white male subject, and instead viewing immigrants as

subjects whose identities reflect the racial and gender codes of both sending and receiving states, and who have agency in negotiating these different subjectivities.

Citizenship

Philadelphia's push for increased immigration is an economic redevelopment policy which seeks to extend the rights of citizenship to people all over the world interested in relocating to the city. In this writing I approach the concept of citizenship in a variety of different ways. First, I review the traditional Marshallian understanding of citizenship, which constructs the institution as a three-way axis of social, political and civic rights. Next, I complicate this model by discussing the cultural and transnational dimensions of citizenship which this model overlooks. Second, I analyze citizenship in terms of community and neighborhood belonging. In this section I place the transnational lives of Dominicans within the context of their business and social relationships. Because of the importance of social relationships to their survival as entrepreneurs, I view political understandings of citizenship as directly linked to questions of community and belonging.

The traditional Marshallian understanding of citizenship proposes a three-way axis to describe the rights guaranteed to citizens: civil, political, and social (Isin and Turner 2002). Civil rights relate to the relationship between the citizen and the state legal apparatus. Therefore civil rights include speech, movement, and equal protection under the law. Political rights address citizen control of government, access to voting, and the ability of citizens to serve in government. Last, social rights refer to access to healthcare and other state-sponsored welfare benefits. Within this simplistic framework significant

differences exist in terms of how different populations within states are able to exercise their citizenship rights – for example the civil rights movement in the US sought to restore civil and political rights to African Americans denied these rights since the demise of Reconstruction. There are also differences between states as nations adopt different balances of these three rights. To this end Isin and Turner propose three basic models of citizenship – liberalism, communitarianism, and republicanism.

Liberalism places the highest priority on civil and political rights and the least focus on social rights. This system was developed based on the work of John Stuart Mill and John Locke and is described as affirming "negative rights." Citizens have the right to a state that protects their property and the right to be protected by the state against those who wish to deny them that property. Neoliberalism as a form of state structure embraces this model of a citizen who does not place demands on the state for social rights, and instead imagines themselves to be an independent creator of economic development.

In contrast, the communitarian model places a higher focus on the state's provision of social and community benefits, proposing a "positive" model of citizenship rights. This model, common across the European Union, adopts a definition of equality based not only on equal protection before the law, but on economic and social equality between citizens. In contrast to the liberal model, the communitarian model proposes a model of the state acting to create equality between citizens.

Last, the Republican model serves as a sort of bridge between the communitarian and liberal models. Republican states focus on the common bonds that unite state citizens and therefore promote consensual decision making (in contrast to liberal theories, which focus on individual self-maximization) and the differing needs of the collective polity. France's embrace of the Republican model of citizenship has led to policies such as not collecting data based on race or national origin and discouraging the use of languages other than French. In this sense the Republican model has been read as a model of citizenship that through its singular focus on political unity is consciously ignorant of the importance of cultural and racial divisions in society.

Citizenship in its broadest sense deals with the relationship between the individual and the modern state. Interestingly for this study, citizenship originally referred to the distinction between urban Greeks who participated in society's cultural and political life (and therefore civilization) and were therefore distinct from rural pagans. The traditional Mashallian understanding of citizenship views the institution as a regulator, balancing the civil, political, and social needs of citizens. While these broad strokes provide an introduction to the institution of citizenship, the neat balancing of these three concepts elides the complexity of being a citizen. Three interconnected notions that complicate the simplistic Marshallian model are important to our understanding of bodegueros and immigration in Philadelphia. First, both transnational and local forces are disrupting the primacy of the state in discussions of citizenship. Second, the cultural components of citizenship and nationalism are overlooked in Marshall's understanding of citizenship. Last, while liberalism proposes equal protection under the law, multiple groups have

articulated their lack of representation within this system. Hence liberalism can be viewed as a system of citizenship that presents a face of impartiality but empowers some at the expense of others. I use these three disruptions to the Marshallian understanding of citizenship to introduce the concept of the performativity of urban citizenship.

While discussions of citizenship often take place at the national level, the state is no longer the only source of citizenship rights and policies. For example, illegal immigrants in Philadelphia and many other US cities are guaranteed access to police protection, while in other cities these rights are denied. Other cities, such as New York City, have discussed the possibility that those living in the United States regardless of citizenship status be granted the right to vote in municipal and other non-federal elections[8]. In this sense the scalar architecture of citizenship rights is more complex than simply international states deciding who is a citizen. Other theorists have pointed to the transnational connections that immigrants maintain to argue that the state's monopoly on bestowing citizenship rights has become destabilized and have proposed new models of transnational citizenship (Bauböck 1994; Münch 2001; Anderson 2002; Fox 2005). For example states like Haiti, the Philippines, the Dominican Republic and Mexico have elaborate state apparatuses to encourage the participation of nationals living abroad in the political and economic life of the their countries. Likewise, within the European context the European Union proposes an international form of citizenship. Debates concerning the "arrival" of transnational citizenship engage in the process of unpacking the "multilayered identities" of citizens living in a globally interconnected society (Yuval-

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[8] For example see http://www.immigrantvoting.org/.

Davis 1999). Importantly, scholars of transnational citizenship point out that this concept is still in its infancy and maintain that more work needs to be done around this concept (Bauböck 1994; Stokes 2004; Fox 2005). Cities are important sites where the contested nature of modern citizenship is debated. The process of making urban policy necessarily engages in the process of constructing the ideal citizen (Raco 2003). Within immigrant communities, citizenship and national identities are also reflected in their use urban space (Erhrkamp and Leitner 2003).

The focus on negative rights in the neoliberal context overlooks the idea of "group rights," which focus on the role of the state in preserving cultural identity (Isin and Turner 2002). In this sense citizenship is not only a collection of political, social, and civil rights, but the extent to which membership in ethnic or religious groups different from dominant groups is protected (Castles and Davidson 2000). Movements for cultural inclusion often focus on language as ethnic groups seek the ability to preserve their linguistic heritage. Fights to preserve group rights based on culture should not be viewed as narrow movements to preserve language and cultural dress, but must be understood as parts of larger debates about modernization and national identity. For example, Samuel Huntington's critique of new Spanish speaking immigrants to the United States uses decidedly Orientalist language in his accusation that new Latino immigrant groups fail to assimilate (2005). Huntington's concern is not merely the cultural background of these immigrants, but the connections he sees between culture, political identity, and economic performance.

Given these complications to the Marshellian triumvirate of civic, political, and social rights, how does citizenship operate within the neoliberal city? In this analysis I examine citizenship as an economic project and a coerced identity, one in which immigrants perform to the expectations of community residents. Judith Goode and Joanne Schneider's work on immigrant incorporation in urban neighborhoods highlights the contextual and contradictory aspects of the changing definitions of "insider" and "outside," a distinction I refer to here as "belonging" (1994). They note that newcomers often earn the status of insider based on their participation in community events and observance of unwritten neighborhood codes of conduct. Importantly, visa status or the longevity of immigrants in the community were viewed as less important than these behaviors and "performances" of belonging. Goode and Schneider emphasize the importance of everyday interactions in urban communities in creating a sense of belonging: knowing when the correct trash day is, daily interactions at businesses and interactions in public spaces such as schools and churches. To them, the process is contradictory because daily interactions were often constructed differently by different groups: for example newcomers often felt like outsiders when participating in neighborhood functions, even as long-time residents viewed their presence as a symbol of their incorporation into the neighborhood. Goode and Schneider's analysis highlights the interaction of neighborhood and community in the process of immigrant incorporation: daily interactions in shared public spaces form the basis for newcomers' sense of belonging.

Goode and Schneider's observation that belonging is based on the actions of newcomers, and is not a right accrued by visa status or physical presence in a neighborhood (Lepofsky and Fraser 2003) hints at the importance of Judith Butler's theory of performativity in understanding citizenship (Erevelles 2002). Butler seeks to challenge the connection between sex and gender, arguing that gender norms are not "natural" but are instead social constructs. She argues "that the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality" (185). To Butler, the self and the body are the vessel through which gender is performed, and through this performance the larger "political" and "disciplinary" practices that create gender are hidden. Two aspects of Butler's work are germane to our analysis of urban citizenship. First, in the same way that gender is socially constructed, so too is "community." There is no ontologically distinct community for bodegueros to strive for membership within; instead there are multiple discourses of belonging that shoppers and community organizations create which define the criteria of belonging. Therefore a central task of newcomers is observing what their status is in the neighborhood and performing to these expectations. Second, it is the performances of these socially-produced realities that bring them to life. In this sense we need to look to the actions of bodegueros in order to understand how they are performing their understanding of urban citizenship. Applying this idea to the process of neighborhood redevelopment Jonathan Lepofsky and James Fraser argue that

> one is not a member of a community *per se*; one participates in community. Belonging to community becomes much more a contingent positionality that is ensured by the civic participation or citizenship one performatively expresses to the community (2003: 127).

Within this framework the actions of new immigrants as members of urban communities can be understood as performances of urban citizenship that represent their understanding of community norms, not necessarily their feelings of belonging.

James Holston's conception of "insurgent citizenship" can be used as a guide for constructing a form of citizenship in which the problematic aspects of neoliberal citizenship and the struggles inherent to performances of citizenship can be addressed (1999). To Holston, citizenship can be constructed based on "organized grassroots mobilizations and everyday practices that, in different ways, empower, parody, derail, or subvert state agendas" (167). To Holston, it is these struggles over "insider" and "outsider" status, and contestations with grassroots group over neoliberal state development projects within which alternative understandings of citizenship can be found. Holston does not define the specific contours of insurgent citizenship, instead he points to the importance of ethnographic analyses of the "conflict and ambiguity" of urban life in order to construct new counter-narratives to the modernist goals of state planning.

The ways in which immigrants negotiate their "insider" and "outsider" status is an important point of entry into the creation of urban citizenship. Neoliberalism ties citizenship to economic production and demands that citizens perform to the needs of the urban economy. In this analysis I examine two different sites of this coerced form of belonging: within the discourse of pro-immigrant advocates and within bodegas where grocers' sense of belonging is based on performing to the expectations of community

residents. I use Holston's notion of "insurgent citizenship" to disentangle how the bodegueros' struggle for neighborhood acceptance can be used to propose new understandings of urban citizenship.

Economic Redevelopment in a Neoliberal Era

Urban economic development policies lie at the nexus of the relationship between the state and the economy and therefore must be understood within the larger rubric of the role of the state in regulating the economy. I begin by offering a brief recap of neoliberalism as a governing philosophy and next discuss the ways that neoliberalism has created a set of neighborhood redevelopment theories based on creating entrepreneurial spaces within the city. I argue that this division of urban space highlights the contentious relationship between population mobility and neighborhood-based economic redevelopment.

To Jessop, the state can be understood broadly as "a distinct ensemble of institutions and organizations whose socially accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decision on the members of a society in the name of their common interest or general will" (Jessop 1990: 341). Hence, to Jessop there is no one unitary state that carries out the actions of governance. Instead, the state has no real substantive power, but exists as an "institutional ensemble" whose power is expressed relationally. In order to explore state actions Jessop calls for us to define the ensemble of state actors who initiate and select strategies that attempt to both preserve the perceived neutrality of the state and smooth over the contradictions within capitalism and thereby preserve capital

accumulation. To Jessop, the strategic relation perspective refers to this ever-shifting set of alliances and strategies pursued by the state actors.

Using Jessop's strategic relation perspective, neoliberalism refers to the current strategy of state oversight of the economy. To Jessop, neoliberalism arose in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of the decline of Keynesianism and the rise of the Reagan/Thatcher administrations in the US and the UK. While Keynesianism favored direct government involvement in the economy, full employment, and demand-side economic policy, neoliberalism focuses on deregulation, "market-based" solutions to the endemic problems of the economy, and supply-side monetary policy. While Jessop's convenient compartmentalization of different eras of state oversight of the economy provides a convenient timeline of change, others note that each strategy is built upon the policy and legal frameworks of previous eras. To this end Brenner, and Theodore use the term "actually existing neoliberalism" to point out the many still existent Keynesian structures upon which neoliberal policies have been built and hence the diversity of urban policies enacted under the guise of neoliberalism (2002).

Brenner and Theodore's introduction of the model of actually existing neoliberalism and Jessop's focus on the functional role of the state complicates the idea that neoliberalism is simply state retrenchment or a hollowing out of the state. Instead, these theorists propose that neoliberalism operates through a process of simultaneous destruction and creation: as state institutions disappear institutions in the "shadow state" such NGOs and civic organizations emerge to fill the void. Similarly, the state has to proactively create and

initiate neoliberal policies: welfare policies are not eliminated, they are distributed under a different neoliberal regime; international monetary policy as administered by Breton Woods fails and currency speculators emerge to fill this void (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

In this era of neoliberal urban development, cities are constantly seeking market-based solutions to the problem of urban redevelopment (Cisneros 1996; Elwood 2002; Leitner and Sheppard 2002). Therefore cities have come to value entrepreneurialism as a means to provide for their own economic development. Development strategies such as urban free enterprise zones, the development of tourist "enclaves" such as festival marketplaces, and the creation of job-ready workforces are examples of trickle-down neoliberal policies which imagine citizens and governments as held captive by the whims of an all-powerful capitalist market.

One aspect of the rise of neoliberalism has been the growing importance of the neighborhood as the correct scale to address urban economic development. This literature focuses on ways that urban neighborhoods can alter themselves in order to attract footloose capital to their community. For example, Michael Porter argues that inner city urban neighborhoods should seek redevelopment through harnessing their competitive advantages such as their proximity to central city business districts and abundance of low-cost labor, rather than by looking to the federal government for more favorable policy treatment (1995). Likewise, Carr argues in favor of a "new paradigm" of urban economic development that involves looking away from government sources of

funding and towards private sources of capital to create development (1999). Consistent with the proposition that neoliberalism "binds" spaces together through their common search for economic development funding, Porter, Carr, and other proponents of market-based community development argue that the unique aspects of inner-city neighborhoods (such as a diverse population and proximity to downtown) should be used to create economic development (Uitermark 2002). While Logan and Molotch in *Urban Fortunes* originally imaged "growth coalitions" to exist only at the urban level (1987), the current urban landscape is one of competing growth coalitions operating at the neighborhood scale.

The effects of neoliberalism can be seen in the landscapes of cities and neighborhoods as smaller spaces attempt to create economic development within their boundaries. As urban spaces compete for investment, neighborhoods are in competition for residents with the most disposable income and create spectacles that appeal to high income consumers (Judd and Fainstein 1999). As Bob Lake and Kathe Newman argue, the devolution of responsibility for neighborhood development to community groups creates multiple and competing discourses of both "community" and "need" within the same geographically delineated space (2002). In this sense just who is a member of the community is dictated by who goes to meeting, which community development corporation has the most effective grant writers, and whose story of neighborhood need is most clearly enunciated.

The focus on local institutions within neoliberal neighborhood development highlights the difficult process of defining one geographic community within the multilayered pastiche that is an urban neighborhood (Ley 1983; Glaser, Parker et al. 2001; Meegan and Mitchell 2001; Herbert 2005). This process often aggravates existing ethnic, gender, and class divisions within neighborhoods as specific organizations – with their own history and agenda – are selected to represent an undifferentiated community (Lake and Newman 2002). Similarly, this focus on the role of community members administering of urban development projects often overwhelms the very community the projects were meant to help (Herbert 2005).

The ideal of immigrants moving into a city and creating economic growth through their own entrepreneurial spirit fits nicely within the doctrine of neoliberal urban redevelopment. Immigrant entrepreneurs become the engines that drive urban development strategies. However, merely creating a new immigrant district does not necessarily mean a community has been upgraded. Promoters of immigration often confuse the vibrant and colorful nature of immigrant enclaves with economic growth and a high standard of living. While these neighborhoods may look different from low income communities of native-born Americans, they often suffer from the same deficits such as high levels of infant mortality, underperforming public schools, and low wages. While immigrants often improve their economic position after arrival in the US, their initial earnings are low (Clark 2003). In addition, the exact nature of the economic growth produced by immigrant enclave economies has not been analyzed. Quantifying urban and neighborhood development is a difficult exercise because of the complex

nature of urban neighborhoods: different groups have different definitions of "development"; as neighborhoods change residents relocate and are lost from the analysis; and the opportunity costs of projects often are not considered (Reese and Fasenfest 1997). Like gentrification, an influx of new international immigrants into a poor neighborhood does not necessarily create wealth for existing community residents so much as it creates a new community from which to create statistics.

A central issue in the emergence of neoliberal neighborhood development planning is the relative importance of people- versus place-based strategies. People-based strategies recognize the importance of population mobility; historically as groups have gained economic and political power they have suburbanized leaving inner city neighborhoods as the places of last resort for newcomers and those without power (Downs 1981; Gottlieb 1997). In contrast, place-based strategies seek to reverse this historic trend and redevelop urban neighborhoods so that upward mobility need not be dependent on movement out of urban neighborhoods. Yet the "package" of goods that come with places (public schools, housing value, safety) play an important role in determining where the upwardly mobile will choose to live. Therefore, in combining these different strategies there has to be careful timing in order to insure that as citizens' life prospects widen, their neighborhood is able to accommodate their goals (Wiewel, Teitz et al. 1993).

In addition, mobility is closely related to power. I contend that the bodegueros' mobility can only be understood through an analysis of the lack of mobility that other urban

groups experience. As Doreen Massey writes in her exploration of the "power-

geometry" of time-space compression

> Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway-differentiated
> mobility: some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and
> movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some
> are effectively imprisoned by it (1993: 61).

Community redevelopment revolves around improving the social and physical space of

"local residents" and searching for ways of attracting capital to specific places. To this

end, processes of population loss and gain and economic investment and disinvestment

are essentially processes of mobility wherein mobile capital and mobile social groups

have power in deciding where they will locate. However, the idea that mobility exists for

all urban residents has been challenged by many urban scholars (Davis 1992; Flusty and

Dear 1999; Graham and Marvin 2001; Wacquant 2001). These scholars view the state of

immobility, or spatial entrapment, as the dominant metaphor for urban neighborhoods. In

this sense the prospects of people-based strategies succeeding is zero because racial and

class barriers will keep them from leaving the inner city. To Graham and Marvin,

globalization has created two sets of people: a mobile capitalist class and a

disenfranchised underclass tied by racism and lack of economic opportunity so tightly to

their local neighborhood that while "[t]he global shrinks for those who own it; for the

displaced or the dispossessed, the migrant or refugee, no distance is more awesome that

the few feet across borders or frontiers" (2001: 231). To these thinkers the present urban

form is one of gated communities to protect the privileged, while the dispossessed are

spatially tied and policed in apartheid-like conditions. Important to our discussion of

mobility, these are not places from which mobility is possible. Instead, urban

neighborhoods exist as zones of exclusion.

Because most immigrants become new urban residents, urban policy plays an important role in determining their context of reception. The trend towards neoliberal neighborhood development models means that more and more urban redevelopment schemes focus on market-based solutions to the problems of urban poverty and urban redevelopment. Central to this process has been the emergence of smaller spaces such as neighborhoods playing a critical role in the process of neighborhood redevelopment. It is within these neighborhoods that constructions of citizenship take place as neighborhood-based institutions enact policies that favor those who have been constructed as citizens. Yet these smaller urban spaces are indelibly linked to many other spaces through the mobility practices of transnational urban immigrants. Hence the emergence of the entrepreneurial neighborhood highlights the spatial segregation of the urban poor and dispossessed and the mobility practices of immigrant communities.

The Social Construction of Scale

Central to debates about the restructuring of the global economy is the idea that scales are not natural preexisting containers of space, but are socially produced as a result of political, social, and economic processes. As Delaney and Leitner argue,

> Once our conception of scale is freed from the fixed categories inherited from the past and our conception of politics is similarly expanded and enlivened, the questions multiply and the analytic or interpretive problems involved in relating scale to politics become more obvious (1997: 95).

Consistent with this framework, the neighborhood becomes an important scale for economic development projects only as other scalar arrangements are rearranged.

Within geography, the study of scale has emerged as an organizing principle that seeks to understand spatial relationships within global capitalism. The scalar debates emerged from Marxist analyses of the expansion of capitalism (for examples, see Harvey 1990; Arrighi 1994). A crucial component to the application of Jessop's ideas *spatially* is the notion that that all processes have spatial outcomes. Therefore as political and economic problems emerge within the state, the solutions to these problems unfold over various spatial scales (Macleod and Goodwin 1999; Macleod 2002). Hence to Leitner the emergence of a supranational framework of immigration controls within the European Union illustrates the shifting of immigration from a national to a supranational issue and the emergence of a new scale at which to address the immigration issue in Europe (1997). Scholars of scalar structure argue that researchers should focus their investigations on the processes by which institutions (and other actors) create the scales at which policies are enacted. A central component of the promotion of the neighborhood scale in the post-Fordist era is the increasing mobility of capital brought about by globalization. To Uitermark, with the nation-state no longer able to secure high wages within its boundaries, a variety of new scales have been produced, creating a highly fragmented landscape of neighborhoods, nations, and regions, all competing for investment (2002). As Uitermark writes "at each of these scales growth coalitions are formed that try to attract geographically mobile resources (investment capital, subsidies, affluent households and so on)" (760).

A central aspect of the scalar debate concerns the primacy of political and economic forces in the creation of scales, versus the ability and importance of gender and other

processes that manifest themselves at the household level to produce scales. Sallie Marston began this push in her article *The Social Production of Scale*, which argues that the scale literature is focused on economic and political issues to the exclusion of gender, race, and other issues related to social reproduction (2000). She argues that scholars should look for ways to expand the literature on rescaling to include analyses of how gender and race also produce scales. She maintains that turn of the century gender roles for women were reconceptualized at the household scale and therefore argues in support of this new scale of analysis. While Brenner in his response to Marston rightly points out that her analysis focused on the household as a *site* of this struggle as opposed to a new scale, Marston's work moves the debate in an important direction by asking scholars to look beyond only political and economic forces in analyses of scale (2001).

Marston's call for further research into the non-political economy aspects of scale has led to a number of important pieces of research (Silvey 2006). For example Merrill in her work on immigrant organizing in Italy, analyzes the role of ethnicity and the household in creating resistance to racism in Italy (Merrill and Carter 2002; Merrill 2004). Merrill sees this resistance in scalar terms, arguing that in mobilizing against racism and sexual harassment the women's group *Alma Mater* demonstrates that the body is a scale of resistance. Merrill sees *Alma Mater* as a "free space" of multi-ethnic opposition to racism in Italy which is akin to David Harvey's "spaces of hope." To Merrill, by mobilizing at the scale of the body, *Alma Mater* sets the stage for a "scalar leap" into the political and economic life of Italy.

Within migration research there is a growing movement towards analyzing the importance of the body as a scale at which state actions are manifested. These analyses illustrate the growing importance of immigrants' bodies as sites of discursive representation of state goals and ideologies (Ong 1996; Tyner 1996; Shelly 1997; Yeoh, Huang et al. 1999; Mountz 2004; Walton-Roberts 2004). This work focuses on the differential processes of assimilation and citizen-making that states embark upon with different subject groups. Hence, the state engages in a conscious act of subject-making wherein state actions treat migrants according to dominant gender, class, and racial norms. As Ong writes,

> there is no singularity in the processes of nation-state building, that various regimes of surveillance and control are at work on different populations and their effects, conditioned by gender, class, ethnic, and racializing processes, are diverse understanding in the making of American subjects (759).

An emerging thread within migration and rescaling work is the application of the Foucauldian concept of governmentality to understand the ways in which migrants are constructed as citizens (Mountz 2004; Walton-Roberts 2004). Foucault centers his work on governmentality with the idea that governance, thinking broadly, can be defined as "the conduct of conduct" (Burchell, Gordon et al. 1991). Hence the scope of state – the focus of Jessop's work – extends far beyond simply enacting laws and managing the economy to a whole set of other cultural and behavioral processes. Similarly, in his work constructing the strategic relational perspective, Jessop defines the state not merely as government but as an "ensemble" of actors who through disunity and competition create policy. To Foucault, governmentality is the "art of government" or the "rationality of government;" the study of which seeks to disclose the practices by which the state seeks to imbue in the population "a universal assignation to all an economically useful life"

(1978: 12). Dean distinguishes the study of government from the study of

governmentality by arguing that

> governmentality seeks to distinguish the particular mentalities, arts and regimes of government and administration that have emerged since 'early modern' Europe, while the term government is used as a more general term for any calculated direction of human conduct (1999: 119).

In effect, governmentality is the study of how the body serves as a scale of state power.

The goal of the study of governmentality is to explore how state practices imbue in

individual the demands of the state. In her analysis of micro-credit loan schemes in Peru,

Katharine Rankin maintains that the goal of these programs is to instill in the individual

women who obtained credit a new identity as autonomous economic actors responsible

for their own welfare (2001). To Rankin, the use of "borrow groups" to instill the

importance of loan repayment is consciously designed to remove women from other

family and village networks and incorporate them into the larger capitalist economy. In a

similar analysis Alison Mountz describes how illegal immigrants were constructed by

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) by previously unseen bureaucrats (2004). To

Mountz, the CIC used the bodies of immigrants to embody the Canadian nation-state;

hence poor migrants were constructed as impure in contrast to the powerful bodies of

richer migrants and the agents of CIC. In this sense Mountz draws our attention to the

importance of the body as a scale by which identities are created.

The study of governmentality is naturally a discussion of citizenship. Foucault is

interested in the "techniques of governance," or the ways in which the modern state

creates citizens. This process of governance seeks to minimize all non-economic aspects

of citizenship, and condition citizens to care for themselves and make decisions in a market-based paradigm. Governmentality views the bodies of citizens as the site within which liberalism is transformed from an economic theory to a theory of citizenship (Burchell, Gordon et al. 1991).

The crux of Foucault's analysis of the state is his interest in the idea that, as Ong points out in her analysis of citizenship, the process of becoming a citizen is one of both self-inscription as well as ascription by the state (Ong 1996). On the one hand, the state has an interest in forming citizens who behave in certain economically maximizing ways, while on the other hand, individual citizens (and ethnic communities) have the ability to create their own identity as part of the assimilation and migration process. Transnationalism is an under-explored aspect of this process: does the state have less power of inscription in a transnational era, or is neoliberalism less a *national* policy and more an *international* mode of governance?

The scale at which urban problems are addressed and analyzed is a fundamental question within geography. Consistent with other scalar theorists I argue that "the neighborhood" and "the body" are not natural or pre-existing scales of analysis; instead they have arisen as part of neoliberal rescaling strategies. In this sense, our understanding of scale highlights the merging of behavior and economy, neighborhoods and entrepreneurialism, and citizenship and economic redevelopment.

Conclusion

The connection between immigration and urban economic redevelopment is not a simple issue to study; in fact, it touches on nearly every important theme in geography today. In this final section I detail three themes from this literature review that are the main focus for the dissertation. These three themes are (1) scale and the dilemma of mobility and sedentariness within capitalism; (2) citizenship; and (3) the process of rescaling.

Scale and the Dilemma of Mobility and Sedentariness within Capitalism

Mobility is a central tenet of geographic analysis of the capitalist form of development (Sassen 1988; Brenner 1998; Katz 2001). This dissertation deals with the complex ways that two different types of mobility interact with each other: capital and people. Neoliberalism imagines both capital and people as mobile, willing to relocate wherever the factors of production are the most profitable. In a neoliberal footloose era immigrants come from the Dominican Republic because they see opportunities for themselves in Philadelphia, and Philadelphians leave Philadelphia because they see better opportunities for themselves elsewhere. Migration is one way of coping with the upheavals of capitalist development as workers relocate to places where economic opportunities exist.

The process of neighborhood development is an intervention in this process. It tries to bring capital to neighborhoods and create communities that people do not want to leave. Yet in a transnational era this is a difficult business to be in. Neighborhoods are complex places of motion where capital, people, and businesses move in and out, and immigrants are enmeshed in transnational networks. A key question in analyzing the relationship

between immigration and neighborhood development is how this intervention interacts with the transnational lives of new immigrants.

The scalar debates within geography are a helpful way of conceptualizing the way neoliberalism as a governing philosophy reconfigures urban space. While Keynesianism privileged the national scale, neoliberalism, because of its focus on the hollowing out of the state, puts a greater focus on the openness of the globalized community and the rise of both transnational institutions and smaller regional and neighborhood processes. My focus is on the importance of neighborhoods as spaces in which the process of development takes place. Yet neighborhoods are complex places where no simple ce. Yet neighborhoods are complex places where no simple definition of "the community" exists, and places where the transnational lives of immigrants are enacted. Within these spaces of mobility, is there a local labor market? Is there a conflict between the needs of immigrants who are embedded in multiple neighborhoods and communities and those who imagine themselves as residents of more than one community?

Citizenship

Citizenship is the link between the individual and the state. Liberalism as a theory of citizenship explicitly ranks the worth of each individual based on their financial impact on the community. How this ranking takes places is an essential aspect of governmentality, as it denotes not merely the role one plays in society, but the extent to which individuals have internalized the working of the economy. Liberalism as a theory of citizenship interacts with the concept of mobility: those who are not performing the

acts of citizenship appropriately can be encouraged to move, and those whose actions are more in line with state needs can be imported.   Theoretically, movement can be a way of creating the proper population mix.

Within urban neighborhoods, immigrants' performances of citizenship become the basis upon which negotiations of their "insider" or "outsider" status take place. I suggest that the grocers perform to the expectation of community residents and hence their behaviors are a representation of their disempowered place in communities. Holston's conception of "insurgent citizenship" argues that it is in these struggles over identity and acceptance, and conflicts over different visions of neighborhood change that new understanding of citizenship are created (1999). Using this lens, I use the various definitions of citizenship offered by policy makers, bodegueros, and neighborhood residents to argue that an "insurgent citizenship" would recognize the transnational lives of immigrants and allow them to assert their individual identities, as opposed to accepting or performing ascribed identities.

The Process of Rescaling

Scholars of scalar restructuring begin from the premise that scale is a socially constructed notion; hence the scale at which researchers focus their analyses is a reflection of their conceptualization of the issue. Within this framework, I examine the scalar imaginaries of various actors in the immigration debate. I argue that to policy makers the promotion of immigration is an economic redevelopment strategy that rescales economic redevelopment down to the individual bodies of workers; therefore the body becomes a

scale of economic analysis. Conversely, in looking around the world for new workers to build the city's labor force, policy makers are effectively rescaling the process of economic development to the international scale. Second, I argue that households and social reproduction play a key role in the process of urban redevelopment. We can see this role in the relationship between bodegueros and their customers: the lives of bodegueros are intertwined with their business, and the social reproduction within the community is dependent on the survival of the bodega. I use this interdependence to echo Marston's call for the inclusion of social reproduction and the household in further theorizing of scale.

Chapter Three: Selecting Citizens

In 2004, shortly before the Philadelphia Eagles lost to the New England Patriots in the NFC championship game a forum was held at the Enterprise Center to discuss ways in which the city could do more to promote the in-migration of more international immigrants to the city. The Enterprise Center is a non-profit organization in West Philadelphia which promotes minority entrepreneurship and believes that the "entrepreneurial spirit is the keystone of successful communities."[9] One of the guests was a representative from the office of Boston mayor Thomas Merlino, who was there to discuss Boston's "success" in attracting large numbers of international immigrants. In his welcoming comments Andy Toy, the director of LISC, one of the major neighborhood development institutions in the region, said:

> *Philadelphia, Detroit, and Baltimore, unlike many other cities in this country, have lost population in the last few decades. And the only reason – by some accounts at least statistically – that we have lost population is that we have not gained the people that other cities have like San Francisco, New York, Boston, LA and Chicago through immigration. And those are the people that come in and fill in the spaces when other people leave. And there is a new energy that comes into a city, and that is what cities were built on as a matter of fact. As you know, this country was built on immigration, from William Penn on forward, and even the Indians were immigrants here – the native Americans – and, even during the turn of the century of the early 1900s there was big immigration from the south. So there was big black immigration, big Irish, Italian. So there were just waves of people that have come to Philadelphia that have made our city very vibrant and very diverse.*

> *And the other important thing about immigration and diversity is that we are now in the global economy, and we need to have people that can connect to other countries and other places. And that is very important for our city and for our region. Recently I was looking at – and others of you have read this book – The Rise of the Creative Class by Richard Florida. He talks about those cities where there are good places for people to locate to. They tend to be places that are very diverse and very open and warm to immigrants, to people not only of different colors, but people of different sexual orientations. And that is where the people are flocking to, and we want to make this one of those cities. And I think we are partway there, but we can do much better.*

> *And so basically that is what I have to say. I just want to end with, looking at the Eagles as an analogy, if we were to look at Eagles and say "well your team can only pick people from Philadelphia" it would be pretty good because they have Brian Westbrook, but there are a lot of other people that came from their places that really make the team. And that is what we want to do: make a team for Philadelphia that is*

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[9] http://www.theenterprisecenter.com/ accessed online 5/3/06

diverse and bringing the best from other places. So E-A-G-L-E-S Eagles! I think that sums it up.

1/25/04

Introduction

The questions that Andy Toy raises in the epigraph get to the heart of how urban citizenship operates in the neoliberal city. Are urbanites, as his analogy to the Philadelphia Eagles suggests, tradable members of an urban team that can be strengthened by recruiting better "players" from elsewhere? If this is true, who does the trading and what skills are they looking for? Andy Toy's contention that economic growth is contingent on the skill-set of the urban population makes a connection between the individual characteristics of urban workers and the economic health of the city. Encouraging increased international migration is one way of changing the makeup of the urban population: if international immigrants have an entrepreneurial spirit and the skills needed in the global economy then the urban labor force will be strengthened with their arrival. Yet this strategy is problematic: who decides which citizens are best for the city, and what becomes of unskilled urban residents as new workers are pursued?

In this chapter I explore the idea of recruiting new urban residents and analyze the three main arguments put forward by promoters of international migration as an urban economic redevelopment tool. First, they argue that encouraging increased levels of immigration will repopulate urban neighborhoods. This argument holds that regardless of their level of education or earnings potential, having more people living in the city benefits urban finances because the new residents pay for city services, pay taxes, utilize the existing city infrastructure, and are enumerated in population-based funding formulas.

Second, these promoters construct immigrants as hard-working and entrepreneurial. Promoters maintain that international immigrants substitute industrialism for education and take responsibility for their own economic advancement. Last, immigrants are imagined to bring cosmopolitanism and interconnection to the global economy. Promoters of increased immigration argue that Philadelphia will benefit from having a population that mirrors the countries involved in the global economy.

I use the phrase "promoters of international migration as an urban economic development tool" to refer to the ideas expressed by policy makers, city council members, and leaders of pro-immigrant public/private groups that are involved with Philadelphia's efforts to increase the rate of international immigration to the city. Some politicians like Councilman Kenney stood up and vocally supported these measures. Others, like Global Philadelphia Global Partners and the Pennsylvania Economy League, published policy reports heralding the benefits of immigration or were participants in community forums on the issue and spoke in favor of making Philadelphia a more "welcoming" city for immigrants. In this chapter I draw primarily on interviews I conducted with 25 policy makers in Philadelphia who were involved in promoting increased immigration to the city. Some interviewees put different emphases on the ways they believe that immigrants should be supported and in chapter four I look closer at the different conceptualizations of citizenship advanced by this group. My interest in this chapter is not to construct a monolithic view of urban policy creators, but to use the goal of promoting international immigration as a way of interrogating the concept of urban citizenship and neoliberal urban development.

I use the story of Philadelphia's movement to grow its international immigrant population as a way of making two interlinked propositions about urban citizenship and the scale of urban redevelopment strategies. First, I argue that by accepting the existence of a link between behavior and economic earnings, promoters of immigration enact a liberal definition of citizenship that expects individual workers to take responsibility for their own economic health. Promoters do not see the state as the appropriate institution to create economic development for citizens; the city is imagined as a neoliberal space in which individual citizens create economic opportunity for themselves. I use the Foucouldian concept of governmentality to argue that the state's encouragement of entrepreneurial behavior in new residents exposes the disciplinary character of citizenship in the neoliberal city. While migration is clearly at its core a physical movement, it is also a movement of values. Immigration supporters work under the assumption that poverty and affluence are products of behavior. Therefore Philadelphians' beliefs about work of are of keen interest to immigration supporters. This focus on the actions of individuals rescales the process of economic redevelopment from the city down to individual city residents.

Second, I maintain that looking abroad for new urban residents is an example of the widening scale of urban economic development strategies. Geographers Michael Dear and Andrew Scott argue that the role of the State is to "smooth over" the contradictions of capitalism (1981). They argue that the state's role is to preserve the legitimacy of the crisis-prone process of capitalist accumulation by intervening to create temporary

solutions to the endemic problems of capitalist production. To do to this, Macleod and Goodwin argue that the State constantly seeks to find the right scale at which to address problems (1999). In looking abroad to find new urban citizens as a way of creating a more economically viable workforce, pro-immigrant policies represent an enlargement of the scale at which the issue of workforce development is addressed. This strategy also re-imagines citizenship because more value is given to the benefits prospective immigrants will bring to the urban economy than to current city residents who are already physically located in the city. Presence in the city is seen as less important than labor-market readiness.

This chapter has six sections. In section two I examine the goal of creating the correct urban population mix. In this section my interest is not purely in international immigration, but also on current efforts to rank the residents of Philadelphia in terms of their ability to contribute to the economic health of the city. In sections three, four, and five, I analyze each of the three main pro-immigrant arguments outlined above. In section six I discuss the implications of these policies in terms of our understanding of scale and urban citizenship.

Governmentality and Migration

The central goal of urban redevelopment is to lure capital to the specific geographic confines of a city; hence to Logan and Molotch the various actors that comprise urban governments act as an "urban growth machine" because they all agree on the primacy of economic growth (1987). The growth machine hypothesis maintains that in order to

understand the operation of a city, scholars should consider both *who governs* the city

and its parallel question, *for what*? To Logan and Molotch the search for growth is the

defining characteristic of urban processes in the US. They write:

> Economic growth sets in motion the migration of labor and a demand for ancillary production services, housing, retailing, and wholesaling ("multiplier effects"). Contemporary places differ in the type of economic base they strive to build (for example, manufacturing, research and development, information processing, or tourism). But any one of the rainbows leads to the same pot of gold: more intense land use and thus higher rent collections, with associated professional fees and locally based profits (58).

To Logan and Molotch urban governance is a process of "rent-seeking" wherein urban

actors search for ways to find "pots of gold" that will strengthen the economic base of

their city. Logan and Molotch take a dim view of the idea that population migration can

be a road to urban renewal. Instead, they maintain that capital is the key ingredient:

"cities, regions, and states, do not compete to please people; they compete to please

capital – and the two activities are fundamentally different" (42).

However, within economic development circles there has been a movement towards

improving the urban labor force as a way to improve the economic prospects of a region

(Clarke and Gaile 1998). Hypothetically, this challenge could be met in two different

ways: upgrading the current urban labor force through investments in the educational

infrastructure of the city or through enacting policies that attract highly educated

immigrants. The pursuit of new urban residents can be seen in a variety of different

"mobility" strategies that seek to create a city with exactly the right demographic profile.

The well-known urban planner and theorist Richard Florida calls for the recruitment of

"creative industry" workers in order to populate the city with workers with the skills

needed by leading companies (2002). To Florida, cities in the past competed for the

economic investment that came with railroads and industrial firms, but in this new era of

footloose industries it is the "creative class" workers that create urban wealth. Therefore,

to Florida, cities should be recast as "magnets" that will attract these workers; gay theater

districts, coffee shops, a booming arts scene and other urban amenities that the young

technical class prefers are his suggestions for economic development because they attract

the types of workers that create economic growth. While gentrification seeks to pull the

gentry into urban neighborhoods, this strategy seeks to recast the entire city as a pull-

factor to encourage the immigration of workers from other regions.

In his influential book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida argues that the US

capitalist economy is currently producing a different set of regions (2002).[10] Rather than

regions defined spatially, such as the Sunbelt and the Frostbelt, Florida sees new regions

being formed based on the percentage of residents of any area who work in the industries

or job classifications he refers to as the "Creative Economy." Florida argues that

> The distinguishing characteristic of the creative class is that its members engage in
> work whose function is to create meaningful new forms. The core of the creative
> class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets, and novelists,
> artists, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the "thought leadership" of modern
> society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts,
> and other opinion-makers. Members of this super-creative core produce new forms
> or designs that are readily transferable and broadly useful – such as designing a
> product that can be widely made, sold, and used; coming up with a theorem or
> strategy that can be applied in many cases; or composing music that can be performed
> over and over again (34).

Florida explicitly uses the term class to describe these divisions because of the spatial

sorting process that occurs as regions struggle to attract – or create – employable citizens.

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[10] For an excellent critique of Richard Florida see *Peck, J. (2005). "Struggling with the Creative Class."
International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **29.4**(December): 740-770.* My interest here is not
Richard Florida *per se* but to use his work as an entrée into the relationship between population and the
economy.

To Florida, regardless of their physical location, cities have the ability to grow if they are able to either attract or produce these young and creative workers.

The disruption that Florida poses to traditional thinking about economic development is that he sees population bringing economic development, as opposed to economic development bringing population growth. This movement away from the importance of the physical location of a city towards the quality of its citizens is not academic. For example, Florida has become an aggressive marketer of his theories (Peck 2005), and economic development strategies focused on labor market upgrading and worker retraining have become a key part of the rubric of urban development (Clarke and Gaile 1998).

Florida's policies are problematic because they shift the burden of maintaining the urban economy to individual workers and seek to discipline the population by demanding citizens adopt economically profitable behaviors. Bringing in new urban residents that have the desired workforce characteristics is an awkward recasting of the debates surrounding people- versus place-based development (Downs 1981; Gottlieb 1997). Florida's strategy of creating a creative city is unique in that it is people-based, but the focus of his efforts is placed on people currently living outside of the city, and in the case of international immigration, outside of the country. Therefore they are distinct from strategies that focus on the retraining and education of the current population because they explicitly target those living outside the city and therefore shift the burden of social reproduction and education of the labor force elsewhere.

These policies also have a disciplining component because they reward citizens who possess the correct workforce characteristics and yet do nothing to help those with the wrong skills. To Foucault, a key component in the switch from pre-modern to modern forms of governance was a transition in how the state viewed individuals. He argues that in the eighteenth century we saw a movement away from those living under a government being defined as "people" or "individuals" and towards their construction as a "population," a group that could be enumerated, guided, and used as a factor of production. Foucault writes:

> One of the great innovations in the techniques of power in the eighteenth century was the emergence of "population" as an economic and political problem: population as wealth, population as manpower or labor capacity, population balanced between its own growth and the resources it commanded. Governments perceived that they were not dealing simply with subjects, but with a "population," with its specific phenomena and its peculiar variables: birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses, patterns of diet and habitation (1978: 78).

Florida's work applies these ideas to modern urban economies, arguing that the skills present in the "creative class" are the "peculiar variables" that governments of the eighteenth century were just starting to enumerate. Cities need a population with concrete skills such as a college education, as well as more ephemeral qualities such as entrepreneurialism in order to thrive.

Foucault's focus on population as a category of economic analysis sets up a dichotomy between the good, educated, and hard-working citizen and the bad, uneducated, and lazy citizen. To Foucault, the essence of modern statecraft and governance is the search for the most effective ways to create the "right citizen." This understanding of the dichotomous nature of neoliberal citizenship can be seen in the work of Alice O'Conner

(2001). O'Conner charts the evolution of what she labels "poverty knowledge," the

research conducted into the conditions and causes of poverty in the US. To O'Conner,

the parameters of this research have been narrowly constructed in order to evade the

culpability of capitalism in the creation of poverty. Therefore, the research charts the

conditions and qualities of the poor, explicitly pointing to cultural and behavioral

qualities as determinant of their economic condition. If the poor are poor for behavioral

reasons, then the rich must have gained their income through correct behavior that can be

conditioned into the population.

In sum, creating a work-ready population through encouraging the migration of certain

kinds of people into the city demands that city mangers pay close attention not only to the

level of education of urban residents but also to their willingness to work. This strategy

creates a problematic ranking of the urban population into pro-work "creative workers"

and the under-skilled dregs of the labor force.

Population *as* Economy

Florida's theory that that a city can be redeveloped through attracting new urban residents

has taken hold among some Philadelphia politicians. For example, Florida's book came

up again at the pro-immigrant forum cited in the epigraph. Prospective mayoral

candidate John Dougherty argued:

> I'll just tell you the difference between Boston and Philadelphia right off the bat. For
> about a year I ran around with the Richard Florida book in my back pocket, *The
> Creative Class*. I couldn't get anyone to pay attention. I was saying "we need more
> restaurants," "we need more environments to attract people." The brain drain, we
> don't have to be a part of it. We can make some changes and make it work." Here in
> Boston you have a mayor who opens up to a chapter and addresses a focus point on a

chapter of a book. We don't have to re-invent the wheel. You just have to take a quick look. We don't have enough time to reinvent the wheel.

The interpretation of Richard Florida's work that John Dougherty and Andy Toy advance forms a comprehensive vision of urban transformation. They diagnose the economic problem facing Philadelphia (lack of vibrancy, lack of population growth, lack of a population that can build the economy) and propose a solution (revamp the entertainment industry, grow the immigrant population, grow the "creative class"). Their theory does nothing to address existing urban poverty. Instead, they argue that new residents with the skills needed in the service economy can be brought in to form the nucleus of a new, globally competitive Philadelphia.

Those involved in urban redevelopment within the City of Philadelphia are acutely aware of the inflow and outflow of what they define as the most "employable citizens." For example, a recent research report commissioned by a coalition of public-private city urban development groups[11] is entitled *The Young and the Restless: How Philadelphia competes for talent* (Impresna 2003). The report presents a demographic profile of Philadelphia, paying special attention to 25-34 year olds, noting that "this age group is the gold standard in the knowledge-based economy (4)." The report argues that the proportion of 25-34 year olds in a city is a key determinant of urban economic health; therefore cities are in competition with one another to "attract" these economically vibrant citizens. The report argues:

A demographic wave is sweeping across the nation, and it will be a decisive force in shaping the economic destiny of Philadelphia. As cities move increasingly into a

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[11] The groups are: The Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance, The Pennsylvania Economy League, Innovation Philadelphia, The William Penn Foundation and the City of Philadelphia.

knowledge-based economy, the kind of talented people each attracts will determine whether it wins or loses in the campaign for future prosperity (4).

According to the report, a key demographic problem facing Philadelphia is the fact that its population of 25-34 year-olds has declined 8 percent between 1990 and 2000 (21). The report presents a wealth of descriptive statistics to support the assertion that US cities "compete" for these young workers, noting for example that while 18.2% of the Austin-San Marcos population is between 25-34 years old, only 13.5% of Philadelphia's population fits into this category (22). The report also compares the racial and ethnic makeup of Philadelphia's 25-34 year olds, noting that in comparison to other metropolitan areas this population is disproportionately African American and Asian, while Latinos are underrepresented (24-32).

If young 25-34 year olds are the desired urban residents, the important question becomes what types of people are not preferred? The report does not say, but because they clearly define citizenship primarily as an economic institution, those who are not high-wage earners are tacitly defined as unwanted. For example, they note that Philadelphia's population is "top-heavy," as those over 50 years of age – and hence clearly not the "gold standard" of the knowledge economy – are overrepresented (40). In addition, they note that while 41% of whites 25-34 years old are college educated, only 14% of African Americans have baccalaureates. Data is also represented spatially. The report contains maps describing the location of all 25-34 year olds in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, and the location of this targeted group by ethnicity. An examination of the maps shows how certain urban and suburban neighborhoods have "excess" white 25-34 year olds, and other inner city neighborhoods in North, South, and West Philadelphia have "excess"

African-American 25-34 year olds. The report explicitly argues that younger and more educated workers are more valuable than older workers and uneducated workers; however, ethnicity is discussed in the report only implicitly. Given the large gap in educational attainment between African Americans and whites, the "excess" population of African American 25-34 year olds is presented as a hindrance to urban renewal.

Table 3.1 *The Young and the Restless: How Philadelphia Competes for Talent* 10 Themes Describing the Desired Urban Attributes of 25-34 Year Olds	
1	Open the Circle and Welcome Newcomers
2	Welcome New Ideas
3	Encourage Diversity
4	Create a Place Where People can Be Themselves
5	Let Young People Live their Values and Create a New History
6	Build Vibrant Places
7	Take Care of the Basics
8	Be the Best at Something
9	Sell Your Regional Assets
10	Know What you Want to Be and be Willing to Take Risks to Achieve it

A key element of *The Young and the Restless* is its proposals for Philadelphia's rejuvenation. Because they view the inflow and outflow of educated 25-34 year olds as a key barometer of urban health, the report's writers conducted interviews with 25-34 year olds about what factors they look for in a city. The report highlights ten themes that emerged in the interviews and suggests that the city take steps to reform itself in the image of these important workers (Table 3.1). The themes all address characteristics of the "culture" of the city and suggest that 25-34 year olds prefer vibrant, bohemian districts with bars and restaurants. The pressing issues of ethnic educational differentials, job-training, and regional economic integration are entirely absent.

A second example of a program currently in place designed to correct Philadelphia's demographic profile is the group Campus Philly. The organization is a non-profit operated in partnership with the City of Philadelphia that seeks to increase the number of Philadelphia-area college graduates who remain in the city after graduating from local colleges. They address the same problem noted in *The Young and the Restless*: that young and educated urban residents tend to leave the city and therefore deprive the region of the added value resulting from their education. This is the group's mission statement:

> Campus Philly involves college students in the lifestyle, professional and community fabric of Philly and its surrounding region. Our mission is to engage college students by providing them with better information, incentives and networking opportunities to make the most out of college life in Philly. We also connect recent graduates with opportunities to find a job and stick around.
> (CampusPhilly.org, accessed online 10/28/06)

The combined message of these two projects is that in order for Philadelphia to escape its demographic problems and succeed in a global economy it needs to have the correct demographic profile. Each of these projects describes the ideal urban population not as those living in the city, but as those that are the most employable and require the fewest city services. Therefore, the projects envision "selective citizenship," wherein the most profitable workers are encouraged to relocate to the city and others are shunned. By implication, those in need of education and those in need of city services are better off elsewhere.

Each of these projects proposes to reconstruct Philadelphia's civil society in order to ivil society in order to strengthen the city's economic development. For example, Campus Philly focuses on the interrelationship between students and the "community" that they are being educated in. In using this language Campus Philly suggests that

students should stay and live in Philadelphia after attending school in the city because the city has made a sacrifice to support their education. The city loses a significant amount of taxable real estate because its educational institutions do not pay property tax; however, individual students play no part in this process. In constructing education as a "sacrifice" to the local community – a sacrifice which can be recouped through Philadelphia-area college graduates choosing to stay in the city – the project employs a liberal understanding of citizenship, wherein all urban residents must pay enough in taxes to repay the city for their social costs. The idea of "community" within these two projects can also be seen in the promotion of "openness" and "welcoming" in the ten themes expressed by mobile 25-34 year olds. Changing Philadelphia in order to become more globally competitive demands a change in the thoughts and actions of civil society members.

In the next section I examine how international migration fits into the rubric of using population mobility to build the correct urban demographic. Given the interest of the state in recruiting certain types of citizens, how are international migrants situated into this process?

Repopulate the City

The proposition that immigrants will benefit the city starts with the notion that simply by existing and going through their everyday motions as residents of Philadelphia these new residents will benefit the city. For example, the earliest report calling for increased immigration to Philadelphia argues that "at a very basic level, immigrants help replenish

the population exodus that many of the nation's older industrial cities are suffering from"
(Pennsylvania Economy League 2000: 2). In a city with a declining population and a
large number of vacant buildings, an increased population is valuable because these once
abandoned buildings will again be inhabited.

Proponents of international immigration make three different arguments to explain the
benefits immigrants bring to the local economy simply through their existence as urban
residents. First, they maintain that immigrants benefit the city because of the increased
political and economic power their enumeration in population-based funding formulas
brings. Second, they argue that immigrants will pay taxes and utilize underused urban
infrastructure capacity. Third, they maintain that the economic effects of immigration are
concentrated and that therefore certain neighborhoods and communities will benefit by
having an increased immigrant population.

Immigration and Population Growth
As Philadelphia has lost population, other regions of the country have gained population
(Frey and Fielding 1995). This process of population reshuffling is particularly important
when it comes to measuring political power as the city competes with other cities and
regions for federal apportionment dollars. One member of the board of directors for the
Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians argued that immigration benefits the city
because it increases the city's size and therefore its political power. Thus, promoting the
city as a destination for immigrants is a way of creating not only a city with more

immigrants, but also a city that is better able to lobby for federal dollars. He described

the connection between immigration and federal dollars by noting:

> It just has to do with the number of people who live in your city. For instance the difference between 1.4 million people and 2.2 million people is not just in terms of the number of human beings, it also has to do with how much, what portion of federal funding that we get. And that has to do with our power in political representation. Which, by the way, is why we lost the naval yard to begin with. We didn't have the political influence that growing areas in the south had. And that is not an economic decision, that's a purely political decision. And our desire to be a mid-level international or north Atlantic port is a political decision. It has nothing to do with geography or suitability, It's just rather that the government says "Philadelphia you are this new kind of port and we are going to put all this money into there and we are going to fund this new type of port." Because Boston, or New York, or Baltimore or wherever could do it [just as well].

In this sense the support for immigration is rooted in the political infighting of the

American federal system and allocation of political power. By growing in size the

Philadelphia region will be able to put greater pressure on congress to lobby for projects

that will benefit the region long-term, such as a new port. This argument about the

importance of immigrants has nothing to do with the prospective earnings of the

immigrant population or their ability to find jobs in Philadelphia; instead it relates to the

economic value of having a larger population. This connection between people and ports

underscores the importance of Logan and Molotch's growth machine hypothesis:

population growth is simply one factor in the development of a city, but it is interrelated

with other factors. In this case population brings a larger number of voters and increases

the city's leverage vis-à-vis other regions of the country.

Supply and Demand

The city's underused capacity in its sewer, water, and electrical infrastructure also played

an important role in the minds of immigration supporters. They argue that because

Philadelphia's population has declined from just over two million residents in 1960 to

under 1.5 million in 2000, the city has the ability to deliver city services to new urban

residents in a cost effective manner. By paying for the delivery of services new

immigrants are pure profit for the city-owned electric utility because the system has

underused capacity. For example Doug, the director of a national CDFI with significant

investments in Philadelphia, argued that immigrants "pay for themselves:"

> I went to this discussion where this guy was positing that immigrants are going to cost money: if you get the poorly educated, low income immigrants, they are going to be a drain on your educational system, crime, housing. But that's if you are at full employment, and full everything. All your houses are occupied. We have an underutilized capacity in Philadelphia. Except for some of the schools. Our streets, our sewers, we need actually more people to use the water because our capacity is very large, our electricity, our housing stock. We have got all this capacity that is being underutilized. So there is a value there. Even if there is a cost to other parts of the system. And that is only the first generation. The studies show that the effects on the second generation, by the second or third generation they become college educated and there is a real push. More so than the native born. So maybe there is a short term versus long term. If we want to look forward 25 years and build the city for then, we need to be doing it now.

Immigration promoters see Philadelphia as a terrarium without a salamander: the city has

an urban environment without urbanites. In Philadelphia there is housing, sewer

capacity, a school system, but there is not a large enough population to support the

maintenance of this infrastructure. Urban infrastructure is immobile but people are

mobile; the movement of immigrants to Philadelphia creates a new population that can

continue the cycle of urban regrowth and abandonment.

Doug went on to make an exact connection between vacant housing in Philadelphia and

the need for new immigrants:

> Did you see that Orthodox Jews from New York City are looking at the Northeast [of Philadelphia]? A whole community of 300 people, probably a thousand people. We should be doing everything we can to get that thing done. So that's exciting. That's

not even the city. The city had nothing to do with that. There are obviously some opportunities out there that we need to, if we get that in every community, that could be 100,000 people there easily. And then that attracts more people. And then the real estate thing is important because people are looking for, especially from certain countries they want to own a property. They want to own a home. And if we can make that attractive… So one we have to open up… we have over 100,000 properties that are tax-delinquent in Philadelphia now. Over 100,000. Why is that? Because the city is not doing its job and foreclosing on properties. And it could do one of two things. It could acquire property as New York did about 2 years ago and build a big land bank and people could come in and make it easy to get property…

To Doug the high rate of residential vacancy in Philadelphia is recast as an opportunity to supply new immigrants with a stepping stone in the US. As Doug summed up his ideas "forty acres and mule, you know." The image of Philadelphia put forward by Doug is one of the city as a neoliberal space "open" to investment by those with resources. Because there is currently limited demand for abandoned homes in Philadelphia, increasing the immigrant population creates more demand for this property. To Doug, the role of government is to set the stage for this investment by creating for immigrants the possibility to purchase these vacant homes.

Ailing Sections of the City

Supporters of immigration recognize that new immigrants will not be uniformly distributed across the city but will end up living in certain communities and neighborhoods. Supporters of these policies point to this "concentration" as a benefit to their new communities. This idea that immigrants will be spatially concentrated has been a part of the pro-immigrant discourse in Philadelphia from its inception. For example, Councilman Kenney's *A Plan to Attract New Philadelphians* argues:

In spite of studies that show new immigrants already have a tendency to move into and develop distressed neighborhoods on their own initiative, the Office of New

Philadelphians should develop a comprehensive plan and implementation program to expedite the process (2001: 14).

While increased immigration will benefit the city as a whole in terms of its fight for federal apportionment dollars, immigrant promoters believe that population growth will be spatially concentrated in blighted neighborhoods, as well as concentrated in other non-spatially bounded communities. For example, one local Catholic leader involved in the immigration debate in Philadelphia explained how immigration will benefit his church:

> Well, in this neighborhood [immigration has] helped our Catholic Church stay alive. And it's brought the median age of our church down from like 68 down to like 35. The Indonesians and Vietnamese and the Mexicans, the median age of the new immigrants is in the early 30's or late 20's so it's really helped our church to be a young vibrant community. Whereas our Caucasian and our African American community is more in their late 50's and above. So it's brought vibrancy that way. It's brought a diversity of cultures and a wide range of experiences.

In a city that has gone through painful rounds of church closings as a result of the out-migration of Catholics from urban neighborhoods, immigration into urban parishes is seen as a way to help parishes stay open while others close.

Other supporters note the fact that immigrants will not be evenly distributed across the city but concentrated in certain neighborhoods as a reason for supporting immigrants. While I examine the relationship between immigration and neighborhood redevelopment in other chapters, here I want to note the important role that the *idea* of the revitalizing nature of immigrants plays in the thinking of immigration supporters. As Deborah, the director of an immigrant services agency (and an immigrant herself) explained,

> Immigrants do what they have always done, which is that they go into a neighborhood that doesn't cost as much and they tend to fix it up. It has always happened through history. So immigrants can help keep neighborhoods strong, can give them that structure. Why do they fix it up? Because you are dealing with a brand of a person, a type of a person that has faced extreme adversity. And if they

can persevere through war and famine and leaving everything behind and coming to a new country. Or if they haven't even gone through a war or a famine, but they have the initiative to say "I am an accountant in India abut I think I am going to move to the United States and become an accountant there." That takes a lot of bravery that a lot of people don't have. Those are the kinds of people. I think that's part of the reason why the United States is as powerful as it is. Because the United States is filled with those kinds of people. We're survivors and entrepreneurs. They were different from the people they left behind. In good ways.

Consistent with the growth machine hypothesis, supporters of immigration argue that new citizens will benefit the city. These benefits will come through increased political power, greater utilization of existing urban infrastructure, and through their concentration in communities that are in need of redevelopment. In the next section I move away from a focus on the presence of immigrants and examine the idea that immigrants possess certain characteristics that make them better than other urban residents.

Immigrants Bring in a New Work Ethic and a Better Set of Values

The proposition that immigrants will benefit the city goes beyond their simple numerical value, but hinges on the idea that immigrants possess a certain work ethic or set of behaviors that make them valuable to the urban economy. This promotion of personality can be understood as a rescaling project, one that seeks to tie urban economic well being not to the fortunes of its companies, the relative locational benefits of its site, or the regulatory functions of the state, but instead to the behaviors of its citizens. Therefore the bodies of citizens become the scale at which economic development is discussed. The Pennsylvania Economy League, a pro-growth public-private partnership located in Philadelphia, summed up this idea nicely in their report *Immigration in Philadelphia: A Call to Action:*

Of course, it is not simply enough to repopulate the nation's cities and regions. The goal should be to repopulate with people who start businesses, are employable, and eventually contribute to the local tax base. There are many indications that immigrants do exactly that (2000: 12).

Examples of idealistic portrayals of immigrants as workers abound in the literature used to promote pro-immigrant policies in Philadelphia. For example, the same report published by the Pennsylvania Economy League notes that immigrants have lower rates of welfare dependency than native-born Americans (2% as opposed to 4%), a higher rate of patent applications than native-born Americans (7), and a higher propensity to start small businesses than native-born Americas (8).

Supporters of increased immigration believe that the journey immigrants have taken from their home country to the US has demonstrated their grit and determination, something native-born Americans have not demonstrated. Therefore they believe that, once arrived in the US, immigrants will be a benefit to the local economy because they work harder and are more entrepreneurial than native-born citizens. This focus on the risk-taking and entrepreneurial aspects of immigrants sets up a dichotomy between the work ethic of the native-born and the work ethic of immigrants and constructs immigrants as more economically productive citizens.

Promoters of increased immigration explicitly argue that current urban residents will benefit from an increase in immigration because by watching hard-working immigrants succeed they will force themselves to work harder. The Pennsylvania Economy League report argues:

This philosophy also holds that new arrivals indirectly challenge us as a nation to do better and they add an element of risk-taking that, combined with the forces of free enterprise and opportunity, taps into human ambition and a drive to succeed that only bodes well for greater long-term economic growth for the local host economy as well as the overall American economy…

The departing of one's home country - regardless of the economic conditions left behind - is a dramatic and life-alternating experience. The willingness to take a risk is one of the founding principals of American society and can be seen in newly arrived immigrants who open small grocery stores in distressed neighborhoods of New York City and Los Angeles - work in family shifts around the clock - make sacrifices and save money - all the while paying taxes providing a service - and helping to revitalize an economically depressed area of an American inner city (2000: 14).

The economic development coordinator at a community development corporation in a neighborhood that is seeing a rapid influx of immigrants echoed this binary construction of immigrants as hard-working and current residents as unenergetic. He argued:

I want 200 more entrepreneurs to come to this community. They will make the difference. I don't care if the line is this big because they are going to come in here with the right attitude and they are going to bring their money and they are going to make something. All of them won't succeed, I've never seen the statistics, but I would bet that new business starts, they say that on average more than 50% succeed. I would guarantee you that for immigrant businesses it's like 60% or better. If for no other reason that they are willing to make the sacrifices: like bring your entire family in, not pay yourself while you build your business, living frugally while you work. They have not assimilated enough in the rest of their culture so they don't have to deal with what most other businesses deal with: 2 cars and on and on and on. My sense is that there is a challenge there for a community to recognize that we should be opening our arms to immigrants saying "come on in!" and making them feel more welcome.

As we will see in further chapters, local community leaders responded to the "challenge" posed by immigrant entrepreneurs in different ways by. In brief, some viewed immigrant entrepreneurs as outsiders who did not have the community's best interest at heart, while others echoed the views of immigration promoters and saw immigrant entrepreneurs as bringing a "challenge," forcing businesses owners to run their businesses better. One African-American small-business owner confronted these different views as he discussed

his position on an inner-city shopping strip dominated by immigrant businesses. He told

me that he was initially resistant to immigrant-owned businesses, but changed his mind:

> Alex: …You know, I used to look at [immigrant businesses] as an obstacle because they were other businesses, but I don't any more. I look at it as a challenge. They make me step my game up. They make me say "what is it that I can do?" The competition is good. The competition is good. One of the things that I welcome is the competition because then it keeps me stronger in my work in what it is that I love to do, which is my restaurant.

> AP: It sounds like it took you a while to grow there…

> Alex: I had to grow there because originally I was thinking "all the black people should come to my restaurant because this is a black owned establishment." And it just doesn't work like that. And it seems sort of hypocritical because before I got this place the Korean-owned place on the corner, I would go there to eat. I stopped for awhile, but they sell cheese steaks and hoagies and I don't sell that. If I want a cheese steak or a hoagie I am not going to drive somewhere for it. I just go to the corner. And even more than that, it makes me bigger than that so to speak. It makes my spirit right. We have to cohabitate, so we should try to get along.

While the economic and money-making abilities of new immigrants are central to the

views of immigrant supporters, the idea that native-born residents lack the cultural

attributes of immigrants, such as a commitment to faith and family also emerged as a

central theme in my interviews. Immigrants were viewed as appreciative of the benefits

of US life, active in their religious community and as having strong families. The

director of a pro-immigrant advocacy organization argued that Americans have a sense of

entitlement, in comparison to immigrants who accept that life is hard. She noted:

> I'm not saying [immigrants are] harder working. I think Americans work very hard. They work too hard in this country. But the dissatisfaction, there is a built-in dissatisfaction and there is a built-in expectancy that you are going to be happy all day everyday all of your life. Whereas immigrants from other countries, somehow it is built into us that life is tough, life is not fair, and if you're happy 1/3 of the time you're in great shape.

Whatever situation that immigrants step into they seem to embody the antithesis of the

problematic practices of current urban residents and instead model proper and more

appropriate behavior. For example, the director of one immigrant resettlement agency

argued:

> Immigrants, I don't want to put Americans in a bad lights, I think immigrants, at least
> the ones that we have seen through our office provide incredible motivation, a
> willingness to do just about anything – work 2-3 jobs to make an income – a real
> commitment to education. A commitment to an extended family.

For Catholic leaders in particular, immigrants were seen as being above all pious. The

infusion of new practicing Catholics was seen as beneficial because it strengthened their

faith-based community. The pastor of a local Church argued:

> I would say that for the immigrants who are moving in if they are Catholic they add a
> real nice dimension. I can speak first as a pastor: they add a nice piety to their
> practice of faith and because they are generally very family-oriented. For the kids
> who come to church with families it is generally those who would be for example
> Vietnamese or the Liberians or the Haitians. We also have Nigerians and Spanish
> speaking – a good many tend to be from Colombia of the ones that we have. It is
> generally the immigrant families who are so family-oriented and the whole family
> comes to church. And they do add a nice dimension.

Immigrants were seen as revitalizing the spiritual life of Philadelphia through their

appreciation of elements of life in the US that long-time residents have taken for granted.

The director of a resettlement agency described the spiritually enriching aspects of

immigrants by arguing:

> I guess I would start with, I see those who come from other countries as a great
> spiritual resource because in most cases they have to have great strength of character
> to do what they have done. To be able to leave everyone, and when I say everything,
> it may not be a lot economically they are leaving but it is certainly the place they are
> familiar with, but to come to another culture and for the most part they are coming to
> be able to help their families. It is not really out of ambition but out of love. The
> value system they have is very inspiring. I see that as a great gift to our culture
> because we are very materialistic and we take things for granted. Folks that we teach,

if you give them a sheet of paper that has something copied on it, or you print something out on the computer, they treasure it. The simplest things. A new pencil. It's hard to explain.

The focus on non-economic characteristics of immigrants such as their family values and religiosity underscores the merging of personality and economy. Promoters of immigration present immigrants as a complete package: they are the ideal urban citizens who embody better economic, cultural, and familial traits. In the same way that reports like *The Young and the Restless* and organizations like Campus Philly seek to change the culture of Philadelphia, immigrant advocates make explicit connections between culture and the economy.

The promotion of international immigration rests on the idea that immigrants will bring a work ethic and sense of entrepreneurialism that native-born Philadelphians do not have. This understanding of the benefits of immigrations addresses not only the economic aspects of immigrants' lives, but also their personal and faith lives. Promoters see two processes as occurring: first the hard work of immigrants will help to revitalize the city; and second, immigrants will model these behaviors for other urban residents.

The Earnings Dilemma

A large literature exists on the economic costs of immigrants as compared to the amount of services that they consume (Borjas and Freeman 1992; Camarota 1997; Borjas 1999). This cost-benefit analysis of urban citizens takes place within the liberalist understanding of citizenship, in which each citizen is expected to provide for themselves, receiving few

benefits from the state. In general, the studies maintain that when immigrants initially arrive they often have low earnings and are net costs to local communities. However, over time, their earnings rise to above the prevailing average wage. This said, the creation of models used to calculate the "costs" of immigrants is a political process; the choice of what scale to use in the analysis, how to measure economic costs, and how to define immigrants each influence the outcome.

Supporters of increased immigration to Philadelphia accept that there is a relationship between how much communities consume in public services and how much they contribute in tax revenue. They often echo the literature and argue that over time any initial outlays to support immigrants will be paid back through the high earnings of immigrants. Often, the high earnings of immigrants are set up as a comparison against other urban populations. For example the director of an immigrant resettlement agency responded to the economic costs of immigrants to local municipalities by noting that immigrants make more money than those on welfare. She argued:

> The studies show that initial outlays will be a little more. A little bit more…and it's such a short amount of time. *People don't get into this country unless [they] are going to work*. You cannot get into this country and apply for Social Security/Disability. Well you can, but you'll get it for 7 years and then you'll be cut off forever with no chance ever of getting it unless you are a US citizen. So people are coming here to work. Our clients who are coming here who are refugees have lived in the refugee camp for 10-15 years come here and they have a job, a job with benefits – not the best benefits – that pays them 8-9 dollars an hour within 3 months. *So I would love to see a study that compares the general welfare population with the general immigrant population*. And I bet that you would see that within the first 5 months that they are a little bit more, and then you would see a dramatic drop. Because what we see, within our clientele, is that they are advancing extremely quickly, very quickly. They will come back in two months and tell us 'I am the Foreman!" So you see, generally speaking, a lot of advancement very quickly up the economic scale.
> (my emphasis)

This triumphant view of immigrant assimilation is one common to many promoters of international immigration as an economic development strategy. Promoters agreed with the idea that urban residents should be expected to pay sufficient taxes to offset the city services they received and sought to construct immigrants as part of a desirable urban population based on account of their increased earnings over time. In the same way that *The Young and the Restless* argued that 25-34 year olds are important to the urban economy, promoters of increased immigration argued that immigrants are good for the city and are therefore ranked higher than those on welfare.

In addition to the purely economic rationale for promoting international immigration, proponents of international immigration made four different arguments in order to explain the benefits of immigrants to the local economy simply through their existence as urban residents. First, they maintained that immigrants will benefit the city in terms of the increased political power and improved position vis-à-vis federally allocated funding formulas that increased population brings. Second, they argued that immigrants will utilize underused urban capacity. Third, they maintained that the economic effects of immigration are concentrated, therefore certain neighborhoods and certain communities will benefit by having an increased immigrant population. Last they argued that immigrants are not an economic drain. Instead, they maintained that the earnings of immigrants rise over time.

Creating a Diverse and Cosmopolitan City

The cultural diversity of Philadelphia's immigrant community contributes to their

construction as embodying the ideal urban citizens. The association between immigrant

cosmopolitanism and economic development has also been seen in the literature on

Canada's immigration policy (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). The foreign-born

population in Philadelphia is a diverse group. Immigrants from Asia account for roughly

¼ of current migrants, and those from Central America account for approximately 1/3

with Europe, the Caribbean and South America providing the remaining proportion

(Metropolitan Philadelphia Indicators Project 2004). Therefore immigrant promoters do

not envision the creation of a monolithic immigrant community in Philadelphia. Instead,

the promoters of immigration envision the creation of a multicultural population

representative of the diversity of the global economy. Promoters of immigration see the

ethnic diversity of these newcomers as an asset because they bring connections to

markets all over the world. A last goal of increased immigration to the city is to produce

a citizenry that embodies the multiculturalism of global commerce.

This ethos of "cosmopolitan" has been equated with elitism and exclusion (Stevenson

2002; Yeoh 2004; Roudometof 2005); however, to promoters of immigration

cosmopolitanism is seen as antidote to Philadelphia's economic stagnation. This is

imagined to take place in two different ways. First, promoters argue that having a large

immigrant population will create more exotic ethnic restaurants, more immigrant

enclaves, and a more multicultural city. This multiculturalism is imagined to attract the

type of knowledge-industry workers that Florida argues are essential to economic growth.

For example, the director of a local community group described the benefits of

immigration in his community in the following way:

> I think immigrants in this neighborhood, add a richness to the fabric of Laurel Heights. There is absolutely no doubt about it. Particularly in the area of restaurants. Immigrants who have come in, a lot of them, have opened up restaurants. When we talk about what distinguishes Laurel Heights from most of the other areas of the City of Philadelphia it's the explosion really of ethnic cuisine that we have out here. True, in the early years, a lot of them were really variations in Ethiopian cuisine to the point that people said "I can't take another Ethiopian meal, I got to have something else,." So gradually we got Indian, Thai food, we now have some restaurants out here that can compete with the best BYOBs[12] in Center City. And so I think that the immigrants have really introduced a very interesting component particularly along the food lines which people out here are very conscious of.

Promoters of immigration equate cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism with a spectacle

city that people want to visit in order to see something different.

Promoters also see immigrants' cosmopolitanism as a benefit to the urban economy. For

example, a report published by the public-private development group Greater

Philadelphia Global Partners (GP2) identifies immigration as one of five "International

Activity Areas" along with international trade; foreign direct investment; international

tourism; and foreign government, social, scientific, educational and cultural linkages

(2002). They argue:

> Immigration fuels economic development, acts as a catalyst for international trade and investment, and enriches the cultural landscape. Immigrants can provide labor, revitalize urban corridors, strengthen real estate submarkets, and serve as a basis for foreign trade and investment. With immigration accounting for more than half of the population growth in the U.S. over the last decade, this activity area becomes one of the most important factors for enhancing globalization (7).

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[12] Bring Your Own Bottle. The term refers to boutique, own chef-owned restaurants in Philadelphia which do not have a liquor license requiring patrons to bring their own bottle of alcohol.

In order to help achieve their goals, GP2 calls for the cooperation of many local immigrant services agencies, as well as Philadelphia Immigration and Citizenship Coalition (PICC), an activist group that works to promote immigrants' rights. This cooperation between traditional economic development organizations and immigrant rights organizations highlights the unusual politics of using immigration as an economic development strategy, which I examine in more depth in the next chapter. In sum, harnessing the humanitarian discourse of immigrant advocacy groups like PICC and immigrant resettlement groups like the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society expands the number of voices active in discussions about the economic health of the city. A tension that I will explore in the next chapter is that because these groups offer different understandings of citizenship than the neoliberal norm, including these groups in policy discussions illustrates the complexity of urban policy construction.

The idea that a growing immigrant population creates a connection to the global economy was a common topic in my interviews. The transnational lives of immigrants were imagined to create connections between Philadelphia and their country of origin which could then spur trade and economic investment. Immigration promoters saw the networks created by globalization from below (Smith and Guarnizo 2004) as being every bit as important as the connections made between countries by diplomats and businessmen. For example, the director of an immigrant advocacy group argued that efforts to integrate the city into the global economy and become a world city were bound to fail without a greater emphasis on immigration. She argued that many of her contemporaries do not always agree with her:

I would say [to the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce] "How do you globalize without immigrants?" and they would say "Of course, of course we need immigrants." "Yeah but how would you know, Dave," I would say "that you have a Global City?" You know it on the street corner that's how you know. You know it if you walk down the street and you see a *bureau de change* and you see cafés with internet access and you look around you, as you do in Dublin today, and you look for someone who speaks with an Irish accent and you're thrilled to hear German, and French and Spanish and Swahili.

AP: The whole world city.

The cosmopolitan cities, it's very clear.

AP: Usually it has more to do with attracting Japanese businessmen, German businessmen, fancy hotels and nice restaurants as opposed to those stronger connections [immigrants bring].

The stronger connections, it's the grassroots. All this top down investment that's going on about globalization only goes so far. And then it goes in concentric circles. There is nothing getting down... we need to have some grassroots investment, something like a Welcoming Center providing services so we can have some vertical interaction here. My guess here is that every dollar spent on immigrant services will yield 5 dollars in tax revenue.

As this advocate argues, a global city is alive with immigrants. The connections that they make with their families around the world encourage interconnections between Philadelphia and the global economy.

In promoting the idea of cosmopolitanism, immigrant advocates do not imagine all immigrants to be members of the transnational elite. Instead, they picture immigrants bringing diversity and multiculturalism, which will link Philadelphia to the global economy and create the type of vibrant 24-hour city that Philadelphia desires to become. In an interview that explicitly linked immigration with nearly every facet of urban economic development, a member of the Welcoming Center's board of directors explained why his pro-immigrant comments referred to so many issues seemingly

unconnected to immigration. He described immigration as playing a central role in transforming Philadelphia from a deindustrializing city to a vibrant and growing city. He argued:

> The reason why I jump around from topic to topic is because they are very much tied in. The idea of creating public works and having art and music and having that atmosphere where creativity flourished, and people came into Florence for that reason. And then the business and the money and everything else. To create an immigrant-friendly city we are also saying that there will be a Latin section with Latin Jazz and Salsa and at 3 o'clock in the morning – grandmothers could walk outside with their children into well-lit, clean, safe, good-smelling neighborhoods. We are saying that suburban white professionals will go into a black neighborhood and listen to hip-hop and spoken word and be safe and welcome and enjoy themselves. Because of what? Because of the fact that the people in the neighborhood know the benefits of what these people are bringing to their community. And because people are not angry they are hopeful, that by singing, or by doing gospel, or by doing music or rapping or whatever the talent may be that they will have a better life. So the richness that we find naturally in Philadelphia from having so many immigrant groups here is really a great catalyst.

Governmentality and the Ideal Urban Population

Given these constructions of immigrants that describe them as key players in urban economic development efforts, following Foucault, I now examine the specific techniques that the promotion of immigration forms as systems of governmentality. I am interested here in looking at how the promotion of immigration highlights the desired characteristics of citizens in the neoliberal city.

Ranking

A key component of pro-immigrant strategies is their explicit ranking of population. Immigrants are desired because they are *harder* working, *more* faithful, and *more* industrious that other urban residents. The truth of these statements is less important than their internal logic that while citizenship is one sense an equalizer because it places all

members of a community on equal footing subservient to the state, it is also a competitive process, one in which the educated, the skilled, and those with greater earnings potential are ranked higher. How are these different ranks materialized? What does it mean to win or lose in this competition?

Giorgio Agamben in his work on the medieval Italian status of *homo sacer* explores this exact nexus between citizenship and disempowerment (1998). To Agamben, the power of the sovereign is the power not only to create law, but to decide who is covered by law. Therefore the status of homo sacer as one who can be defined to lie outside of legal protection is an exemplar of the indefinite nature of citizenship within the neoliberal state. While the communitarian form of citizenship actively encourages equality between citizens, the liberal form of citizenship is one of earned protection, wherein the state actively voices and determines gradations of citizenship. The process of emphasizing the qualities of immigrants as the ideal urban citizens simultaneously defines sedentary urban residents who lack diversity, lack entrepreneurialism, and lack transnational connections as less valuable to the urban economy. *The Young and the Restless* specifically defines 25-34 year olds as the "gold-standard of the knowledge economy," while immigration promoters implicitly define non-immigrants as less-valued urban residents.

Entrepreneurialism

Entrepreneurialism is both a common word to describe immigrants and, as seen in the urban entrepreneurialism literature, is the defining characteristic of the neoliberal city. An entrepreneurial citizen has internalized the necessity to takes responsibility for their own material well being. Immigrants are widely viewed as embodying this ideal, yet this

ascription hides the reality of immigrant assimilation. One aspect of this facade is the legal framework which limits welfare benefits to immigrants, making them not entrepreneurial but, in a nod to Agamben, outside of the social benefits available to others. Similarly, newcomers lack the informal job placement networks available to native-born residents and suffer from discrimination in the labor market. Their turn to entrepreneurialism is less a sign of immigrant vitality than an example of choice exercised within a socially limited environment.

The promotion of immigrant entrepreneurialism presents urban citizens with a false dichotomy. Immigrants' entrepreneurial activity is actively modeled to other urban residents under the assumption that their "choice" can be mimicked by others. However, the ethnic entrepreneurship literature shows that immigrants utilize skills from their country of origin, benefit from co-ethnic systems of support, and often feel shut out of employment possibilities in the mainstream economy. As we will see in chapter five, the bodegueros feel like perpetual outsiders who every day are forced to prove their credential as citizens. This promotion of "entrepreneurial citizenship" asks all urban residents to behave as though the minute they are not contributing to the economic health of the city they should relocate elsewhere.

Cosmopolitanism as an Economic Force

Immigrants are praised because of their status as outsider, and constructed as different, cosmopolitan, and networked into the global economy. This construction reinterprets people not as citizens but as economic units and makes the argument that the

globalization of the economy should be reflected in the bodies of state citizens. Postmodernism brings with it a valuing of the new and the different and a sense that the old and the outdated are no longer valued. In terms of consumer goods this translates to an indeterminate number of different cell phones and in terms of housing to the endless choices that owners of newly constructed homes are able to choose: countertops, floors, bathroom fixtures and more. Yet what happens when this embrace of the personalized and the different is people, not goods? The promotion of immigration creates a meshing of the discourses of cosmopolitanism and globalization in an attempt to describe the city as linked to global commodity flows (Beck 2002; Stevenson 2002; Roudometof 2005). This discourse privileges the mobility of the migrant, and marginalizes those without the ability to travel.

Widening the Scope of Economic Rationale

While it is common to hear economic rationales for increased immigration put forward by representatives from city council and economic development organizations, the proliferation of economic arguments from the directors of social service agencies and immigrant advocate networks indicates the extent to which neoliberal logic has become the hegemonic discourse of urbanization. The notion that immigrants should be provided for simply because it is the ethical action to be taken, or that multiculturalism is a valuable asset to a city apart from its role in the marketing of Philadelphia as a tourist site was not part of the general discourse on immigrants.

Citizenship and Scale

This analysis of the promotion of immigration as an economic redevelopment tool highlights the connections between citizenship and scale. New scalar configurations of the 21st century are strongly affecting international migration. For example, the creation of the European Union is creating a supranational framework for immigration, replacing the hodge-podge of national scale regulations that have historically been in force (Leitner 1997). Migration is therefore affected by the same processes of re-scaling that are affecting other aspects of the global economy (Sassen 1988).

The idea of scale is explicitly linked to the dynamics of mobility in the global capitalist economy. Smith and Dennis write, in one of the earliest definitions of scale, that regions are "absolute economic spaces stabilized (however temporarily) in a wider sea of continually transforming relative space. They are geographical platforms of production" (1987: 18). Florida proposes a radical rethinking of scale and region, arguing that we should understand economic development not in terms of places, but in terms of the ability of places to attract "classes of people" and the skills that those workers possesses. Florida defines the individual worker as a "platform for production:" cities remain place-based but seek to bring the most economically viable citizen to their municipality. This process both rescales economic production to the individual and demonstrates how transnational the process of economic development is.

At the personal scale, individual entrepreneurial citizens, whose ethnicity marks their connection to the global economy, are asked to create the economic vitality of the region.

Rather than look to employers to enter a region and employ citizens, or to the state to take steps to recruit businesses into the region, individual persons bring economic growth through the entrepreneurial behavior. This rescaling process constructs the individual as the bringer of economic growth to a city. As we have seen, the cultural and religious activities of immigrants are also a part of this construction. The family- and community-oriented immigrant will serve to model proper urban behavior and set an example for other city residents.

On the other hand, this process works by enlarging the scale at which urban economic redevelopment is conceptualized. The families and societies of sending countries become enmeshed in the economic development policies of Philadelphia. Through their labor, the homes, churches, and civic organization of other countries are creating the dynamic and entrepreneurial citizens that are imaged to bring growth to Philadelphia. Similarly, the concept of who is an urban citizen is expanded. So long as you are willing to relocate to Philadelphia you can become part of this urban community.

Bestowing citizenship on a population because of their mobility destabilizes many existing ideas about how citizenship is constructed. Under this model citizenship is given to those who bring the most economic benefits to the city, not to those who happen to reside within the geographic bounds of the city. The push towards immigration as an economic development strategy sees cities as places in motion, wherein for a city to succeed the population must embody the same characteristics of Benetton ads that morph ethnicities together and continually change in order to mirror the dynamic global

economy. This discourse is clearly racialized, in that the black, sedentary, "motionless" population must inevitably give way to the mobile, global, interconnected population of immigrants. Be they low-skilled or high-skilled, those who move embody entrepreneurialism, a good work ethic, and the proper type of citizen.

Conclusion

As cities look for new entrepreneurial approaches to urban redevelopment the recruitment of international migrants has emerged as a unique scheme. While debates about illegal immigrants are causing some cities to crack down on immigrants, Philadelphia has created a much different space for immigrants to occupy. Instead, the promotion of international immigrant fits within a larger rubric that defines the economic possibilities of a city not with its location or climactic conditions but with the type of population that the city holds. Since citizens are the key to economic development, conditioning the urban population to be work-ready becomes a key component of urban policy. Therefore cities with large numbers of college-educated, international, and entrepreneurial citizens are imagined to have a distinct advantage over their less-educated and more parochial urban competitors.

The strategy of creating an economically profitable form of citizenship exemplifies how citizenship operates within the neoliberal city. This process constructs a form of citizenship in which personality, risk-taking behavior, and entrepreneurialism are valued. This explicit ranking of the population defines some citizens as good for the city and others as drags on the economy who are better off locating elsewhere. Hence, economic

redevelopment becomes a process of balancing the inflows and outflows of workers, with the goal of keeping the "right citizens" in the city. What we also see in the promotion of international immigration as an urban economic redevelopment strategy is an example of the complex scalar architecture of neoliberal economic development strategies. The citizenship bonds between those presently living in the city are severed in favor of building bonds with workers on the other side of the world who have skills to offer the city. This strategy does not see the municipal boundary as the end of the city, but instead enlarges the scale of urban development to the point where all workers anywhere in the world can be seen as recruitable future citizens.

Chapter Four: "Insurgent Citizenship" in the Neoliberal City

The city of Philadelphia is dying. Literally dying. Everyday hundreds of people that were born here are getting the hell out of here and the only way that we can survive is to either convince those people not to leave, or to convince other people to move here. Convincing those people not to leave is very difficult. And we are trying to work on that. There are schools and taxation issues, job issues. And those are issues around convincing people to move here as well. The more the councilman has thought about this issue he has come to see that cities are not for everyone. You can't just sit around and get pissed that everybody isn't moving into the city or that a lot of people are moving out of the city. If I had 12 kids and 12 dogs it doesn't make sense to live in the City of Philadelphia, when the whole idea is a lot of people in a small space. That is what you call a city. Having 12 children and 12 dogs would not be very convenient when you are pressed up against a lot of other people. I live in a row house. Most everyone in Philadelphia lives in a row house.

So you have to look at the type of people that would be willing to live in those types of neighborhoods. And so it is important to try to recruit those types of people. Those people are either single people, newly married people, or people who are empty nesters, or people who are just starting out in a new country. So there are only a certain amount of types of people that you can go out there and recruit. Immigrants are a very obvious one for a city to have because they are willing to live in those types of conditions. Those are the ones that put in a lot of energy and time and work. We have a lot of empty housing here. It makes sense to me, if I was running the city, to just throw open the doors and say "Free houses! Come get one!" And then see who can do what with them. Most average Americans would pass on that offer. Most immigrants, however, would be excited by the offer. Right now it is not so much that immigrants are the obvious answer, they are just one of the few answers out there.

(Aide to Philadelphia City Council Member, 2004)

Introduction

The idea of immigrants moving to Philadelphia and playing a role in the redevelopment

of the city's impoverished neighborhoods explicitly recognizes the existence of slums

and explicitly understands that native-born Americans are leaving these areas because

other spaces offer them greater opportunities. By calling for new residents, advocates of

increased immigration to Philadelphia imagine the city as a space that still has potential

as an economically viable urban area. This strategy seems directly at odds with the

traditional understanding, as documented in Chapter one, of Philadelphia as a city in "decline" (Beauregard, 1993); for example, the city has a 14% unemployment rate, hence, there is already a population in need of work living in the city. Similarly, as the tax base of the city has declined the average property tax bill has increased in order to compensate for population and employment loss (Metropolitan Philadelphia Indicators Project 2004). This "re- imagining" of Philadelphia as a city not in decline brings to mind new scholarship critically examining the concepts of "poverty" and "development." For example, Frank and Deborah Popper in their work on the Buffalo Commons suggest that some spaces are no longer spaces of growth, and instead must be re-imagined as spaces of slow decline or stability (2002). J.K. Gibson-Graham and Lakshim Yapa in different ways seek to rethink the concept of poverty and the construction of low-income individuals as "poor" or "unskilled" (Yapa 1999; Gibson-Graham 2006). In particular, in their work Gibson-Graham describe the ways in which workers' sense of identity and personhood are constructed through their employment. Their project of rethinking the economy involves analyzing the ways in which the unemployed possess identities outside of their place in the larger economy. Within this framework, a deindustrialized city is imagined as more than simply a space of empty warehouses; instead it becomes a space of families, social relationships, and communities that has value that has been left unremunerated in the capitalist economy.

My interviews with policy makers in Philadelphia indicate that – consistent with the growth machine thesis – they view Philadelphia as the current and future economic engine for the region, regardless of the fact that all data point towards the continued

suburbanization and regionalization of the economy. I am not arguing that Philadelphia should accept its position as a "dead" city and therefore discourage immigration. Instead, this chapter critically examines the variety of different voices within the Philadelphia policy-making community in order to analyze the ways which they imagine immigration playing a role in urban change. All the policy makers I interviewed are intent on turning around Philadelphia's decline and position immigrants to play an important part in this process. As chapter three argued, neoliberal citizenship and neoliberal urbanism form the broad framework under which pro-immigrant strategies are being promoted. However, some within the pro-immigrant movement seek to position immigrants as "beneficiaries" of revitalization, while others view them as low-wages workers who will fuel economic growth.

This chapter examines three issues: the ethics of immigrant-led revitalization; strategies of recruiting new immigrants; and the relationship between immigration and the local labor market. The different views that immigration supporters have of these issues highlight the complexity of the relationship between immigration and urban revitalization. While some view the labor market as a place of competition, others see the labor market as a site of contestation where the state has the obligation to exercise direct oversight in order to protect immigrant workers. These differences in the operationalization of immigrant-led revitalization demonstrate the fallacy of positing neoliberal ascendancy. Instead, urban policy is formed by balancing the assortment of competing interests that shape urban policy (Jessop 2002). Within this framework, urban policy emerges as a result of compromises between the countervailing views of different

urban actors. In Philadelphia, while some policy makers have distinctly neoliberal views, others view the promotion of immigration as a way of creating a new and more inclusive understanding of urban citizenship, which can be labeled "insurgent citizenship" because it seeks to recognize the rights of all urban residents (Holston 1999).

The central dilemma of promoting immigrant-led revitalization is that this redevelopment scheme is being initiated within a larger set of state and national policies that have severely impaired the ability of cities to thrive economically (Kleinberg 1995). In this sense the redlining of urban communities, federal support for highways and suburban development, and inequities in education funding have lowered the standard of living for many Philadelphia residents. For example, Philadelphians consistently rank their own neighborhood satisfaction lower than do residents of other big cities (Pine and Whitman 2002). They cite issues such as low-quality public schools and dissatisfaction with city services as reasons for disliking their communities. However, regardless of the structural reasons for depopulation in Philadelphia, immigration is viewed as an effective repopulation tool because if those people can be convinced to relocate to Philadelphia they will create a new sense of vibrancy within the city. Yet how do you encourage immigrants to relocate to Philadelphia? One of the mantras of the Campus Philly is to enact policies that will encourage college students to imagine their connection to Philadelphia as one in which they will "come to serve the community as they are being served by it." As this mantra suggests, living and working in a community is a way of serving it, and attracting residents to a city is about more than simply the availability of jobs. It suggests that the urban economy is a "community," thus evoking images of

nurturing and mutual identification as opposed to constructing the city merely as a site of monetary exchange.

Is it ethical to invite or promote immigration to Philadelphia at a time when those with the choice to leave are leaving? How can a city influence the locational choices of people located thousands of miles away? And last, in a city with a high rate of unemployment, what is the relationship between the labor market, and immigration? This section moves away from the hegemonic construction of immigrants as "a benefit" to the city and examines the concrete process of how immigrants can be encouraged to move to Philadelphia and how these new citizens fit into the existing fabric of the city. Central to this dilemma is how policy makers embrace the growth machine thesis, and their optimistic portrayal of how immigrants will revitalize the city.

I analyze these three issues in order to make three interconnected arguments about the process of urban redevelopment. First, the modifier "urban" is often attached to issues as a way of situating discussions of problems in a specific place: *urban* redevelopment; *urban* education; the *urban* labor market, etc. However, the construction of issues as "urban" elides the interconnections between urban issues and rural issues (Pacione 2001), and serves to socially construct (and hence limit) the scale at which these issues are discussed (Delaney and Leitner 1997; Macleod and Goodwin 1999). Second, there is a dynamic relationship between neoliberalism and actually existing neoliberalism. In each of the issues I analyze in this section there is a neoliberal "pit": an obvious worst case scenario that could emerge if neoliberal doctrine were actualized in its truest form.

However, in each case alternate policy voices propose innovative alternatives that suggest a different possible urban future than the one laid out by neoliberalism. While neoliberal urbanism forms the broad parameters of urban policy, reality is more complex. Last, I connect these issues through an analysis of James Holston's conception of "insurgent citizenship" (1999). To Holston, "Citizenship changes as new members [of a polity] emerge to advance their claims, expanding its realm, and as new forms of segregation and violence counter these advances, eroding it" (167). In this sense, as new groups emerge in the city and demand rights, they reconfigure and reform the institution of citizenship and hence offer counter-arguments for how the state relates to the individual.

Ethics, Immigration, and Urban Redevelopment

Because my research project was multithreaded I ended up making some very strange transitions; for example, I often wore a pair of jeans and a t-shirt all morning while doing participant observation in a bodega, and then changed into slacks and a dress shirt in the bathroom for an afternoon interview with a policy maker. In the process of going through these abrupt transitions I became concerned about the very positive and optimistic presentation of immigrant assimilation and self-betterment presented by policy makers who wore suits and worked in air conditioned offices, while the bodegueros I had been with moments earlier cited the safety of their family as their main concern. When I discussed the ethics of these pro-immigrant strategies with policy makers I pointed out that in many cases new immigrants to Philadelphia would end up living in some of the most difficult neighborhoods of Philadelphia, the very neighborhoods that native-born residents were relocating from. As noted in chapter three, the idea that immigrants would

live in the most dilapidated communities in Philadelphia was cited by many policy
makers as a reason to support increased immigration.

Policy makers cited three justifications for the ethics of promoting immigration into these
communities: 1) distaste that anyone has to live in slum conditions, but a view that
migration is a process of risk and rewards; 2) the inevitability of neighborhood
betterment as a result of an increased immigrant population and thus the temporary nature
of immigrants' presence in unsafe communities; and 3) the necessity of creating a legal
framework conducive to immigrant survival. In the following four subsections I analyze
each of these engagements with the concept of ethics and then summarize the
implications of these views. In this analysis I focus on how different policy makers
conceptualize urban change because different theorizations of urban change create
different "spaces" within which immigrants (and other urban groups) can mobilize for
self-betterment.

All Poverty is Distasteful

The first and most common way that this dilemma was addressed was for policy makers
to express a distaste that anyone has to live in slum conditions. This strategy placed
immigrants and native-born Americans in the same boat, and argued that these spaces
were a regrettable but inevitable part of our society. For example, in our conversation
about the ethics of immigrants moving into poor neighborhoods the director an
immigration-advocacy group argued:

> No, I don't have an ethical problem with [promoting immigration into poor
> communities], no I don't. I feel like… I am an immigrant. The ethical problem I have

is that our neighborhoods in our cities in this country are being left to rot. The jobs have moved. Through history people have moved to where the jobs are. And if the powers that be and stakeholders move the jobs out of the city people are going to move. And the people who come in behind them are going to be those that have fewer choices. There is crime, there are problems certainly, but this seems to be the nature. If I had a magic wand it would all be fixed. I don't, but I understand how people organize themselves and that's the way they've done it from time immemorial. They go to where they can afford, and they work at it and they move and get out of it when they can.

Poverty in this case is seen as a regrettable but natural aspect of the urban landscape, and self betterment – as expressed through residential mobility – is understood to be a historical process that all successful urbanites have gone through. Because immigrants are viewed as successful, their time in slums will be temporary.

Implicit in this idea that "they go to where they can afford" is an understanding of the market as the "natural" arbiter of the residential choices of immigrants. Policy makers believe that immigrants choose their residential communities freely because there is no actual force applied to immigrants which compels them to live in certain communities. Therefore the benefits and drawbacks of each neighborhood were seen as intrinsic attributes of urban communities, not as the result past political and economic decisions. This is a particularly neoliberal argument, as it sees residential location as a natural extension of the impartial market economy of the United States. One staff member to a pro-immigration city council member explained his stance:

Well. The ethical issues involved? I understand what you are saying, but in our viewpoint opportunity is not a difficulty. There are a lot of opportunities here for somebody if they are willing to commit themselves to it. We don't really care where people move, for better or for worse, the cheaper housing and the cheaper land and the cheaper neighborhoods to start out a business are in poor neighborhoods where there are, I suppose, some high rates of crime for example. But the only way to turn those neighborhoods around is to try to find stable neighbors that will have jobs and will put time and energy into it. I can't believe that if neighborhoods didn't take a

step back they wouldn't realize that immigrants are exactly those kinds of people. So I don't see it as an ethical problem. It would be one thing to be advertising explicitly saying "Hey Dominicans you should move to North Philadelphia. It really sucks there but we don't really want to be near you Dominicans so we would rather keep you hands-off." For better or for worse your average Dominican is not going to be moving in Chestnut Hill because they are not going to be able to afford Chestnut Hill. But, if the decision is ultimately theirs, so, if they feel comfortable with it then we wish them well because they are exactly what we are looking for: stable neighbors.

It was clear from my conversations with policy makers that they took the difficulties of migration and adjusting to the US seriously. They honestly believed that through movement to the US immigrants were making improvements in their lives, and that they understood that the difficulties they would meet upon their relocation to the US would be temporary but worth it in the long run. They also viewed the process of neighborhood redevelopment and urban poverty as important and pressing issues. Policy makers' beliefs, as expressed in chapter three, concerning the positive qualities that immigrants brought to communities and the inevitability of neighborhood betterment through increased immigration are not naïve misreadings of immigrant communities. Instead, they are policy opinions based on their understanding of the serious problems faced by Philadelphia and the available solutions. Their arguments, however, have difficult repercussions. They accept the necessity and inevitability of low income communities, if nothing more than as places of first arrival. They recognize poverty as an essential aspect of the US urban fabric and view it as the responsibility of neighborhood residents to improve these communities.

Immigrant Poverty is Temporary Poverty

Part of the reason why policy makers felt comfortable promoting the arrival of

immigrants in unsafe communities was their belief that through upward mobility

immigrants' placement in these neighborhoods is a self-limiting process. This

understanding of neighborhood change sees neighborhoods as being in flux, so the arrival

of new immigrants is merely one part of the continual reshuffling of urban population

into different neighborhoods. As this director of an immigrant aid group argued, there

are different types of ghettos: ghettos in which immigrants live *temporarily* before

moving to better places and other communities of native-born low-income populations

where people live *permanently*. She argued:

> So I think that probably initially – because if you are coming in on the bottom of the
> rung, because of your finances – you get in where you can fit in. And if that means
> buying a house or renting a house in a depressed area you do that. Like anybody
> would do, not just an immigrant. But I think with immigrants – and also with
> immigrants you have this constant sense of wanting to achieve more and wanting to
> continually, maybe buy another property, maybe save a little bit of money, maybe
> move out, maybe then rent this property to family that is moving over – so there is
> constantly a progression going on. Whereas some Americans maybe get trapped, so
> to speak, in a particular area and they don't feel… or maybe they can't move out
> beyond this particular area.

Another immigrant advocate echoed this idea of temporariness and compared

immigration with gentrification, arguing that each form of neighborhood redevelopment

brought a general upgrading of the conditions of the community:

> Um, it is sort of like the gentrification argument, only without the same ethical
> component. The reality is that a lot of these older neighborhoods were built around
> industrial employment centers that just don't exist anymore. That factory that used to
> employ the people in that neighborhood shut down. And unless something happens
> to economically revitalize that neighborhood that neighborhood is going to die and be
> a crime-ridden empty shell, and everybody who can leave will and everybody who is
> left is going to have very little as the businesses move away or close and the safety
> declines. So it is how you stem the tide of that happening: you need people to move
> in who are going to take some sense of ownership for that area and I think it is
> helping to save certain segments of our city that immigrants are moving in. And yes,

as they get more resources they may move to a more affluent neighborhood, but meanwhile this other neighborhood has been saved.

This idea that immigrants bring with them "a sense of ownership" and eventually relocate constructs Philadelphia neighborhoods as places in motion and immigrants as a particularly valuable, yet also mobile, group of urban residents.

Another component of this argument is the idea that immigrants are a more diverse group than most people recognize. While the foreign-born community is usually uniformly characterized as poor and uneducated, some policy makers noted that this monolithic construction of immigrants was incorrect. As the director of a Latino economic development organization argued:

> Well, remember, people don't talk about the immigrants who come here who are granted citizenship or residency because of their skills. There is a long history here of government agencies, corporations, going out to a variety of countries and buying and bringing the best of the brains of those countries. People don't hear about those immigrants, because they are the selective, the really cream of the crop, who are being brought in to do certain things, and the hospitals and the pharmaceutical companies. People tend to think that all the immigrants are coming here and they are going to go live in the ghetto.

Therefore, because many immigrants enter the country with a high skill-level they end up living in upper-income communities and we should therefore not think about only certain neighborhoods of the city as being "immigrant spaces." Instead, these advocates argue for a more complex understanding of both the urban fabric and the place of immigrants within the city. Philadelphia's foreign-born population mirrors the foreign-born of the country as a whole; the skill level of the immigrant community can be described as having a dumbbell shape distribution: there is both a higher percentage of the college educated as part of this population and a higher percentage of those without a high school

education. The bifurcation of the immigrant community is similar to the hollowing out of the labor force that has come with globalization (Sassen 2001).

By arguing that immigrants can play an important, however temporary, role in revitalizing urban communities immigrant advocates note the importance of movement within US cities. As noted in the epigraph, policy makers recognize that the City of Philadelphia is not for everyone. Instead, the process of redevelopment is being constructed as one in which different populations play a temporary role in redeveloping the city. While these new residents may not be permanent residents, they can serve for a short period as bearers of economic growth.

Supporting Immigrant Communities

A not-so-common way of addressing the ethical component of pro-immigration strategies was for advocates to place the onus on the city to take responsibility for the safety and success of immigrants. Proponents of this policy response were typically immigrant advocates such as community organizers and lawyers who worked directly with immigrant communities. While they wanted to see the city repopulated, they felt that policies enacted at a variety of different scales worked against the establishment of strong urban and immigrant communities and felt that safeguards had to be put into place to protect Philadelphia's immigrant communities. One aspect of this strategy focused on the active enforcement of all regulations that affect immigrants. They noted that one way that city policy can hurt immigrants is through the selective non-enforcement of housing and zoning codes within immigrant communities. This process of benign neglect and

inaction impedes immigrants' ability to advance economically and improve the material

conditions of their community. As one immigrant attorney argued:

> Philadelphia is an interesting place. Because of the depopulation of the city you do
> potentially have a large available supply of housing and if that housing could
> effectively be habitable it might be able to be used by people for relatively low cost.
> But I think the question is whether you are talking about the effective use of housing
> stock in a livable condition or whether what you are talking about is how people are
> going to afford to live there is important. And I'm sure that people who are
> [advocating increased immigration to the city] don't mean for people to end up in bad
> conditions. I don't think that that is the intent of it, but I think that if you don't design
> services and support them in the way that people can get housing code enforcement
> [you create those conditions].

The non-enforcement of codes is not a passive act but an active process that creates

spaces of exception outside of the purview of government. Similarly, the director of a

Latino community development organization described the policy of under-enforcing

police regulations and housing code as ghettoizing:

> I think the bigger issue is "if they move into the neighborhood are we going to make
> sure that we provide the kind of services that make them livable?" And we need to do
> it whether they are immigrants or native born, so I don't really see it as an ethical
> issue. I see it as a city responsibility question. If people move into neighborhoods
> that are distressed, the city has a responsibility to work and make that neighborhood
> safe regardless of who the people are. It could be my kid. So I don't see an ethical
> issue in that. And I think that college kids move into distressed neighborhoods too.
> But they are articulate and they make demands. They get more police. Look what
> happened to the whole Art Museum/Spring Garden area. Of course they moved all
> the immigrants out: well they were Puerto Ricans, not really immigrants. That was
> the ethical issues: are they driving people out? But if immigrants aren't driving
> anybody out, then the issue is can we give them the city services and make them
> accessible so they feel safe and they can raise a family?

Another way of analyzing the relationship between immigration and distressed urban

communities is by examining the relationship between poverty and public policy

(Kleinberg 1995; Gonzalez 2000). The director of a different Latino community

development organization, for example, saw low-income communities as constructed by

federal policy. This argument changes the scale at which immigrant poverty is analyzed;

powerful institutions such as governments and banks are described as "creating" poverty, not the individual actions of members of low-income communities:

> Well I don't think we are forcing immigrants to live there. It goes beyond money; it goes to how transactions are made. In some of those communities people pay rent on a monthly basis, but when you don't have that stream of income it's better to have a landlord who collects rent on a weekly basis. And you get "space." So to survive you enter into spaces that are outside of the purview of government. And you go somewhere that the government has abandoned. So I think it's economic. They are ghettoizing. That may be taking place at a larger level.

Immigrant advocates' focus on public policy indicates their consideration of the power relationship between the scales that construct individual neighborhoods. For example, a community organizer and immigrant advocate viewed the concentration of immigrants in low income communities as part and parcel of the process of global inequality. He argues that the scale at which neighborhood revitalization should be analyzed is not the urban but the global, because it is global inequality which creates these spaces:

> Bring [immigrants] in and accommodate them into the labor market and make them a productive force. One thing we cannot ignore is that most of Latin America – actually, most of the world for that matter [is poor]. It's kind of inescapable in a sense, "gee if the vast majority of people in Latin America are poor where would they settle?" It's a pattern that can easily be supported. Someone can easily come and say to you "see that's where they chose to live." It's kind of a funny statement if you don't see the background and the context. But you can't blame people for being poor. The very reason that Latin America is so poor has a lot to do with American foreign policy. It's such a damn idea that "yeah, immigrants, lets bring them in to repopulate Philadelphia." Because behind that, I wonder, it's a lot of prejudice assumptions that are not explored…I was at a meeting where the idea was discussed that Philadelphia should promote itself abroad. To whom is that message going? What I heard was that that message was going to people with money. Who can pay you the airfare and come and stay in Center City, or live there for that matter? The message is to higher income people.

Those who felt that the city needed to take stronger steps to protect immigrant communities in Philadelphia also supported the larger goal of increasing the rate of immigration to the city. However, they tempered their pro-growth ideals with the reality

that the city had to take specific steps in order to provide immigrant communities the ability to thrive in their new home. They also viewed economic – and specifically immigrant – inequality as a problem created by national and transnational forces.

The Ethics of Immigrant-led Revitalization

New immigrants arriving in Philadelphia occupy a unique position. On the one hand, many arrive with a set of problems related to their lack of knowledge of the English language, low earnings, inability to participate in the electoral process, as well as a lack of knowledge about existing city services for which they qualify. On the other hand, policy makers are presenting immigrants as entrepreneurial, cosmopolitan, and possessors of qualities that native-born residents do not have. In discussions of the ethics of this process, policy makers made three different arguments. First, they maintained that all poverty is bad, but recognized it as an inevitable part of US society. Second, they held that immigrant poverty is different from underclass poverty because it is merely temporary. Therefore, much like the college student who forgoes the wages of full-time work to finish school, immigrants struggle before they eventually succeed. Last, they argued that because urban poverty is created by a variety of different forces beyond the purview of city government, immigrants should not be blamed for their poverty. Instead, they maintained that the city must take proactive steps to support immigrants' incorporation into the city.

Philadelphia's strategy of promoting immigrant-led revitalization creates a problematic discourse of immigrants being expected to revitalize communities that suffer from

problems created at a much broader scale that individual households – no matter how industrious or entrepreneurial they are – cannot repair them. While the people I spoke with recognized the problems that new immigrants will face in their move to Philadelphia, many viewed these setbacks as surmountable. The larger social context within which these pro-immigrant policies were proposed is certainly part of why these setbacks were often viewed as temporary. For example, reports of other cities engaged in anti-immigrants movements such as threats to prosecute illegal immigrants as trespassers, enlist local police to check for visa status, and to illegalize day labor created a context in which public recognition of the difficulties of immigration could have worked against the survival of pro-immigrant policies. Overly positive portrayals of immigrants emerged therefore as a defensive, yet problematic, rhetorical device.

In comparing these three views on the ethics of immigrant-led revitalization we see two different understandings of the dynamics of neighborhood decline and redevelopment. The first holds that urban poverty is a "natural" yet unfortunate aspect of urban life, and the second argues that policies enacted at a variety of spatial scales have created poverty. These two views imagine two different forms of agency for immigrant communities. The first sees immigrants as "cogs" that can easily be deposited into the urban machine. Immigrants are imagined to have little agency with which to challenge prevailing patterns of housing segregation and labor market bias. The second views immigrant poverty as directly related to policy decisions made at a variety of spatial scales; therefore immigrant empowerment is possible through enacting urban policies which support the incorporation of new Philadelphians into the urban polity. This understanding of policy

as a malleable social construct is the essence of "insurgent citizenship" because it understands community members to have the ability and agency to mobilize for urban change.

This debate between scholars who argue that urban change is a "natural" process governed by unchanging rules derived from nature versus those who view urban change as a process governed by public policy has been a longstanding discussion in urban sociology. This debate first began with *The City,* which portraed neighborhood change in distinctly biological terms (Park, Burgess et al. 1925). Within this view, neighborhood change is explained using the language of ecology; urban neighborhoods are seen as sites of "invasion" and "succession" as different groups vie for dominance. A more modern version of this debate can be seen in the neighborhood life cycle theory as developed by Anthony Downs, which views urban change through a simplistic market-based lens (1981). To Downs, the US housing market permits the construction of only high-quality housing. Therefore, housing prices are held artificially high, and the only effective demand for new housing is that built for the upper-income. Hence, all housing for the poor is a created as a result of the "trickling down" of these new homes to the poor. Thus, as new housing is built in the suburbs and the rich "naturally" relocate to this new housing, the poor cluster into the inner-city homes left behind. Situating immigrants within Downs's work is not difficult: they become those who are being trickled on; they move into the homes and neighborhoods abandoned by the mobility of the more fortunate.

The first two justifications for the concentration of immigrants in poor neighborhoods – that all poor neighborhoods are regrettable and that immigrant poverty is "temporary" – implicitly accept that poor neighborhoods are an inevitable and therefore "natural" aspect of the US urban system. These views embody a decidedly neoliberal view of the process of urban change. They view poverty as a predictable and ordinary aspect of the US urban environment, and see temporary immigrant poverty as an unfortunate but necessary aspect of this process. Their reading of Downs sees the impersonal "market" as the producer of neighborhood quality.

In contrast, the third view, that policies must be put in place to support new immigrant residents, draws our attention to the numerous forces which interact in the creation of urban communities. Within this view past policy decisions such as housing market segregation, redlining, and the US's role in increasing global inequality have interacted to create the current conditions in Philadelphia neighborhoods. By placing emphasis on the steps that can be taken by the city to improve the lives of immigrants, these advocates view the market as operating within the confines of state oversight. Therefore, they view immigrants as having the agency to improve the conditions in which they live through effective organizing. This is important because how policy makers theorize urban change directly affects the policies that they put into place. Those who see urban change as a natural effect of "market forces" tend to see immigrants as disempowered victims of larger forces, while those who see urban change as a process governed by policy decisions define immigrants as empowered players in this process.

Strategies to Create an Immigrant Metropolis

Once policy makers accepted the benefits of increased immigration, they had to grapple

with the difficult question of deciding which strategies would effectively promote the in-

migration of international immigrants. In this section I detail three of the most common

strategies that emerged in my interviews: 1) improving city services; 2) utilizing

immigrant networks; and 3) advertising and promoting the city in other countries. It is

important to note that most of the people I interviewed discussed these various strategies

concurrently; no one imagined this to be a simple process in which one change would

alter global migration flows. In separating these ideas out for analysis I make them seem

much more independent than they emerged in the interviews. One city councilman, for

example, in explaining how he viewed the process of encouraging increased immigration,

artfully merged all of the ideas noted above:

> We need to improve city services to make them more available and more
> understandable to new Philadelphians. We need to do better outreach to new
> Philadelphians so that they feel more a part of the Philadelphia community. I can
> give examples of all these. And again we need to market ourselves as a place or
> destination. I don't think that any of those are going to suddenly increase our
> immigration rate dramatically, but perhaps in 50 years we will see some upturn that is
> a result of that.

Improving City Services for Immigrants

By far, the most common way of talking about how to increase the rate of immigration to

the city revolved around improving city services so that when new immigrants interact

with the city they feel welcomed. By improving the level of service that immigrants

receive, they believe that the city will be better situated to receive more immigrants. A

key aspect of this process was seen as making city services accessible to people who do

not speak English. At the time of this writing, the city was engaged in an initiative entitled Global Philadelphia to address the needs non-English speakers interacting with the city government. A key part of this strategy was utilizing an outside service that offered phone-based translation which would enable any non-English speaking city resident to receive free translation services at any city agency.

The process of enumerating the myriad of public and private agencies that immigrants interact with, and creating policies to ensure that their experiences are positive, is a window into the complexity of both urban life and the construction of urban neighborhoods. Global Philadelphia deals with an exhaustive list of city agencies: Licensing and Inspections, the Streets department, and the Office of Housing and Community Development to name a few. Each of these agencies interacts with immigrants in different ways, and the goal of the program is to design a process which ensures that all interactions between the city government and non-English speakers are positive.

Everyone I spoke with took pains to note that none of the changes that were being implemented should be thought of as benefiting only immigrants. Therefore, while a phone translation service obviously targeted the non-English speaking population, other policies such as decreasing the waiting time at city agencies, improving the public schools, and making city agencies more responsive to citizen inquiries would improve life for all residents of the city. This connection between the needs of both immigrants and native-born residents highlights the rhetorical nature of some of the policies designed

to bring more immigrants to Philadelphia. For example, some projects promoted under the umbrella of Global Philadelphia are little more than a re-packaging of existing city services and initiatives under the pro-immigrant banner; improving the public school system, for example, is an ongoing political issue in Philadelphia that has been repackaged as part of the pro-immigrant agenda.

The goal of making city services more accessible to city residents is to quicken the pace at which immigrants transform themselves from newcomers into Philadelphians ready to make a long-term investment in the city. As one immigrant advocate noted:

> Over at Licensing and Inspections, the number that I most recently heard was something like 40% of all applicants for new businesses are immigrants. They are working very hard to get up and running, in terms of their language accessibility, getting some sort of an ombudsman, an information kiosk, and all this other stuff. But there is an area right there, if you make it easier for people to establish businesses, to buy homes, to get that toehold in the community where they really feel invested, then folks are going to settle more and settle long term. This doesn't specifically relate to immigrants in the broadest sense, but I think public education is an issue in Philadelphia for many people who are considering settling – there have been sporadic instances where immigrants have had trouble getting their children registered for school.

Viewed in this light, improving access to city services can be understood as a pro-assimilation project that will help immigrants become a part of the City of Philadelphia. The goal of making city services accessible to immigrants is on the one hand common sense, and on the other hand revolutionary. The changes are common sense because some commentators deride Global Philadelphia as nothing more than the city evading a costly court challenge if they continue to deny immigrants equal protection and equal access to government services. Similarly, improving city services is a universally accepted goal that does not alienate any voters. The policies can also be viewed in a

much more revolutionary way. If the city were to broaden the concept of urban

citizenship in a way that incorporates new residents to the city – regardless of their legal

status or longevity in the city – than the city will become a much different place. One

immigrant advocate, for example, analyzed the goals of Global Philadelphia in this

ground-breaking context:

> The very word citizenship is based on the word city: Is there…is a resident of the city. I think one of the things that could benefit the city is to think of politics a little bit different. And I don't know if it is possible. But if some community is not yet a citizen in legal terms, politicians and organizations everyone needs to realize that they are citizens in other ways. Therefore they should participate, should be brought into the circle. But the vision is very short-sighted. People are ignored if they are perceived as not being legal. It's a sort of blinding concept, and it's also rooted in the concept of fear. You are not a citizen, so you are an alien. You are an invader. And if you are an invader, they have to deal with you. And that sort of mentality. And people are not citizens and maybe they are legal residents. They already own businesses, they buy homes, they create jobs, they pay taxes they do many things that citizens do. I think the city will benefit by having some sort of policy that encourages civility beyond the legalities of being in a civil court.

Improving city services is a complex goal of immigrant-led revitalization. It is both

politically acceptable and potentially revolutionary. By simply translating existing

documents and reaching out to immigrant communities Global Philadelphia can decrease

the amount of time immigrants feel like "invaders." Pushing this policy to its outer

limits, Global Philadelphia's push to create a form of citizenship that respects all

urbanites who "are there" – regardless of their legal status –has the capacity to transform

how the terms "insider" and "outsider" operate within the city.

Utilize Networks to Increase the Immigrant Population

Another common strategy to increase the size of the immigrant community in

Philadelphia was to utilize the social networks of existing urban residents and entities to

recruit new immigrants to the city. This strategy explicitly recognizes the connections immigrants create through migration systems and chain migration, and advocates using those networks to spread the word about Philadelphia to the places where businesses and citizens in Philadelphia have connections. This strategy can be read as an operationalization of improving city services: once the city improves the way it treats immigrants, they will talk on the phone with their families and co-ethnics abroad and say good things about the city.

One way that immigrant networks are imagined to play a role in increasing the number of immigrants in the city is through immigrants "talking up" the networks of support that exist for new residents of the city. As the director of one economic development agency argued:

> The strategy it seems to me is to focus on the immigrant communities that are already here – to use their connections. I don't know that Philadelphia is ever going to be a gateway into the United States, it lost that, it was in the early part of the century. It is no more. Many of the immigrants who come here come from other parts of the United States, other than the refugees. There are some refugees that are still sent here, but that's a very small number. And I think that where there are services, I think if the word gets out, and there are now organizations that are working to provide information to help people get jobs, help them get credentials evaluated, help them get housing, connect them to small business development and enterprise development. I think they'll come. Very much so.

Another aspect of the utilization of immigrant networks is using the business connections of immigrants to "reach out" to countries all over the world. This is a multi-pronged strategy that recognizes the diversity of the urban economy and the many different ways that a globalized economy comes into contact with prospective immigrants. This strategy also recognizes the transnational nature of immigrant business (Portes, Guarnizo et al.

2002), and advocates utilizing those networks to advertise Philadelphia as a destination

city for immigrants. The director of a local ethnic chamber of commerce argued:

> I think the city should really work in partnership with institutions, for example the Chamber, the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, to really be a clearinghouse for, lets say, Latino businesses, immigrants who want to come here and do business for example…But they should be partnering with those entities in their communities so we can better help communities adjust, and help immigrants adjust.

Other business networking strategies suggest not only working with immigrant-owned

businesses, but also with the wider non-immigrant business community in Philadelphia.

For example, one Dominican active in local politics argued:

> I think the City of Philadelphia should be more open to economic development, to trade with the different countries of Latin American. I think this city should be more internationalized than it is. I think the office that is in charge in the city of the Consulars, like the Secretary of State of the city, should be more open to deal with the different countries in Latin America.

Similarly, Councilman Kenney's *A Plan to Attract New Philadelphians* argues that

business entities should use their connections to encourage immigration. The report

argues "The City of Philadelphia should work with the major technological and

commercial business entities in the city to develop a comprehensive plan to recruit highly

educated and skill workers" (2001:14).

A last networking strategy involves using the immigrant networks within Philadelphia

institutions and encouraging them to actively promote movement to the city. The two

most common institutions cited were area universities and the Philadelphia International

Airport. Philadelphia is home to over 70 universities, yet, as *The Young and the Restless*

details, many of the graduates of local universities relocate to other cities (Impresna

2003). Because many local college students are immigrants, this strategy advocates

working with local schools to encourage more of their international graduates to stay in

Philadelphia after graduating. Councilman Kenney's *A Plan to Attract New*

Philadelphians highlights two different ways that Philadelphia area universities can help

promote immigration:

> * Working with local colleges and universities in Philadelphia, the City of
> Philadelphia must develop an overall recruitment plan for foreign students to help
> increase the foreign student population in Philadelphia.
>
> * Coordinate with the colleges and universities and implement a Student
> Ambassadorship Program. This program would utilize already existing foreign
> college students to recruit students from either their native country or other countries.
> (2004: 13)

The Philadelphia International Airport arose as a sore spot for many advocates of

increased immigration. They argued that the airport was not networked (i.e. did not offer

enough flights) to immigrant sending countries. Hence, Philadelphia received less than

its "fair share" of international immigrants because of the city's decreased visibility

abroad. The way to solve this problem was for the airport to offer more international

flights. The director of an immigrant advocacy group, for example, argued:

> I see what's happening at the airport. We have very few direct flights to South
> America. I don't know if we have any. We have one flight to Mexico City. We have
> no direct flights to Asia. I don't know how you can be a gateway…traditionally
> immigrants go to a place that they can fly to or get a boat to. Not, then, get off there
> and get something else, to be a real gateway. What I see happening at the airport is
> telling me that the Philadelphia airport is far more focused on their domestic travel
> rather than their international travel.

In conversations with policy makers about how the city could increase the size of its

immigrant community the existence of "networks" within immigrant communities arose

as an important tool that could be harnessed by immigrant promoters. Immigrants were

imagined to have connections with communities around the world, and could therefore

serve as "ambassadors" by encouraging their co-ethnics to relocate to the city. In

contrast to native-born Philadelphians, immigrants were constructed as mobile and globally-connected urbanites. The realization by policy makers that networks play an important part of the mobility decisions of immigrants shows the high level of understanding of the dynamics of immigration that exists within the Philadelphia policy community.

Advertising and Other Outreach Strategies

A last strategy for promoting immigration to Philadelphia involved making sure that people not living in Philadelphia were made aware of the opportunities offered by the city. Policy makers argued that the city should run advertisements in a variety of media that would inform prospective immigrants of the benefits of relocating to the city. For many, this strategy was seen as a way of "firming up" the networks analyzed in the previous section. They advocated creating a concrete product (such as a brochure) which would showcase the benefits of the city. The director of a large economic development agency in Philadelphia imagined brochures as one way to help grow the immigrant population:

> I think there are a couple of reasons [for Philadelphia's small immigrant population]. I think that one, we haven't marketed ourselves as a site and people from overseas [therefore they] haven't seen us. On the East Coast they think of New York, DC, and Boston. But Philadelphia is not Boston, we are kind of self-defeating sometimes. So marketing is key— overseas and in the United States.
>
> AP: Do you have some idea what that kind of marketing would look like?
>
> Just brochures. Perhaps in different languages. Distributed in specific communities. Starting with our strengths: The Chinese community, the Albanian community, the Haitian community. In those languages: French, Spanish, English, whatever. And so you start with your strengths. And I'm assuming that at this point in time the City has figured out where the groups' pockets are, who they are. Maybe I'm assuming too much that there is some knowledge.

Councilman Kenney in his *A Plan to Attract New Philadelphians* also advocated this approach, although he put this idea in slightly different terms, arguing that the places where the US already has connections such as embassies and consulates could work as delivery point for Philadelphia's message. The plan argues that the city should "Devise a marketing plan to promote and publicize Philadelphia as a United States destination in the embassies and consulates in the major cities throughout the world" (2001: 11).

The Pro-Immigrant City

Policy makers in Philadelphia discussed a variety of different ways that the city could increase its immigrant population. These strategies highlight the complex relationship between movement and citizenship in the US. In this summary I analyze three aspects of the strategies I discussed with policy makers. First, they embody a sophisticated understanding of the importance of networks in the process of migration. Second, they highlight the importance of transnationalism in thinking about the space of cities. Last, they strangely posit little interconnection between the economy of Philadelphia and its rate of in-migration.

Migration is a process of networks. They influence where immigrants migrate to, what type of employment they find, what types of people will relocate with and after them, and a myriad of other aspects of their life. Developing policies in which institutions in Philadelphia such as businesses, universities, and existent immigrant communities try to influence the ways these networks actually work in order to influence the migration decisions of people far from Philadelphia is a sophisticated and complicated economic

development strategy. Many of the policy makers I interviewed were immigrants themselves and often called upon their own experience of immigration in describing how they felt as citizens of Philadelphia. The involvement of immigrants in the process of urban policy formation broadens the parameters of urban policy and helps to create a more refined form of outreach to immigrant communities.

Enlisting the global networks of immigrant communities and institutions in Philadelphia in order to increase the immigrant population in the city transforms these institutions into elements of the city's "spatial fix" to the contradictions within capitalism (Macleod and Goodwin 1999). This project transforms the economic space of Philadelphia into an imaginary space within which all people who could possibly be induced into relocating to the city are part of the urban community. By using the networks of immigrant communities the City of Philadelphia is creating living tendrils reaching out across the world. Importantly, this strategy enlarges the scale in which the process of economic development takes place.

While internal migration is by and large a process of economic restructuring, the dynamics of international migration are different. Because immigrants relocate as part of networks and have high rates of small business ownership, policy makers imagine that employment possibilities in their destination city are unimportant. Instead, the goal of making the local government accessible to immigrants takes the place of the promise of employment that would have to be made to encourage the in-migration of native-born residents. If Philadelphia wanted native-born residents to relocate to Philadelphia, it

would have to create jobs for them. If they want international immigrants to come, they only have to ensure that the government is accessible and that hence the city is a space of opportunity for their entrepreneurial dreams. As one immigrant advocate argued, "[i]f you make it easier for people to establish businesses, to buy homes, to get that toehold in the community where they really feel invested then folks are going to settle more and settle long term." The process of making it easier for immigrants to open businesses and get that "toehold" in Philadelphia is a difficult and important process. It fundamentally rethinks the idea of urban citizenship by creating opportunities for all urban residents. However, when coupled with calls for immigrants to revitalize urban communities it sets up a difficult neoliberal landscape in the bodies immigrants come to serve as the economic development engine for a regional economy in decline.

Employability – Immigration and the Local Labor Market

Explicit in the idea that immigrants will help in the "revitalization" of the city is the idea that they will be able to find work in the urban economy. Because of the existing high rate of unemployment in Philadelphia the idea that new immigrants will be able to find employment recognizes three complexities in the urban labor market. First, as many studies have shown, immigrants have a higher rate of small business ownership and self employment than the native born (Light and Bhachu 1993). Therefore, direct competition between immigrants and native-born residents may not take place. Instead, self-employed immigrant storeowners and independent contractors will create employment possibilities for themselves. Second, all employment markets operate with distinct niches (Borjas 1996). This is especially true for immigrants (Light and Gold

2000). Therefore competition will not take place directly between the native-born and immigrants; instead immigrants will compete against one another within their niches. And third, the "local" labor market has always been enmeshed in global and national networks. Philadelphia grew largely through labor migration as people moved to the US for employment in Philadelphia's booming industrial economy.

Promoters of immigrant-led revitalization cited four different ways to conceptualize the relationship between immigration and the urban labor market: a) immigrants are employed in niches, therefore their arrival does not affect the overall labor market; b) competition is a natural part of capitalism, therefore no one should be concerned when more workers arrive; c) the urban labor market should be reconceptualized as a transnational space; and fourth d) immigrant earnings are directly related to the earnings of native-born residents. In the following five sections I analyze each of these arguments, and summarize the implications of these views.

Immigrant Employment Niches

The most common way of confronting the connection between immigration and the local labor market was for immigration promoters to argue that the jobs that immigrants take are "the jobs that no one else wants." This argument was made by nearly everyone I talked to and embodied an imaginary labor market in which native-born workers compete against each other for one set of jobs, while immigrants participate in an ancillary labor market in which they compete only against other immigrants. This director of a local Dominican organization presented the argument in this way:

> Actually, there is high unemployment in the city, that is true. But there are many jobs that we do that people living here for many years are not interested in. Like low pay jobs, like working in a restaurant, working at McDonalds, working at Strawbridge where they pay the minimum wage. Many American people, or many immigrants that have been here for 10 years, 20 years, we are not interested in those jobs because we already went to another stage. And I think those positions are basically covered by, a high percentage, by the incoming immigrants and I think that that is an opportunity for the economy of the city. So I don't feel that in any way, shape, or form, that those people coming are in competition with the others that are unemployed. I think the unemployed ones are not looking for that low position.

Often the presentation of a mixed labor market was combined with a moral judgment as to the types of people that choose not to do the "needed" work in the economy. This argument transformed the idea of immigrants performing the "dirty, dangerous, and difficult" jobs in the economy into a pejorative construction of native-born workers being "too picky" about the jobs that they are willing to accept. One long-time immigrant activist analyzed the connection this way:

> There are jobs that our people just won't do. Our young won't do. I turn around and tell them, I talk to young kids and say "there was a point in my life where I was unemployed, and I had to go work in a restaurant. I had dropped out of college, my activism, I realized after a couple of years, was not paying me. There was no moollah there. And I landed up working in a restaurant – and I already had a child – and I ended up working in a restaurant washing dishes and peeling potatoes. $20 a day. Had to do it." There is a generation out there: they don't have to do nothing. We'll find other ways to do it. And that is the reality. And there are a lot of jobs out there, for some reason, our kids, our people won't do, and the immigrant people are hungry and they will do it.

The existence of a dual labor market presents two incredibly large problems for immigration advocates which by and large went uncommented on in my interviews. First, while studies do show that immigration tends to have only marginal downward effects on the wages of native-born workers (Huddle 1993; James, Romine et al. 1998), it is exactly in large deindustrialized cities like Philadelphia where these effects are largest. Similarly, as the next sections will explore, in a city with a small immigrant population

perception is stronger than reality. While studies may show a small marginal effect on low-income workers, the interconnections between immigration, race, and employability present a difficult challenge for immigrant advocates because of the ability for provocateurs to present immigrants as the cause of unemployment.

Second, the workers that tend to be the most harmed by increased immigration are other immigrant workers themselves, not the native-born. The existence of a dual labor market means that increased immigration depresses the wages within the niches where immigrants are over-represented (Martin 1993; Camarota 1997). Therefore it is often the policy makers who wish to assist immigrants who are advocating for increased immigration. If immigration to Philadelphia does increase, it seems clear that competition within the labor market will take the form of competition between immigrant groups. The specter of immigrants opposing increased immigration because of its detrimental effects on immigrant earnings illustrates the fractious alliances within the pro-immigration community. To this end, studies show that some immigrant groups oppose increased immigration for this and other reasons (Pew Hispanic Center 2006). While the labor market is an important entrance into a discussion of the relationship between immigration and economic development, many support immigration because of social justice issues; for example the desire to reconnect families and the belief that barriers to mobility deny prospective migrants the ability to realize their ambitions. In this sense labor market conditions are not part of their equation.

Competition as Part of Capitalism

Another way that advocates of increased immigration understood the local labor market

involved an analysis of capitalism as an economic system that is based on competition.

Therefore, criticizing immigrants for taking part in this competition seemed to them a

double standard. One immigrant advocate summed up his views this way:

> Competition for jobs? The accusation that immigrants take jobs away from
> Americans? We live in capitalism! A really bad form of capitalism, if you can say
> anything good about capitalism! Both here and there people are accustomed to that
> kind of competition…of not being taken care of by the system, by the way things are
> organized. The kind of jobs that immigrants take we have to take a look at… If I set
> up a business would anybody get mad with me because I created a business? So it's
> competition that is accepted and encouraged. Tax breaks and everything. Let's get
> more competition! How many people are against that? But if you come and you look
> for a job, what? That's a different form of competition? Now you don't agree with
> competition? That's bullshit.

As this advocate notes, the idea of "competition" is often used to protect the high-wage

jobs of native-born workers against foreign born members of the labor market.

Competition is therefore supported only when it comes with protections for native-born

workers and is not conceptualized as placing all of the world's workers on the same

footing.

Other immigration supporters argued that there is too much competition in the US and

Americans are too willing to relocate and alter their lives in order to receive employment.

To one member of the Welcoming Center's Board of Directors, the flexibility of the

American worker has contributed to the loss of community in the US and created a less

vibrant nation. This argument puts a moral judgment on the way that Americans are

willing to change their lives in order to support the economy: As she notes:

You're going to compete wherever you go. How about when you take a job in New York? You're going to compete with a New Yorker. It's a natural process. People move around. Especially in this country. People go back and forth from state to state. This is the only country I have seen that people move to take a job in another state or in another country. People change their entire life. There is no sense of community. This, to quote Isabel Allende, is the only country where you can go four blocks from your house and no one knows you. You're a total foreigner. That's how individualistic this country is. People move, and uproot their entire life, leave their families, sometimes leave their children so they can move. People pack it up and move to Florida when they retire and don't care to go back to their community. They don't say "now I'm 70 years old and I still have energy to plant my pretty flowers in north Philly. I'm going to Florida." So how come immigrants, no matter where they're coming from are taking their job away?

Competition is a key aspect of the labor market (Borjas 1996). This competition has created an urban population willing to adjust their lives in order to find employment: urban workers are willing to move in order to find employment, and once employed they change their patterns of life to meet the needs of their employer. The problem with a competitive labor market is that there are always some that do not win. The director of one local economic development group summed up this dilemma by noting that "the problem in the economy is the lack of job creation and opportunity. When you talk about scarcity then you are talking about putting people against each other for whatever is left."

The Transnationalism of Employment

Discussions of the relationship between international immigration and the "local" labor market highlights the complexity of the term "local" both as a site and a scale of geographic analysis. The networks that support immigrant populations and the tendrils of transnational businesses reach far beyond Philadelphia. In a competitive job market, the image of an employer sifting through applications only from residents of the local

community does not match reality (Poros 2001). Instead the process of creating an urban workforce has always been a process of transnational movement.

Some immigration supporters felt that that the transnationalism of the labor market could work against the ability of place-bound workers to assert their strengths in the labor market (Pendras 2002). To them, the mobility of labor was seen as a way to reduce the need to educate the local labor force. The director of a local Latino community development corporation argued:

> The ideal situation is to limit the supply of labor and the government will be forced to educate its labor force. I mean, we're getting away with not educating people because we can import workers. It's the same thing without outsourcing: you get their brainwaves without bringing them over.

As examined in chapter three, the process of creating an urban labor market is not merely one of technical education (i.e. making sure the job force has the skills necessary to complete a given task) but also a process of labor market training, one of instilling in workers the need to be economically viable citizens. In this vein the leader of a local Dominican organization identified a similarity between the process of outsourcing and the labor market preparedness of US workers. He drew a direct connection between the outsourcing of industrial jobs by US based companies and the lack of social programs for youth in the city of Philadelphia:

> Those factories that left the city are not coming back. You go out and look at those factories in the suburbs. Immigrants are not the problem. Where are you going to find the Dominicans: in jobs where there really is not competition, working at a bodega, hairdressing, mental health clinics. We are taking away a job from someone only when the city has invested so much money in putting people to sleep. The city has all this broken glass and the city invests money to just fix it up again… I question what all these [social] programs are doing: they need to be more inventive about really meeting the needs of people. Kids go through the system but there are never really programs until they get into trouble.

AP: One thing that I find just fascinating is the Export Processing Zones in the Dominican Republic, and those jobs used to be in Philadelphia.

And you know, those jobs in the Dominican Republic no one is taking those jobs because they are so bad, legal sweatshops.

The interaction between Philadelphia as a local site of employment and the transnational networks that compose the business and social communities of the city complicate simplistic understandings of the urban labor market. While these networks are not new, the explicit utilization of them as an economic development strategy is new. A benefit to city employers from the promotion of immigration is that this strategy creates a population of immigrant workers with a low asking wage and families with whom they are in close contact in need of their remittance (Borjas 1996). Similarly, for a city with an under-financed and poorly-performing school district, "importing" workers whose costs of social reproduction have been borne elsewhere produces educated workers with few social costs: in effect separating labor from social reproduction (Katz 2001).

Fight to Rise Immigrant's Wages in Order to Benefit Everyone

A final strategy for conceptualizing the relationship between immigration and the labor market could be seen in the remarks of many in the labor movement. Interestingly, the labor movement has been quite involved in the pro-immigrant movements in the city. For example, the Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians is housed in space donated by the AFL/CIO and enjoys a lot of support from the local labor movement. Longtime labor advocate Wendell Young spoke for the progressive arm of the labor movement in his remarks upon winning an award from the Welcoming Center for his support of immigrants:

What burns me up: Everyone in this room is an immigrant. Everyone in this room is an immigrant. Who the hell do you think you are? When we criticize those with high skills or ordinary skills or whoever they are we're criticizing ourselves. My great-great-grandfather came in 1926 from Bavaria, worked in [the mines] and they worked for cheap wages, the same thing here now. Fortunately in the 30s we got the labor laws come into play and that helped a lot of immigrants. Today it is worse than it ever was: immigrants are working for the worst wages, in the worst conditions, whether legitimized or not. We try to organize plants all over the state. Especially, I'll mention the name, probably what we are eating: Tyson Chicken. All those important people, we went to Tyson's and we scared the hell out of them. There is nothing more important to me than Anne O'Callahan. The more we help immigrants, the more we help ourselves. The more we work up their salaries, the more our salaries go up. And the more we help them out, the more they'll have to shop in our stores, and participate fully in our society. That was my aim, to help immigrants participate 100% in our society. Thank you very much. We're gonna win!

This involvement of the labor movement in the pro-immigrant movement in Philadelphia highlights the seemingly unlikely coalitions that construct immigration debates in the US.

Immigration and the Urban Labor Market

The process of promoting immigration as an economic development strategy in Philadelphia clearly interacts with the local labor market. Supporters of these policies imagine four different ways that this interactions will take place: 1) there will be little interaction because of the importance of immigrant employment "niches"; 2) competition will take place, but that it is a natural part of the labor market; 3) interaction takes place within a transnational space in which all employees are in competition with other employees around the globe; and last d) the state must put in place policies to protect workers amid this competition. Two trends emerge from my analysis of these different types of interaction.

First, dismissing concerns about the effects of immigration on the local labor market because of the inevitability of competition in the labor market and the importance of niches is both naïve and unhelpful. For immigrant workers whose wages are depressed by increased immigration and for native workers who are truly affected or who feel affected by increased immigration the changing demography of Philadelphia is real. Because of the longstanding use of race as a tool in the labor market ignoring this problem is a serious misstep for immigrant advocates. Instead, supporters should take proactive steps to ensure that the sectors in which immigrant workers are concentrated can absorb more workers.

Second, the interaction between the transnationalization of the labor market on the one hand and strategies to ensure that all workers within the city receiving a living wage seem, at the outset, to be in direct competition with one another. If employers can always lure or entice a group with a lower asking wage to relocate to the city the effect on wages could be disastrous. Because of the importance of immigrant networks and the use of those networks by the city in order to increase immigration this as a real fear. However, the close involvement of the labor movement in the pro-immigrant camp has the possibility to create a distinctly different form of interaction: one that recognizes that movement is not dangerous to local workers, and one that recognizes that lower wages are not a necessary part of the opening of the economy.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzes three different aspects of the pro-immigrant efforts of the city: the

ethics of immigration promotion; the strategies the city is using to increase levels of

immigration; and last, the relationship between the "local" employment market and

immigration. By examining these three specific processes we can see that urban policy is

not the result of one unified state manipulating local organizations in order to achieve its

neoliberal ends. Instead, urban policy is created as a result of competing interests within

the state, and the outcomes of urban policy reflect the various voices in the debate. In

Philadelphia efforts to increase the rate of immigration to the city encompass different

voices with different aims: economic development officials who promote growth,

immigrant organizers who want to promote the needs of their constituents, and

immigration attorneys looking to create a supportive legal framework for their clients.

Constructions of pro-immigration policies as merely neoliberal overlook the diversity of

voices within the pro-immigrant coalition in Philadelphia. The competing discourses of

these groups can be understood by analyzing three issues: scale, global neoliberalism, and

urban citizenship.

Scale

Urban neighborhood redevelopment, *urban* economic development, and the *urban* labor

market all imply processes that are imagined to unfold in the limited space of the city.

However, as Michael Peter Smith puts forward in his analysis of transnational urbanism,

it is better to imagine the space of the city as a "translocality" and pay attention to the

networks which construct the social space of the city (2001). Applying the metaphor of a translocality to the construction of immigration policy, we can see how the networks of local businesses stretched out over the globe, how immigrant communities in Philadelphia maintain contact with friends and co-ethnics abroad, and how US consulates and embassies work to promote movement to Philadelphia recreate the term "urban." Philadelphia's idea of using the networks of local residents and businesses to increase immigration and therefore strengthen the urban economy is a blending of the image of Philadelphia as a translocality posed by Michael Peter Smith (2001) and the spatial applications of Jessop's work presented by Gordon McLeod and Mark Goodwin (1999). This new presentation of the space of Philadelphia creates a city in which the process of creating urban growth is a process of strengthening the transnational networks of the city and enlarging the number of participants in the process of economic development.

Global Neoliberalism?

The dominant image of capitalist development is one in which the fall of communism has created a globally interconnected world within which neoliberal capitalism reigns supreme (Friedman 1999). Certainly, many who promote increased immigration imagine immigrants moving into the most dilapidated communities (which have been made affordable through the invisible hand of the market), and competing in the labor market for employment. However, in this chapter I have explored how the pro-immigrant policies of Philadelphia embody a number of ideals that are not neoliberal. First, a vocal component of the pro-immigration movement argues against global neoliberalism and instead supports the rights of all workers even as new immigrants arrive. Similarly, some

advocates of increased immigration oppose encouraging all immigrants to live in low-income neighborhoods and instead support making all communities – and city services – accessible to immigrants. In this sense a program like Global Philadelphia is both part of the larger neoliberal project of making immigrants responsible for their own economic well-being and part of an insurgent process to empower immigrants.

As I examined in chapter three, neoliberal citizenship is a process of indirect governance, of installing "governmentality" within the population to ensure proper behavior. However, many players in the pro-immigration movement are taking steps to insure that the state is accessible to immigrants – for example, working to protect the rights of immigrant workers and making the access to city services universal. This demonstrates the complexity of the hollowing out of the state brought by neoliberalism and the scales at which neoliberalism operates. Scholars suggest that neoliberal development is a process of simultaneous destruction and creation of state institutions (Brenner 1998). By making the state more accessible to all urban residents the state actually may grow, perhaps in order to resolve problems left unsolved by a decidedly neoliberal federal government. In the same way, even though immigrants are the ones most likely to be affected by increased competition in the labor market, immigrants are still involved in promoting this movement. This support suggests other identities within workers – such as family member or co-ethnic – have the ability to emerge and challenge global neoliberal hegemony (Gibson-Graham 2006).

"Insurgent Citizenship" in the Neoliberal City

The process of encouraging more immigration to Philadelphia embodies two different definitions of urban citizenship. As analyzed in chapter three, the predominant view embraces a liberal definition of individual citizens providing for themselves. However, a second reading of these policies suggests that some policy makers propose a more elaborate form of urban citizenship, one which embraces the multithreaded nature of the lives of transnational urban residents. For example, Mark Purcell examines Henri Lefebvre's *right to the city* and argues that all those affected by the production of urban space have the right to participate in the governance of urban space (2002). Purcell gives the example of a land reform process initiated by the Mexican government which would affect the number of Mexican migrants relocating to Los Angeles. Under this framework Los Angelinos would have some say in how Mexican land reform will work because their city will be reshaped by the actions of the Mexican government. Similarly, to Purcell current anti-immigration legislation being contemplated on the federal level should be created with the input of those in sending countries like Mexico because of the effect these changes will have on their space. To Purcell, the possibilities are endless, but his purpose in exploring these connections is to remind us that the boundaries of the urban are not neatly delineated on any map, but consist of the multithreaded connections that urban residents have with those all over the world. The question then becomes how an urban government can function in a way that is responsive to all its citizens.

This "insurgent" form of citizenship demands that citizens understand urban change as a process governed, and under the control of citizens. Therefore, as we saw in our analysis

of the ethics of immigrant-led redevelopment, advocates for a more insurgent form of citizenship saw the city as a creature under the control of policy makers and subject to the pressure of well-organized groups. In contrast, the dominant view of the city (and in essence the larger economy) was that of a space created by, and under the control of, the larger capitalist economy. Therefore *how* "the city" is understood is an important part of citizenship, and urban change. Part of this process is also imagining the city as an expansive space: one that affects the lives of people far from its physical boundaries. As we saw in Purcell's examination of land reform policies, the scope of the urban is much broader than the physical boundaries of the city. Urban labor markets, for example, are part and parcel of global migration movements, and including the dynamics of this mobility into labor market regulation is a key component of "insurgent citizenship."

Chapter Five: Invaders?

Inspector Tony Boyle of the East Police Division of Philadelphia made the following comments at a public action arranged by the Asociación de Bodegueros Domincanos to discuss problems that bodegueros had been having with the Philadelphia Police Department:

> *We want your businesses to flourish and to expand because the more healthy your business is the more healthy our city is and the more healthy the neighborhoods are. So we are not in competition with you. We are not looking to do anything other than to make sure that you succeed in a safe environment. We don't want you to be victims of thefts; we don't want you to be victims of robbery, burglary or any of the other crimes. All of us know from growing up how good it is to have a grocery store or a bodega at the end of our block or two blocks away where you can run and get that loaf of bread or that quart of milk or sometimes run a tab if it's close to payday and things like that. So you are one of the essential elements of what makes a neighborhood a neighborhood..... I know more about this area [the east police division] and I spend more time in this area than I do in the area where I live. So this is more my neighborhood than the neighborhood I live in. And so we all are a part of this, and the better it is the better it is for all of us. And we need your help on that, and if we get that I think it becomes a much better place to be.*

Introduction

In the epigraph, Inspector Boyle proposes a broad conceptualization of neighborhood belonging. Rather than view urban citizenship as solely the possession of those living within urban boundaries, Boyle makes a plea for the acceptance of business owners who provide much-needed neighborhood services and police officers who spend "more time in the area" than they do in their own residential community. In an era when the legitimacy of the state as the sole granter of citizenship has been called into question (Bauböck 2003), new forms of urban citizenship are being constructed in cities around the world. While some view neoliberal forms of citizenship and the devolution of responsibility to the individual as the most prevalent form of citizenship (Swyngedouw 1996; Flint 2002; Holden and Iverson 2003), others view transnationalism and

cosmopolitanism as the dominant forces affecting urban citizenship and examine the

multithreaded connections that urban residents have with other localities (Bauböck 2003).

These discussions of citizenship are important for our understanding of relationships at

the bodega because they are struggles over what voices to privilege in debates over how

urban public space is used (Staeheli and Thompson 1997; Purcell 2002).

In this chapter I examine the experiences of belonging among bodegueros as a way of

exploring how citizenship operates within Philadelphia neighborhoods. While policy

makers spoke in broad terms about the macro-level advantages of having a growing

population as opposed to a declining population, it is within the neighborhoods of

Philadelphia that this population growth will takes place. The concept of "neighborhood"

is tightly interconnected with the idea of "community" (Ley 1983). While neighborhood

refers to a geographically defined space, community refers to the sets of social ties which

bind people together. However, because of the friction of distance and residential

segregation these two concepts are actually mutually constitutive. To this end, the idea of

"community" has come to occupy an important position within studies of neoliberal

governance because it serves as the counterbalance to the hollowed-out state; the

"shadow state" (institutions such as community development corporations and non-profit

social service agencies) has arisen in order to replace the institutions of the downsizing

state (Wolch 1989). However, the very idea of any neighborhood having only one

community and one hegemonic neighborhood voice has been called into question by

many urban scholars (Evans 1994; Talen 2000). Instead, multiple voices within the space

of the neighborhood present different arguments about who belongs and who does not belong.

The situation under which the bodeguero enter Philadelphia neighborhoods is that of the quintessential middleman minority. As Edna Bonacich writes of this group, "they play the role of middleman between producer and consumer, employer and employee, owner and renter, elite and masses" (1973: 23). As Bonanich suggests, the definition of the middleman minority is that they serve as a barrier between two groups of people: those on the top and those at the bottom. Within Philadelphia whites occupy the group in power, while African Americans occupy the subordinate position, creating a Black/White duality in race relations (Adams, Bartelt et al. 1991; Goode and Schneider 1994; Conley 1999). Connected to this power imbalance, studies show that many inner-city communities in Philadelphia are underserved by supermarkets (The Food Trust 2006) and have a high rate of reliance on public transportation. The dearth of neighborhood grocery stores and low rate of car ownership lowers the quality of life in inner city communities in Philadelphia. Therefore bodegueros operate within a racially defined space serving those disaffected by racism and provide extremely important services to low income communities and support urban social reproduction.

As noted in chapter one, the Dominican community in Philadelphia is fairly small, 4,748 in 2000 (US Census). While this is undoubtedly an undercount, bodegueros clearly do not operate through selling to co-ethnics, but instead through sales to other ethnic groups in Philadelphia. In this sense, the ethnic niche of the bodegueros is one in which many of

the typical aspects of an ethnic enclave economy are present (such as co-ethnic hiring and revolving loan associations), but they do not service a co-ethnic clientele. Central to this chapter is the relationship between bodegueros as a small middleman ethnic group and the segregated neighborhoods of Philadelphia.

In this chapter I examine the relationship between bodegueros and the neighborhoods in which their stores are located. Section two explores the bodegueros' self-perception as "invaders:" the grocers felt as though neighborhood residents viewed them as people who were encroaching on the domain of their community and were intent on making money off of them. Section three complicates this notion and explores other constructions of bodegueros that were present in interviews with customers and local leaders: while shoppers tended to like the stores and saw the bodegueros as members of their community, local leaders – especially those who were involved in economic development projects – were more likely to see immigrant storeowners as detrimental to the community and not "insiders" at all. The difference in these perceptions highlights the contradictions inherent in the idea of belonging. In section four I discuss the specific actions that bodegueros take in order to better integrate themselves into their local communities. Section five analyzes the connections between citizenship and community and argues that for the grocers urban citizenship is a mediated process in which bodegueros alter their behavior in order to be perceived as insiders. The "performativity" of urban citizenship highlights both bodegueros' lack of power and the importance of neighborhood belonging for the survival of their businesses.

The interactions between space, belonging, and citizenship are important undercurrents in this analysis. The constant interaction that neighborhoods breed translates into bodegueros gaining an understanding of informal neighborhood codes of conduct. I argue, in fact, that this type of knowledge is an essential aspect of their economic survival. It is through these interactions that constructions of exactly who is an "insider" and who is an "outsider" are negotiated. In Philadelphia, these negotiations take place within the larger rubric of a city with a history of segregation and contentious race relations and a policy context of immigrants being presented as the preferred citizens of the neoliberal city. Here I suggest that bodegueros "perform" to community expectations in a process of negotiated citizenship in which the bodegueros view neighborhood belonging as essential to the success of their businesses. However, their performances hide the fact they do not truly feel part of the community. The performativity of the grocers understanding of citizenship complicates the ascendancy of civil society as an neutral civic space where different groups come together uncoerced (Walzer 1992).

Invaders?

All of the grocers I spoke with characterized their relationship with the surrounding community as one of being seen as an "invader." The grocers felt as though they had been labeled invaders for three reasons. First, as the term invader implies, bodegueros felt as though they were occupying someone else's land. They felt that the space of Philadelphia neighborhoods belonged to the current neighborhood residents and in running their stores they were seen as infringing on someone else's territory. Second, their perception of themselves as invaders was based on economics. Bodegueros felt as

though neighborhood residents viewed them as an outside population that was profiting

off of their community. Third, bodegueros' inability to get credit from banks, long days,

and placement in high-crime neighborhoods were all understood as being a result of their

isolation from the advantages accrued by membership in the larger white society. In this

sense, they viewed their precarious economic situation and unsafe workplaces as being

something that could be solved by those in power, but had been allowed to remain.

The fact that the grocers all described their situation as one of feeling as an invader did

not mean that every minute of the day or every customer interaction was negative.

Instead, the grocers all said that they got along with the vast majority of their customers

and that they had difficult relationships with only a minority of their customers. The path

to success as a bodeguero is one of selling large amounts of goods at a small profit

margin and working long days in order to minimize labor costs. Therefore, individual

owners had a lot of one-on-one contact with neighborhood residents and a high incentive

to minimize friction. The term invader implies that constant violent conflicts over the

price of goods – for example as emerged in the conflicts surrounding the Latasha Harlins

case in Los Angeles[13] – are an everyday occurrence. I found this overarching image to be

an inaccurate way to characterize relationships in Philadelphia. Instead, bodegueros

considered good customer service to be an essential aspect of their business strategy,

often comparing their stores favorably to other inner-city retailers. They argued that in

Dominican stores bodegueros interacted with customers over an open counter (with a

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[13] Latasha Harlins, a young African American girl, was shot and killed by the Korean owner of *Empire Liquor* in a dispute over a $1.79 bottle orange juice. The case is referred to in a number of songs by rapper Tupac Shakur, and ignited a racially contentious legal battle, as well as street protests against immigrant merchants in African American neighborhoods.

Plexiglas window filled with goods framing them, but not protecting them) and stocked

their stores with goods that were placed on open shelves so the customers could select

their item. In contrast, in other inner-city stores the merchants were protected by a full

Plexiglas window with only a small opening through which money could be passed.

Similarly, the goods were often kept on shelves behind a Plexiglas divider, meaning that

the storeowner had the duty of individually selecting each item for the customer.

Violence and the threat of violence were key components of how the bodegueros came to

see themselves as invaders. While five of the seven grocers I worked with had not been

victims of physical violence, Rodrigo had been the victim of an armed robbery and Julio

had been the victim of a particularly violent assault, the story of which helps to illustrate

the power of the label of invader. Julio was working at a store in Camden, New Jersey

when a man came in and asked for a cigar. Julio refused the sale because the customer

did not have an ID (and was thus underage), and the two of them had a verbal

confrontation. Later, when Julio was off work and at a local pizza parlor, he ran into the

same man, who proceeded to beat him up. Julio called the police, but was not able to

identify his assailant. Julio understood his position behind the counter of his store and his

position as a neighborhood outsider as factors that put him in a vulnerable position. The

man who assaulted Julio was never arrested, and Julio described his problem by saying

"they always know where I am, they can find me everyday. But I don't know where they

[the police] can get him every day." While Julio's story is an exception, it highlights the

power imbalance that the grocers felt. Verbal conflicts over the quality of service, price

of goods, and preparation of food happened on a daily basis, and served to underscore the

differences between the bodegueros and their customers.

All of the owners described their situation in various ways as feeling as though they are

invaders within the communities in which their stores are located. César owns a store

located in a predominantly African American neighborhood, and situated adjacent to a

police station. He has a long history of working as a bodeguero and owned a store in

New York City before moving to Philadelphia. He offered a typical explanation of why

he felt as though the community viewed him as an invader:

> César: It's a rough neighborhood. It's not easy. Even though you see it quiet, it's
> because basically we have the police and the fire station there. That controls things a
> little bit, but it's a tough neighborhood, or a little bit rough. It is like you are an
> invader, you know what I mean? You feel like you are invading their territory and
> they feel like you have to do what they tell you to do. That's rough.

> AP: What kinds of things make you feel like you're an invader?

> César: Well basically they see us as invader because we were not born in this country.
> We have a different language; speak Spanish most of the time between us, because
> we feel more comfortable with it. We would probably not understand each other with
> the way we talk [if we spoke English]. So we feel more comfortable speaking
> Spanish. And things like that. The music, we put the radio on and put the Spanish
> station, we rarely put their station on. Things like that make it feel like you're the
> invader. Some people find it interesting and like it, because at least they see a
> different culture, other stuff and other things. Some people just don't like us. They
> say "Speak English. You're in America now!" Things like that. Which you can't
> pay them no mind, because if you do you're going to get in trouble

> AP: Do customers say that kind of stuff to you?

> César: Especially when they ask for something, and let's say my wife doesn't speak
> that much English, and she doesn't understand so she calls me "Come here. This
> person wants something; I don't know what he want." "What he say he wants?" And
> she tell me, and I have to ask the person "What do you want?" So they look at me like
> "she doesn't understand? Then she shouldn't be there." You know what I'm saying?
> That type of thing. So those are things that make you feel like you are an invader.
> You never, as much as you try, you never can make yourself feel like you fit in the

community, like you belong in the community. They always think you just come and get your money and go. So, sometimes I try. I have a block party, or the police or the fire department have some type of activity for the children I help them out. When they have a block party they ask me for a donation. Some ice, soda, paper cups, things like that. I contribute and make them feel like I don't just want their money. I want to stay here and help out also. We try to do that. I think probably that is why we have been a little bit successful with the store.

As César describes, his understanding of being an invader stems from the outward symbols of his distinctness: speaking Spanish, listening to the local Spanish radio station, and being of a different ethnicity. His strategy of maneuvering his status from outsider to insider is speaking English to customers, contributing to community festivals, and mediating between his customers and non-English speaking spouse. César's reading of his situation was that these actions create a better environment in which to run the store but do not change the community's belief that because he is Latino he will never be fully integrated into the community. César's comment that no matter what he did he could never fit in was a common refrain in my interviews and reminds us that one aspect of the middleman minority status is distance from both the group in power and the subjugated group. This distance from both Whites and Blacks echoes other analyses of identity within the Dominican American community wherein Dominicans place themselves outside of the White/Black duality of US race relations and instead embrace a separate identity based on nationality and not skin color (Itzigsohn and Cabral 2000). To bodegueros, ethnicity, nationality, and their perception of "otherness" serve as powerful symbols of their inability to be perceived as neighborhood insiders.

Bodegueros' perception of themselves as invaders meant that every action they took had the larger goal of minimizing the level of friction in their store and lowering the risk of

confrontation. For example, Julio's store lies in a predominantly African-American

neighborhood in Philadelphia. While sitting behind the counter talking I asked him about

the gun he had near the cash register, hidden out of view of customers but visible to those

behind the counter. He described how it serves as a "backup." He viewed it as a last

chance for security, assuming everything else he did to ward off burglary was ineffective.

As he notes, his main source of security came from his relationship with his customers:

> AP: You have that gun behind the counter?
>
> Julio: I think it's going to be trouble no matter if you have the gun or you don't have a gun. Because, like you are there, I own the business, I don't try to get in a fight with nobody, it's not in my interest. But sometimes you don't know who's coming to make a fight with you. It could be difficult if you let someone shoot at you or you shoot somebody. The law here is a little bit difficult. Most people here who are immigrants, we only got a green card. But I do a little thing like that they take away my green card and send me away. The people who go to your store, you don't know where they living, and so it's easy for one of those people to get you at your place [of work]: they leave, you call the cops, and a few minutes [later the cops ask] "who was it, what was their name?" "I don't know!" It's kind of difficult.
>
> AP: The gun doesn't really provide that much security because if you have to use it…
>
> Julio: I could be in trouble. Sometimes I don't know what's going to be more better… So that's why I have all the cameras and stuff. They control it a little bit. And I try to be nice to all the people and try not to get in trouble. Don't try to fight for one dollar, five dollar, whatever. Just tell the people "don't come no more to the store," have them go somewhere else.
>
> AP: I always thought that the reason why the bodegueros are so nice to their customers is like a security system: if you're always nice…
>
> Julio: There will be less problems. The problem is, if you are angry at one of those customers, and another man over there hears that you are talking to them. And then, one day, something happens to you and he say "oh he be nasty, he be nasty to everyone, he do this, he do that."… They are all together.

Julio's image of the community as being "all-together" was a common theme in

interviews. While networks play an important role in assisting immigrants in their

process of migration, networks also play a role in determining relationships in urban

neighborhoods. As Julio noted, if he mistreats a customer the neighborhood will learn

about it, and his store will suffer financially as residents decide to avoid his store, and the

level of tension within the store will rise as customers continue to patronize the store but

do so in a less amiable environment. Julio's status as a gun owner and a business owner

in a community where his perception is that "they are all together" indicates his

intermediary status within the White/Black duality of US race relations. While he is able

to operate a business profitably, he does not feel safe or feel that he has the ability to

protect his store because of his concern that he will lose his green card if he uses his gun.

The notion of being an invader also applies to the distance that the grocers feel from

mainstream society. Invader status refers to a broader sense that the institutions of the

city and the networks of the neighborhood have been set up in order to confine

bodegueros to an inferior position. Bodegueros read their difficult life of running their

business, inability to get credit from banks, and lack of time to spend with friends and

family as symbols of their outsider status. As Rodrigo described the problems he faced in

running his store:

> First, you have no social life. Most of us work 13-14 hours a day and I would say
> there aren't many people who would be willing to do that. There is no day off. There
> aren't hours off to go to meetings. Because I'm worried always for the people [back
> at the store]… The other problem is that most of us don't have credit history. That's
> why it's so hard to get money from the bank. Maybe you get some money from a loan
> shark, because even though you know they're getting too much interest you don't
> have a choice.

All of the grocers I spoke with described their relationship with the surrounding

community as one of being viewed as an invader. They saw this as a permanent situation

wherein whatever they did they would never really fit in. The notion of being an invader

hinged on three different aspects: first, they felt as though the neighborhood was controlled by neighborhood residents and their survival was based on their ability to abide by existing neighborhood codes of conduct; second, they felt that because their economic position was based on extracting income from their customers they would always be the object of scorn within the community; last, they viewed their difficult working environment as a symbol of their distinctness from both the Black and White communities of Philadelphia.

How Customers and Local Leaders View the Bodegueros

While the grocers all saw themselves as being viewed as invaders, in interviews with customers and local leaders I found that this simplistic self-image failed to grasp the complexity of the existent views. Instead, views of immigrant small business owners fell into three different categories. First, many shoppers view bodegueros as an important part of Philadelphia neighborhoods and believe the stores have a positive impact on the community. The vast majority of my customer interviewees expressed this view. A second group were hostile to the presence of the bodegueros in "their" neighborhood, saw current immigrant storeowners as insufficiently interested in Americanizing and saw immigrant storeowners as extracting capital from the community. This group by and large did not patronize immigrant owned businesses and worked in neighborhood redevelopment or civic organizations. A third group placed the difficulties that immigrants had in successfully operating their business within a larger political and economic context; in essence viewing the struggles of immigrant storeowners as one aspect of a larger political process in which the city government, the capitalist economy,

and other state agencies were complicit. This group argued that immigrants play an important role in Philadelphia neighborhoods but thought that proactive steps should be taken in order to help immigrant entrepreneurs succeed and to head off the conflicts between storeowners and customers.

The Bodeguero as Community Asset

The vast majority of frequent shoppers at the bodegas felt that the stores were a vital component of their community. This group was often on a first name basis with the bodeguero, appreciated having a small store within walking distance of their home, and respected the hard work that the owner put into operating their store. Often, these shoppers shopped at the store on a daily basis and had come to view shopping at the store as an essential element of their lives. One shopper told me:

> I think they're good for the community because what would be here if they weren't here? Where would the people shop around here? What about the people that can't get away from the neighborhood? But I think that they are good. They are all over everywhere. I think the stores are great. They are convenient. It is very convenient. They are very cheap. I think they are very reasonable and have good prices. I mean honestly, I don't do a lot of grocery shopping, but the food is good. It's clean. I don't think they are bad people. I think they are an asset to the community.

The large number of positive opinions about the bodegueros I heard from customers underscores the important role the grocers play in urban neighborhoods. Bodegas are often crowded with people: in the morning shoppers buy breakfast from the kitchen (often egg and cheese sandwiches) or buy coffee and a bus token; during the afternoon school-kids fill the store buying 25¢ candy and 25¢ sodas; in the early evening cars double park in front as shoppers (often women with kids) buy products to make dinner; as it gets later the stores sell more cigarettes and snack foods to young men hanging out

at the store or in the street. Watching the owners unload vans full of eggs, bread, off-brand soda, and candy, you come to see the great amount of goods that are distributed through the small space of the stores everyday. Because shoppers use the store as an extension of their home, all day long there are little transactions being made. For example some stores have expanded into providing every service under the sun: fixing watches, selling movies, making copies, activating cell phones, and selling t-shirts.

Because of the high frequency of interactions that many shoppers have with bodegueros, the owners have come to be viewed as neighborhood residents, or "insiders." This position as an "insider" can be seen in the nickname "Papi" that the majority of customers use when they talk with the owner. For one shopper, the term Papi symbolized the close connection between bodegueros and community: he did not understand my use of the term bodega, or the idea (implicit in my question) that bodegueros were from outside the community:

> AP: A lot of people say bodegas are good for Philadelphia because they offer people a place to shop and fix up vacant buildings. What do you think?
>
> You mean like Papi's store? We don't really think about it like that. It's more like, which store has the stuff you want, you know? If you don't have illegal stuff going on. Like there are kids here at this store!
>
> AP: I know there are a lot of different stores around here…why do you shop at this one?
>
> Well for me, I live right over there [he points kitty-corner to a house a few houses over]. But I've been to the other stores and this one's better. Like they got everything: DVD's hoagies…. And if you're short Papi will help you out, you know?

The term "Papi" came to me to designate bodegueros as people who by filling an important economic niche in the neighborhood had come to be seen by many in the

neighborhood as belonging. The fact that many customers walked to the store in

bathrobes and slippers, were on a first-name basis with the bodeguero, and used the store

as a pantry symbolized this unity.

For example, an African-American small business owner and president of a

neighborhood business association in a multi-racial neighborhood refused to refer to a

local bodeguero as an immigrant and instead defined him as a fellow small business

owner:

> He's from the Dominican Republic. He's been in business over 20 years. Would he
> be an immigrant? He's got 10 years in the Marine Corps. I know what he got. What
> I'm saying is…you understand. So I don't know how to define that. I can't honestly
> say I can look around here and see who is an immigrant and who is not an immigrant.

Another way that we can see this sense of connectedness is through the pictures that

grace the Plexiglas dividers between customers and bodeguero. Many shoppers give the

owners pictures of themselves and their children to display. While there is always an

open space for the bodeguero to deal directly with customers, they often look out onto the

customers framed by pictures signed by neighborhood residents. Amid the hectic process

of restocking the shelves and making change customers will ask "Papi" about his family

and "Papi" will know the details of customers' lives.

Many shoppers have become interested in the process of migration and the transition to

neighborhood business owners that the bodegueros have taken part in. Because the

bodegueros serve such an important role in the community it is difficult for shoppers to

discount their efforts simply because they are of a different ethnicity. This sense of

interconnectedness can also be seen in the appreciation some shoppers have for the

impact grocers have had on their life. As one young African American shopper described:

> It's a free country, they want to come and make money here, more power to them. They can probably make more money here then they could in their home. A lot of people complain "it should be a black store" but they just jealous. Don't hate the player, hate the game.
>
> AP: it's easier to complain than to open up your own store.
>
> Yeah, Julio is cool though.
>
> AP: On the other hand, a lot of people say that bodegas overcharge their customers and are bad for the community. Have you had these kinds of problems?
>
> If it was a black store they would take money out of the community too. That's the business. But I grew up with Julio. This store has been here like seven years. This store's got everything you need, except maybe supermarket stuff. It's as close a thing to a market here.

A last example of the "insider" status of bodegueros is the openness that I saw to bodegueros affecting US culture. In words very similar to the pro-immigrant discourse of policy makers, some customers noted that they had learned a lot by talking to bodegueros and thought that their hard work could be an inspiration to them. In this vein, a Catholic Sister involved in a local school and community center expressed the sentiment that she thought immigrants could have a positive impact on her community. She argued not in favor of the assimilation of immigrants to a Philadelphia mind-set, but that Philadelphians should adopt the high ethical standards of the immigrants she works with:

> I see that personally, and I would venture to say that many of the teachers here would say that there are some aspects of our culture that they have to adapt to to survive, and some that we hope they don't. Their impact on us should raise us up to their level. I just read something in the Daily News – I rarely read the Daily News – but it had a little thing on immigrants I wanted, and it talked about the incivility of Philadelphia Eagles fans and so on. I think they have a lot to teach us and I hope that we assimilate some of their attitudes…things that I have forgotten in surviving here.

While the grocers described their position as one of an "invader," it was clear that the majority of shoppers appreciated the bodegueros and the presence of their stores in the community. The difference between the bodegueros' self-perception as invaders and the positive views of the store held by customers illustrates the importance of Goode and Schneider's focus on contradiction in relations between newcomers and long-term residents: to bodegueros, the small number of violent interactions colored all customer interaction and positive interactions with customers did not change the bodegueros' feeling of being cut off from the larger mainstream society.

Bodegueros as a Detriment to Community Development

A second group of community members saw immigrant-owned businesses as detrimental to the community. This group consisted of a small minority of the customers I spoke with and about one-third of the local leaders I interviewed. Everyone I spoke with couched their objection to immigrants operating businesses in the community in terms of the metaphor of an invader. As noted, few customers expressed the viewpoint that the bodegueros were a detrimental force in their community. I suspect that most neighborhood resident who did not approve of immigrant-owned businesses found other places to shop. It is also possible that in a conversation with a white academic they felt uncomfortable being caught in the contradiction of discussing their displeasure with the very stores they were shopping at. I heard the view that immigrant business owners were detrimental to the community most commonly in interviews with local leaders, especially those who worked in organizations with an economic development focus. Their

objections to immigrants as storeowners in Philadelphia neighborhoods fit into two different categories: assimilation and economic position.

Language arose as a key symbol of the outsiderness of bodegueros and as a metaphor for the pace at which assimilation was taking place. As César described above, speaking Spanish signaled his outsider status, and the inability of his wife to communicate with customers created an opportunity for conflict. To some local leaders, the idea of immigrants living transnational lives and their (supposed) lack of interest in assimilation meant that immigrants were changing the neighborhood and were unwilling to adapt their lifestyle to the norms of their new community. The leader of one small civic association who was actively campaigning against the opening of bodegas and Chinese take-out restaurants in his community argued that "right now everybody needs immigrants; we just need the right kind." He went on to explain his dissatisfaction with a local bilingual public school in his neighborhood:

> It's true you should keep connections from the old country. You left it, but it didn't fall off the planet. In fact, I still have connections [to Italy]. I take a trip every 4-5 years. I have a cousin over there; he is the only one left. The rest of them died off. You keep your connections. I remember as a child writing to my grandmother over there. There is nothing wrong with that. What is wrong, in my eyes, is that children should be taught their ethnic heritage at home, not in a public school where I am paying taxes. Now we have a multi-million dollar [bilingual] school up here at 5th and Lehigh. Come on! The whole deal there is another story. Hey, you are in America! I don't care if you came over and can't speak the language. Kids pick up the language like that.

In a similar vein, the director of a community organization in a neighborhood of rapidly changing demographics echoed these concerns about the use of language and how the trend toward bilingualism affected her life. However, through the course of our

conversation she explained how she had come to change her views over the course of

spending more time working in various immigrant communities in her neighborhood.

She argued:

> I resented being a retired city worker, I resented going down to look at the board at
> City Hall to see what new jobs were open, and I resented highly that I had to be
> bilingual to take those tests. This is my country. If I went to your country I am
> supposed to learn your language. So why should I suffer in my country to meet your
> needs? I could see them saying "it is better if you are dual and you speak English,"
> but not make that a criteria for employment in my country that I have to go and learn
> someone else's language to get a good job. So, I finally got over that resentment
> some. Because now I notice that every time I buy something and it has instructions
> on it is in two or three different languages. So I'm thinking to myself: "this is not
> only a problem for me, this is a problem for everyone, so everyone else is adjusting, I
> must adjust." Apparently it is bigger then me and my immediate surroundings. Am I
> making sense to you? So I decided that I am going to reach out to them… and it is a
> slow process. First I had to get over my animosity towards them. And now it is
> working slowly. It is a slow process.

Another common refrain in my conversations with customers and local community

leaders was the extent to which immigrants were assimilating into local neighborhood

culture. While the owners talked about giving money to community festivals, it was clear

when talking to some shoppers and local leaders that these efforts had not been effective

at counteracting the image that the grocers were invaders. The motif of immigrant

business owners not being members of the community was often contrasted with a long-

term urban resident. A long-term resident of any race was taking part in community

rituals, living in the community, making a commitment to raising their children in the

neighborhood, and experiencing the problems of the community in the same way as other

residents. In contrast, outsiders such as transitory college students, renters (particularly

Section-8 renters), and immigrants were seen as populations who had different time-

horizons and different commitments to the community. Therefore while they lived

within the physical boundaries of the community, they were not viewed as part of local

redevelopment efforts. Here one local leader carefully delineates exactly what kind of

immigrant businesses she thinks are appropriate in her neighborhood:

> The only thing is in our neighborhood, we do have a lot of immigrant businesses but
> we don't have a lot of immigrant residents. And if they are living above the stores
> you would really never know. You don't normally see them walking the streets. You
> don't normally see them shopping in the supermarkets, shopping where we shop. We
> are not worshipping at the same faith-based institutions. So for me, for us, when we
> speak of them, we see them as a business owner and that's it. You don't see them as a
> resident of your community.

A common complaint about bodegueros revolved around their perceived economic

success in a community where many local residents felt as though they were not given

the opportunities to succeed. The view that bodegueros and Asian-America storeowners

received special tax benefits from the city and received preferential treatment from banks

was a false but persistent rumor that underscored the feeling that immigrant businesses

were succeeding with the assistance of the state. State assistance for immigrant

businesses was an important way of explaining how newcomers could have risen to the

level of storeowners relatively quickly. For example, some couched their concern about

the detrimental effect of bodegueros on their community in a voice of confusion about

how bodegueros were able to become business owners while others could not. One

shopper described this view in saying:

> They good because they convenient, and they nice, you know? I just don't
> understand how they can come here and …. They poorer than me, and I'm poor, but
> they get all the stores. All the stores are run by Dominicans. They get loans, SSI,
> drive new cars, and I think they should do more to help people who have lived in this
> neighborhood their whole life. They good people, I don't want to say anything bad
> about them because they good people. I just don't understand why all the stores are
> owned by people who aren't from here.

> Speaking as a black man, it's difficult to see that every business in our community is owned by other people. It's convenient to shop at these stores, but it's more expensive. Like I said, everyone should get a chance to shop at a grocery store.

Criticisms of the economic success of immigrant business owners revolved around two themes: that not enough had been done to help "local" businesses develop and that immigrant business owners were interested only in extracting capital from the community for themselves. Susan, a long time local leader and president of the local business council described the interconnections between these processes succinctly. She has been active in local politics for a long time, but had a rather acrimonious relationship with the immigrant business owners on her commercial corridor in Southwest Philadelphia. Susan felt as though immigrant business owners should be more respectful of neighborhood residents and that neighborhood residents should have some sort of "control" over the number of immigrants that own businesses in the neighborhood. She argued:

> Now when these people come over and they say "I'm coming over to live." "how are you going to make a living?" "we are going to open up a business." "where are you going to live?" "in Pennsylvania" " whereabouts in Pennsylvania?" "Philadelphia" "OK what are you going to give back to them?" They should have to go through something. Listen, we are not going to just let you come in here and take our money, and then later on you bringing your cousins over, and your uncles, and everyone. "So what are you planning on doing for us?" Who was that, Kennedy? "Don't just ask what I can do for you, but what are you going to do for us!" Not just what can my country do for me, but what can I do for my country? It should be a two way street. Don't just come and take my money and take it over there and give it to your aunt or your niece and let your son and your niece to come over and you send them to college to become a doctor or what-have-you on my money.

Susan's call for local residents to have the power to "veto" new immigrants' businesses highlights the powerlessness that many local leaders felt when confronted with immigrant business owners, even as the bodegueros themselves felt powerless against the local community. Consistent with Goode and Schneider's analysis of contradiction,

bodegueros and local leaders each saw the other as having the upper hand. For example,

another longtime community activist discussed in depth her view that immigrant business

owners were taking money out of her neighborhood, did not live in the neighborhood,

and were a community problem. She wanted neighborhood residents to have control over

immigrant entrepreneurs:

> One of the things that I can see is that there should be a bridge for communities that are having immigrant businesses opening. There should be a community meeting held where the community is able to meet that immigrant and their partner, or family, or whoever, and discuss the needs of the community and what would they be bringing into the community. An introductory phase in a sense.

The bridge she imagined was one where the community members had the upper-hand and

prospective immigrant entrepreneurs were placed in a position of being judged in terms

of their ability to solve neighborhood problems.

Criticisms of immigrant-owned businesses revolved around the themes of assimilation

and local control. Some customers and local leaders saw immigrant businesses as

changing the culture of Philadelphia and extracting capital from communities. They

envisioned a process wherein long-term neighborhood residents could negotiate a

different relationship with newcomers interested in operating businesses.

Immigrants Need Help

A third, and very small, group viewed immigrant storeowners positively, but felt that the

processes of assimilation – such as learning neighborhood codes of conduct and English

– was very difficult and could be simplified. They thought that immigrant storeowners

served an important function in neighborhoods, but saw divisions between the stores and

neighborhood residents. They thought that the city should make more of an effort to reach out to Philadelphia's newest residents in order to help them deal with the difficulties of relocating to a new country. Within this view, the struggles that immigrants faced were not merely the result of their own actions but were related to the political regulation of the process of migration. This view was most common among local leaders and shoppers who had a lot of contact with immigrants.

For example Shelly, the director of a neighborhood arts program that serves a mixed long-term resident and newcomer clientele thought the immigrants in her neighborhood were not receiving the appropriate amount of help from the city and other governmental entities. Because these other entities were not helping immigrants she found that problems developed between the different groups she served which she was then forced to solve. She commented on the process of assimilation in her multiethnic community:

> Well, the only issue I have, and I don't know if it's right or wrong. I wish, somehow, that America as a whole, or maybe Pennsylvania, the United States, I think they should make sure that some of these people, I mean, you know, not say change their culture – their original ethnic culture – but understand our values and maybe some of our rules in the United States. I think they should be able to read. Have some knowledge of our language because what I find is that we have a big problem with [trash] dumping. People dump, not in the playground but on the outside. I don't know if you see any out there now, I've had signs in every language. People just think this is a place to dump, maybe because this is a big center they figure somebody is going to clean it up. But nobody cleans up outside the perimeter except for when it snows, then they make sure there is a walkway all the way around. That's what the city is required to do. I think they just don't understand… they just get so lost. Lost in the sauce, you know? They get lost because they don't understand, and then I don't understand.

Shelly argues that immigrants get "lost in the sauce" wherein they relocate to a large and complex city and are forced to learn the norms and guidelines without assistance. Throughout our conversation she expressed her displeasure at things like garbage being

dumped in the streets by newcomers who did not understand the regulations of the

Philadelphia Sanitation Department, children being forced to translate for their parents,

and other difficulties faced by those "lost in the sauce."

The metaphor of immigrants being "lost in the sauce" conjures up an image of a city

making no effort to reach out to, or utilize, the skills that immigrants bring to the US.

Consistent with critiques of neoliberal re-scaling strategies, this does not mean that the

problems faced by immigrants are not solved: it simply means that ad hoc and

improvisatory solutions are created, such as art teachers acting as cultural mediators. The

new programs that Philadelphia is offering to address the needs of immigrants (such as

Global Philadelphia) can therefore be seen as an urban development strategy that seeks to

"re-scale" the servicing of immigrants away from those who have direct contact with

immigrants (like Shelly) to the level of city government (Smith 1993).

The critique that these local leaders and shoppers put forward was that the problems

faced by immigrants are directly related to the way that the city reaches out to them. A

program officer at an organization that assists immigrant small business owners in the

Fairyville section of Philadelphia, for example, argued that Latino immigrants could

better succeed in business with stronger state support. She argued:

> I think the role of the immigrant is definitely very, very, important [in this
> neighborhood]. All these Latino immigrants that came here for a reason, with a
> dream in mind. And a lot of them live in poverty right now… You can have people
> working cleaning tables, or waiting tables at a restaurant, and those people can have a
> better education than you or me! They have a good background, and if they were put
> in the right situation, and the right place, and they were given the right tools, I think
> they could do a lot more for the local economy. I think the role of the immigrant is
> definitely very important, and we have to look at them as people who can really

change the situation of the Fairyville area. And if we give them the right tools, like I said before, I'm sure many of them will be able to succeed.

The view that immigrant business owners compete in an unfair economy, where the cards are stacked against them, was also expressed by the bodegueros' shoppers. Many shoppers, for example, discounted complaints that the stores overcharged by noting that many of the goods sold at the store were very cheap (for example a hoagie costs $2.50, a cheese steak $3.00, and off-brand soda was only 25¢). For the goods that cost more, many shoppers identified the struggles of small business ownership as the culprit, not the greed of the bodegueros. For example, one shopper explained why some goods cost more by explaining:

> You know what, they cost more because of their overhead. They don't buy in bulk. That's why [he needs to expand]. They can't buy in bulk like the larger markets, and hey, they can't go across the city and pay one amount and come back here and charge the same price. Most people in the neighborhood don't know economics. They don't know anything about the process of trying to make a living. So they have to charge more.

The Welcoming of Invaders

The metaphor of invader describes how bodegueros view their place in Philadelphia neighborhoods. In conversations with shoppers and local leaders this image became more complex. Shoppers often had very positive views of the stores and had good relations with the bodegueros. A second view, expressed by some shoppers and a larger percentage of local leaders, was that immigrant storeowners are not doing enough to assimilate and are taking money out of the neighborhood. It is clear that the greater the level of interaction a person has with bodegueros the more positive their views towards immigrant storeowners are and the more nuanced their understanding of immigration is.

This point is especially true for those who were spatially dependent on the stores: women, children, and the elderly. This group saw the stores as a vital part of their survival strategies. A last view was more political, and saw the process of immigrant assimilation as shaped by urban policy and situated immigrant storeowners as individuals in need of better support.

The fact that many bodegueros do not understand the variety of views in their neighborhoods about their stores underscores Goode and Schneider's argument that newcomer and long-term resident interactions are often shaped by contradiction (1994). I often felt this contradiction after a morning spent watching bodegueros laugh and joke with customers would transition into an interview in which bodegueros described themselves as invaders. The reasons for this disconnect are complex. For a variety of reasons, including the time demands of running their grocery store, none of the bodegueros I interviewed were active in neighborhood organizations. Therefore a possible venue for addressing these problems was not being used. Similarly, in most cases community organizations were not reaching out to immigrant business owners (for reasons that I will further explore in the next chapter) and thus were exacerbating these tensions. Importantly, shoppers often had positive views of the grocers, while those at neighborhood organizations were more likely to have negative views towards the stores. Therefore the amount of interaction between newcomers and long-term residents is an important predictor of neighborhood acceptance. However, in some case close contact led to bad relations: the small percentage of shoppers that the bodegueros identified as

involved in quarrels left a much stronger impression on them than the larger percentage of customers with whom they had positive relations.

Neighborhood Knowledge as a Business Practice

As illustrated above, there is no uniform image of immigrant businesses owners. Instead, different groups respond to immigrant businesses owners in different ways. In this section I focus on the practices that bodegueros use to create an environment in their stores conducive to their economic success. I argue that the grocers bend over backward to serve their customers and have consciously created the reality that the majority of their shoppers like having the store in their community. In essence, the image of the bodeguero as an invader – both their self-imge and the view from other neighborhood residents – must be understood in light of the large amount of knowledge about the local community that bodegueros possess. Similar to geographers who worked for colonial states with the goal of better understanding the local culture (Livingstone 1992; Smith 1994; Livingstone and Withers 1999), bodegueros carefully observe the needs and desires of their shoppers and adjust their business practices to serve them. The process of learning to operate a business in a foreign country is one of learning the formal and informal codes of the community.

The perceptions that shoppers have of bodegueros are an integral aspect of the grocers' ability to function as business owners. Therefore, many of the business practices that bodegueros engage in are designed to maintain a positive relationship with the community. In this sense the metaphor of "invader" can best be understood as a

continuum on which shoppers who have had bad experiences are at one extreme and others who have grown up with "Papi" are at the opposite extreme. Because the definition of invader is socially constructed, the actions of bodegueros shape the way that they are viewed.

In this section I detail five specific practices that bodegueros engage in in order to create a positive relationship with their community: 1) understanding customers' needs; 2) pricing goods as cheaply as possible; 3) working with customers to provide boutique services; 4) "minding the store;" and 5) speaking English with customers. It is important to understand that these were strategies that had a limited spatial scope; while they affected the specific customers who shopped at their stores, they did not "jump scales" and affect local leaders or neighborhood institutions (Smith 1993). Instead, local leaders were more likely to view immigrant storeowners as a drain on the community.

Understanding Customers' Needs

Bodegueros have a sophisticated understanding of what their shoppers need in order to survive. While the common perception of immigrant business owners is one of unsophisticated capitalists, I found that the bodegueros had a sophisticated understanding of the needs of the neighborhood residents whom they served. This knowledge is an important aspect of their ability to survive in their middleman role and illustrates the importance of human capital in the operation of ethnic enclave businesses (Light and Gold 2000). The stores, most measuring little more than 1000 square feet, served as hardware stores, grocery stores, delis, variety stores, and liquor stores simultaneously.

The wide variety of products available "solved" problems in Philadelphia neighborhoods such as a lack of neighborhood retail outlets, low rate of car ownership, and spatial isolation.

For example, when César purchased his store he was convinced that with a different mix of products the store could be much more profitable. He used his knowledge of African-American consumer choices and proper store management to change the product mix in the store to better suit the neighborhood; for example he changed the product mix to include both name brand and generic products in order to serve clientele from different economic backgrounds. In the following quote he explains why his store is popular and why the store is more profitable under his ownership than with the previous owners:

> When I got the store here, they didn't sell Pampers, they didn't sell formula for the kids, no juice for the kids, no food. And they didn't sell baby food. They didn't sell cereal – they had one or two, cheap ones, outdated. They bought them from the big store by Home Depot that sells things with 2-3 months to go, very cheap. That was all they got. If you go to a Chinese store most of the items are already overdue, past the date, or they are approaching the expiration date. That is one thing, you have to keep things fresh, some things are outdated or close to outdated just throw it away. You're not supposed to have it. Try to sell them the best.

Rodrigo made a similar argument about why he thought shoppers shopped at his store:

> I have a variety of things here that make this store a one-stop. You come for the hot food: steaks, burgers, wings, French fries. But also if you come for the cold cuts, you find them here. Hoagies, sodas, juices, milk, bread, cereal, diapers, bags, cleaning supplies, brooms, anything. But also you got candy, cigarettes, calling cards, I even sell telephones! So it makes the place a one-stop.

By understanding the consumption needs of the community and providing an amazing assortment of goods the bodegas solve some of the problems faced by neighborhood

residents. They have effectively read the needs of the community and adjusted their stock in order to best serve their customers.

César, for example, connected the types of goods that he sold to an analysis of poverty. He described how his bodega located in a poor neighborhood in Philadelphia is much more profitable than a store in an affluent neighborhood. He argued "we have everything a poor neighborhood needs:"

> Because most of the affluent people won't shop here, it's a society type of thing. The affluent – I'm not calling them white – the affluent will have a car, will have a way to go to a big supermarket and buy everything they need for a week [and] put it in the refrigerator. And they don't have to come out during the week. In this neighborhood it is set up different. You have to come out everyday to buy the necessities. A lot of people don't even have refrigerators, don't even have no gas, for some reason they can't afford it, or they lost it and it got cut off. You have to buy ice, because they don't cook, they don't have no meat. They buy a lot of stuff during the daytime and then that's the way they make a living: on a day-to-day basis. Not like a supermarket, a supermarket will have other places to park which is different. The affluent have a parking lot, and they will not go to the little bodega to shop. They will not walk 2-3 blocks to go to the bodega, why would they when they could go in the car?

César's analysis of the difference between car ownership and non-car ownership points to the small catchment area of a bodega and the considerable amount of neighborhood knowledge necessary for successful store ownership. In many neighborhoods small bodega-type stores are situated every 2-3 blocks. Shoppers are frequently those members of the community most spatially isolated: children, women, and the elderly. Shoppers too noted the importance of the bodegas in their communities, often describing in particular how important it was for kids to have a place to buy candy, or for elderly people to have a store within walking distance.

Many of the stores had branched out from selling typical grocery and food items and now

sell items traditionally associated with hardware stores and department stores. For

example, José's store had an assortment of air conditioners, DVD players, televisions,

and other electronics for sale. Likewise, José and Rodrigo activated and sold cell phones,

often working for large amounts of time with customers who were having difficulty with

their phones. Other products like white t-shirts, socks, barrettes, flashlights, toilet paper,

and phone cards flowed out of the stores into the community.

Another aspect of knowing the community is understanding its cultural norms. In the

below excerpted section of my field notes José gets into a conversation with a young

women about homosexuality and body piercing. In the conversation he shows his

comfort discussing these cultural topics with a young shopper and uses this comfort to

better understand how to supply his store. In the beginning, José did not know that

rainbow triangles are a common symbol of gay and lesbian groups, but through talking

with the customer figured out what this symbol meant and came to understand that

homophobia within the community explained why the rainbow triangle earrings he had

bought were not selling. This type of cultural knowledge is an important aspect of his

ability to successfully operate his bodega:

> [a young woman] got into a conversation with José about the earrings that he had
> hanging up. They were rainbow colored and she was saying that they were gay. He
> said "why you call them gay? You can't say something is gay just because of the
> way it looks." She responded with something to indicate that everyone knew that
> those earrings were gay. José said "well you came before and they were all along the
> row here, and now there are only two left." She said "oh," apparently convinced that
> he had sold them all. They got into a larger conversation about gay/lesbian issues:
> she was saying that they are everywhere now: you can't ever know who is one, she
> said that her whole class is gay. And so is her sister. Or bisexual. They are
> everywhere, that's the point. José said it was all OK to him. Later on he showed me

that he had a lot of those earrings left, and that the girl was pretty much right, that they didn't sell very well at all. The girl also had a pierced tongue and took it out for Juan, who didn't know that you could remove them. She was saying that José should carry the piercing here, and Juan thought that was a good idea.

A key aspect of bodeguero's ability to create wealth is through understanding the consumption needs of their customers. In order to accomplish this bodegueros have a keen sense of the cultural norms of their customers as well as an understanding of how their customers live their lives.

Pricing as a Negotiated Process

Table 5.1 Factors that Contribute to Bodega Pricing	
Cost to Bodeguero	+
Volume	-
Product Size	+
Self Exploitation	-
Community Relations	-
(+) makes prices higher (-) makes prices lower	

Bodegueros have wide latitude in pricing the goods they sell. Because they are not part of a franchise or working under a formal manager items are priced in each store by each owner. Often, when meeting informally the owners would talk about how to price goods. Decisions about pricing are made within the context of community relations and are not merely a result of simple economic calculations. The economics of a bodega are such that stores sell a large volume of inexpensive goods. Therefore maintaining a steady stream of customers is more important than the small incremental increase in profits that might be achieved through raising prices.

Within this framework five different issues affect how an individual item is priced: cost to the bodeguero; volume; product size; self exploitation; and community relations. First, bodegueros do not own a distributor or purchase their products collectively; instead each

store purchases their goods individually from a wholesaler. Because wholesalers give discounts based on volume, the low volume of sales for an individual store means that they do not receive this discount. Therefore, the price that bodegueros pay for their goods is higher than that paid by higher-volume stores. Second, because the vast majority of the items at each store cost only a few dollars, stores create profitability through achieving a high volume of sales. Bodegas are so tightly packed within urban communities that shoppers have the ability to patronize a number of different stores if an owner raises their prices too much. Therefore in order to ensure a high volume of sales, bodegueros price their goods low. Third, because the stores are small, bodegueros stock their shelves with smaller size products (for example a 12 oz. bottle of mayonnaise as opposed to a 28 oz. bottle). These smaller products have a higher cost per ounce. This factor tends to push prices up because the cost-per-ounce of smaller sized products tends to be higher. Fourth, because bodegueros (and other immigrant businesses) make income through self-exploitation, products that are labor intensive tend to cheaper than grocery items. Therefore deli items such as hoagies, french-fries, and sandwiches are very cheap while larger grocery items can often be found cheaper in a grocery store.

Fifth, creating positive community relations is the larger web within which pricing policies must be understood. For example, Rafael explains the interaction between neighborhood belonging and pricing:

> Yeah, I heard that complaint [about overcharging] before. But the thing is, when you do that, when you overcharge the customers – soon someone opens a store close – and they go to the new store. And you don't see your customers. They think "oh thank god I don't have to go back to that store." That's not happening to me, thank god, because I know, I try to charge the least that I can charge. And the good thing [about that] is you can sell more everyday. For me, it's important because sometime I

be selling the store to one of my friends, and the more high the store selling daily, the more higher you can get for the store.   So I don't think about the little bit of money you can charge from the customer. I would rather keep the customer coming to the store as much as I can, rather than get more money today not get the money when I sell the store.

The cost of goods in bodegas plays an important role in determining how shoppers interact with owners. Bodegueros choose to price their goods low as a way of ensuring a continual flow of customers and thus a more profitable store.

Providing "Boutique" Services to Customers

Bodegueros serve the community through offering boutique services to their shoppers. The relationship between neoliberalism and boutique production is common in analyses of globalization (Sassen 2001). Often these analyses center on low wage immigrants serving upper class service workers who do not have the time to take care of their own social reproduction. Bodegas serve a similar role in providing services for low-income residents of Philadelphia.

Table 5.2 Boutiques Services Offered by Bodegas
Offering credit/non-traditional paying arrangements
Advice on what product to buy
Fixing watches
Buying specific products for shoppers
Activating cell phones
Help with legal documents
Fixing food to-order

The ability to provide boutique services for clients is an example of the good understanding that bodegueros have of the community and its needs. While the mix of products at the stores is influenced by neighborhood knowledge, bodegueros also offer services to customers based on the types of things shoppers needed. For example, when customers do not have enough money bodegueros

often gave them credit, or let them repay the owner later. This process served two different purposes: a) it avoided conflicts with customers; and b) it allowed customers access to the products they needed until they could pay the full price. This flexibility on the part of the bodegueros was a help to shoppers who happened to be short of income. Credit also demonstrates the knowledge that bodegueros have of their customers and the importance of trust between shopper and bodeguero: credit was only extended to "known" customers and never to shoppers new to the store. Another type of credit extended to shoppers is "temporary credit." Often, a shopper would come in and leave $5.00 on the counter and take a few items, and then leave the store giving directions to the bodeguero that he had $2.00 worth of goods, and his sister would be by later to use the other $3.00. Or, a customer would approach the register with a few items, ask to be charged for some fries cooking in the kitchen and for a soda that he would pick up on his way home from work later. These flexible payment arrangements or forms of "temporary credit" demonstrate the intricate understanding that the bodegueros had of their customers' consumption needs and economic position.

Children were often sent to the store to buy products that they did not know anything about. Rather than simply sell the good, bodegueros often explained how the product worked, or offered to call home to talk to their parent in order to make sure the right product was being purchased. For example, two young boys came into José's store one day and left their bikes out front on the store's front stoop. They asked José if he had baking pans, and when they did not know what size they wanted he picked up his phone and offered to call their mother to ask her what size and shape he should sell them. In

this way, as opposed to simply selling items, bodegueros are involved in a process of providing individual services to customers.

Other services offered at the stores such as repairing watches, making trips to the distributor to buy particular items for people, and making photo-copies were labor intensive but played an important role in the lives of their shoppers. Offering these boutique services underscores bodegueros' intricate understanding of the lives of their customers.

Minding the Store

In order to provide everything that a community needs a successful bodeguero needs to keep careful watch of what products are being purchased, what products are being asked for by customers, and make sure that these products are always in stock. Because profitability is maintained through customers repeatedly shopping at the store, making sure the store is fully stocked is a way of ensuring that those important customers will never be disappointed when visiting the store. The key to knowing what products to have in supply and actually having those items on hand is the process of "minding the store."

There are two aspects to successfully "minding the store." The first is remaining vigilant about keeping the store stocked. As José described "…you have to have a lot of things running out. Everyday you have to be watching what's running out, what you need to keep it going." Because the stores make money through selling large amounts of goods at a small markup, the process of purchasing and stocking these goods is very labor

intensive. While it is possible to own a store and make one daily shopping trip or to rely on delivery trucks these strategies will result in a less profitable store because products will run out between deliveries and profits will be lost because of the cost of delivery fees. Instead, grocers would make multiple shopping trips to the distributor over the course of the day to ensure that few items were ever unavailable. The process of "keeping the store going" translated into waking up at 4:00 AM in order to go shopping before business hours. The importance of maintaining a vigilant attitude toward the store also affects the possibility of bodegueros taking time off because it is difficult to find someone who will run the store according to these high standards and "mind the store" correctly. As one bodeguero expressed this idea "[t]he person that works for you, it is difficult to find people who defend you, who get in their mind that you are working for somebody and that you have to defend that person's assets, that person's money. Most workers, they just don't care."

This process of forever stocking and restocking the shelves meant that there were not real opportunities for bodegueros to relax during the day. I conducted most of my interviews between 9 AM and 11 AM when the bodegueros always said they had the most free time. However, this time was rarely free. For example, I showed up one day to interview José and he decided to talk to me while wiping off cans and carefully fronting each item. This task did not have to be done (he had a stocker working) but since the store was slow he did not need to watch the register and explained that he was "the kind of person that always needs to be doing something." Through the course of our interview he transformed a cluttered looking shelf into a perfectly stocked and clean shelf.

Another aspect of "minding the store" is having all of the goods available that a customer may ask for. Most bodegueros used a piece of cardboard ripped from the back of a carton of cigarettes to write down what products were running low and what new products customers were requesting. While a common understanding of ethnic economies is that workers enter them because of their inability to communicate in English, the relationship seems to be more complex. English is an essential tool not only for creating positive relations with customers, but is necessary in order to understand customers' needs, and in a wider sense "community" needs.

All the bodegueros I interviewed had a large van that they used to stock the store. They often made a trip to the distributor in the morning before the store opened, and then another trip during the day to a different distributor for other goods. In addition, all during the day delivery trucks stopped by at the store dropping off merchandise (often for a small delivery fee). Frequently, shoppers would come in the morning and request an item, and the bodeguero would answer "come back later Mami, I'll have it." They would then buy the needed item at the distributor during a midday trip. As I will examine further in chapter six, this process extended the bodegueros' ability to leave the community to neighborhood residents.

Language

The ability to understand the range of goods needed in a neighborhood and to offer boutique services to shoppers demonstrates the importance of bodegueros being fluent or

conversant in English. Customer knowledge can be obtained only by being able to communicate with customers. Knowing English gives bodegueros the ability to communicate with customers. "Minding the store" and offering boutique services to customers is contingent on the ability of the bodeguero to communicate effectively with customers. In addition, knowledge of English allows bodegueros to maintain amicable relationships with customers and therefore avoid problems. All of the bodegueros I worked with discussed the steep learning curve of becoming a bodega owner. In the beginning, while they learned English and learned community norms fights with customers were common. However, as their English skills improved, their stores came to better reflect the needs of their customers and their customer service skills became stronger.

Knowing English gives bodegueros mobility within the city. While a bodeguero who speaks only Spanish can operate a store in the predominantly Latino section of Philadelphia, bodegas there are tightly clustered and are not profitable. By learning English, owners have the ability to operate in different neighborhoods of the city where there are fewer corner stores and fewer Spanish-speaking customers.

English ability is a key determinant in the types of jobs that workers receive within the bodega. The person who speaks the most English works the register. This fluency allows them to understand the needs of the community, maintain relationships with customers, and serve as a gatekeeper between customers and other bodega employees. The second most fluent person (and second mostly highly paid worker) works in the

kitchen. English was needed in the kitchen in order to understand the often complicated directions for the preparation of food orders. The least fluent person stocks shelves. In this position some knowledge of English was needed, for example in order to stock items in the appropriate place and to "front" items correctly. This arrangement of the most fluent person working the register held true in all of the stores I studied.

English language ability gives bodegueros the ability to stop problems from developing. Conflicts with customers were most likely to happen when the standard register worker stepped out – to go shopping or to take care of other business – and a less fluent person took over. These conflicts took the form of communication problems between a temporary Spanish-speaking register person not being able to understand an order, or asking a customer to come back when Papi returns. Or, because most bodegueros worked being the counter the entire day, shoppers had made an economic arrangement with the bodeguero and were not able to re-negotiate the terms when an alternate register person was in place.

Performing Citizenship in Urban Spaces

When conducting research it is often tempting to look for the one dominant metaphor to describe the relationship that people have with one another. Therefore, the image of the invader matched pre-existing ideas about how immigrants and long-term residents relate to one another and initially seemed like the proper starting point in this analysis. Yet this dominant trope masks the complexity of the relationships I saw at the stores. Shoppers that voiced displeasure about bodegueros were a small minority of the people I spoke

with and most shoppers truly appreciated having access to the stores. In this vein, many shoppers appreciated having a bodega in their community and felt as though the store raised their standard of living. Likewise, the bodegas were often fun places to spend time because they served as public spaces where the bodegueros knew and chatted with the customers and discussed local political issues with whoever was around. Meanwhile, there was a community of people who did not shop at the stores and did not have positive feelings towards them. Why were these two different views present? I argue that the bodegueros' positive relationship with customers was one that was actively formed by their actions: they saw their financial success as reliant on their skills at understanding the dynamics of their local community. In this sense they "performed" the actions of communitarian citizenship, even while expressing a sense of not belonging.

This relationship between bodeguero and community highlights how citizenship, belonging, and urban space interrelate. It is possible to read the actions of bodegueros as an exemplar of the type of citizen the discourse of governmentality is attempting to produce. Many bodegueros described themselves as the kind of person who "always wants to be busy" and certainly never seemed to rest. Their entire existence as entrepreneurs is negotiated outside the state: they use their own social capital to create economically viable businesses, and through the process of "minding their stores" they demonstrate that it is their conduct that creates wealth. I found that this performance of the ideal citizen presented an image directly at odds with their feelings of being an invader or community outsider.

This research echoes the voices of other scholars who suggest the fallibility of assuming neighborhoods have merely one authentic "community" voice (Evans 1994; Talen 2000; Lepofsky and Fraser 2003; Herbert 2005). Instead, I found that multiple actors in the community offered different ideas of who were insiders and outsiders. Often, these different groups were not in communication and there was no real neighborhood consensus as to who belonged. Negotiating these nebulous boundaries, however, emerged as an essential task of running a bodega. Knowing and obeying the social codes constructed by neighborhood residents gave the bodegueros insider status and therefore the ability to successfully operate their businesses. I suggest that while bodegueros continue to feel like neighborhood outsiders, their observance of these codes is an example of the performativity of urban citizenship. Yet these performances were forced by their fear of crime and their precarious position as middleman minorities. A remaining challenge of urban citizenship is how all voices can be heard in communities without the need for disempowered immigrants to simulate belonging in order to secure personal safety.

The experiences of grocers negotiating their way into Philadelphia neighborhoods highlight the importance of space in constructions of citizenship and belonging. At the most basic level, urban space provides the platform upon which these struggles play out. All of the different views I heard about belonging were not floating ephemerally in some academic's creation of a "civic space of dialogue." Instead, bodegas were sites of negotiations about the definition of community and belonging. In this sense citizenship takes form in the space of the bodega. The space of the bodega and how this space

affects other spaces will be examined further in the next chapter where I examine

bodegas and the process of neighborhood redevelopment.

Chapter Six: "Temporary Permanence"

Introduction

In this chapter I examine how the process of neighborhood redevelopment is being affected by transnationalism. I argue that bodegueros' existence as residents of Philadelphia neighborhoods can be understood as a form of "temporary permanence." As we saw in chapter five, a key part of the bodegueros' economic development strategy demands "performing" to the expectations of their customers and embedding themselves in Philadelphia neighborhoods. In this way they present themselves as "permanent" members of their neighborhood. However, mobility, understood in both its spatial and temporal manifestations, serves as a coequal aspect of their identity. Bodegueros are interconnected with many other areas besides the physical confines of their neighborhood; for example, they are constantly *leaving* their neighborhood in order to restock their store, and they invest remittances in the Dominican Republic. In a temporal sense the grocers' commitment to the neighborhood is temporary: they imagine themselves selling their bodegas and transitioning into other careers outside of the neighborhood. I argue that the mobility practices of the grocers puts them in direct conflict with neighborhood economic redevelopment officials who tend to see the space of the neighborhood as sacrosanct and therefore view the grocers' mobility practices as detrimental to the redevelopment of the neighborhood. In this chapter I explore the connections between mobility and neighborhood redevelopment through analyzing the different ways that local economic development coordinators and bodegueros view the process of neighborhood redevelopment.

Transnationalism and globalization are undermining the legitimacy of the neighborhood as a scale of economic redevelopment. In a transnational era, the physical boundaries of neighborhoods are more porous than ever before. Can any resident truly be understood as a "local" resident? And, in a period of mass-migration, is the idea of a "local" labor market an accurate description of urban employment possibilities? Immigration alone has not created these tensions, but immigration is increasing, immigrants are keeping in close contact with their country of origin, and immigrant entrepreneurs are clear markers of the ways globalization has changed the urban economy.

The question of mobility is directly linked to the question of urban citizenship. What does it mean to be a member of an urban neighborhood which is in turn enmeshed in interlinking urban, national, and global networks? And what does it mean to be a member of a neighborhood if placement in that neighborhood is temporary? While the transnational lives of immigrants are an obvious entrée into these questions, other urban residents are also mobile; because of their temporary presence college students and renters are also viewed by many economic development officials as having less investment in neighborhoods than home-owning long-term residents. A liberal understanding of citizenship places the highest priority on negative rights, the right to be protected *from* government intervention. Yet as Goode and Schneider argue, citizenship in urban neighborhoods revolves around how newcomer groups abide by accepted community norms (1994). In this section I use the mobility of the grocers to investigate the connection between immigrants' spatial and temporal presence in neighborhoods and their "performances" of citizenship: how does the mobility of transnational groups affect

their ability to observe neighborhood codes of conduct and gain acceptance in urban communities?

The experiences of bodegueros highlight the complexities of citizenship within the process of neighborhood economic redevelopment. "People-" and "place-" based processes of economic redevelopment still rely on the ephemeral notion of community in order to determine the focus of their projects. Many of the economic development coordinators I interviewed did not view immigrant business owners as members of their community. The mobility practices of bodegueros mean that they are outsiders – not members of the local community – and therefore their stores are not seen as "places" worthy of incorporation into neighborhood redevelopment plans. Similarly, because of their status as "outsiders" they are often not constructed as members of the community or "people" in need of development. In this sense, economic redevelopment coordinators create a community in need of development. However, the grocers are often not viewed as part of this community or members of this neighborhood polity. Because of the important role that neighborhood retailers play in neighborhoods and the grocers' outward symbols of difference they have become potent symbols of globalization, transnationalism, and the role of mobility in neighborhood redevelopment.

In this chapter I adopt a definition of transnationalism which recognizes the interconnections between migration and mobility. Consistent with Basch and Shiller I focus on the "simultaneous embeddedness" that transnationalism creates among modern immigrants (1995). I argue that both the US and the Dominican Republic are constitutive

of the grocers' business practices; in this sense, returning to the Dominican Republic for low-cost medical care is as important to the survival of the bodega as creating a positive relationship with their clientele. Consistent with the work of Michael Peter Smith, I examine the ways in which spaces of the city become enmeshed in "transnational networks" which concretely change the use of space in along the multiple nodes of the network (2001). Hence the transnational experience of grocers can be understood only through an investigation of how local economic development coordinators and bodega customers interact with one another. And, consistent with current rethinking of transnationalism, I focus on the crossing of international boundaries as well as regional and local boundaries (Grosfuoguel and Cordero-Guzman 1998). Bodegueros' transnationalism involves the crossing of many barriers, while spatial entrapment limits the ability of inner city residents to cross neighborhood and municipal boundaries. Similarly, I extend this rethinking of transnationalism and borders to examine boundaries in both a temporal and imaginary sense. The grocers' use their stores as pathways to upward mobility is an example of their limited temporal commitment to specific Philadelphia neighborhoods.

My argument unfolds in the following manner. First, I draw upon interviews with local leaders – economic development coordinators and neighborhood activists in the neighborhoods around the bodegas I studied – about how transnationalism affects their community. Second, I examine how these local leaders define immigrant entrepreneurs as hurting local processes of redevelopment. Here I revisit how immigrant entrepreneurs are understood as members of local communities and highlight the fiction of a "local"

labor market. Third, I examine the specific transnational and mobility practices of bodegueros that serve as essential components of their economic lives. Last, I discuss the connection between mobility and economic redevelopment and argue that the "temporary permanence" of bodegueros calls for a rethinking of the neighborhood as a scale of economic redevelopment and questions current constructions of urban citizenship that are based on propinquity.

The Increasing Visibility of Transnationalism in Communities

I this section I analyze three different ways that the "local leaders" I interviewed view the relationship between transnationalism and neighborhood redevelopment. In this analysis I draw upon interviews I conducted with 35 neighborhood economic development coordinators and neighborhood activists in the neighborhoods surrounding the bodegas I analyzed. Three different views regarding the relationship between transnationalism and neighborhood redevelopment emerged: 1) transnationalism highlights the connections between the neighborhood and the global economy; 2) transnationalism draws attention to the relationship between urban space and urban commerce; and 3) transnationalism underscores the relationship between culture and business. I use these different understandings of transnationalism to critique the spatially defined neighborhood as the appropriate scale of economic redevelopment. Instead, I maintain that that the institutional arrangement of community redevelopment creates neighborhoods which operate as autonomous cantons that are artificially separated from other urban entities.

Of the 35 local leaders I interviewed about half did not define transnationalism as a force that is affecting their community. While academia is abuzz with new ideas about assimilation and transnational identities, about half of the local leaders I spoke with assumed that the same processes of assimilation that occurred with previous waves of immigrants would eventually take place and immigrants would accept the dominant ethnic and cultural norms of the city. In a typical comment, the president of a neighborhood association in a neighborhood with a rapidly growing immigrant community brushed aside any suggestion of transnationalism and noted "I think the longer they are here, the more they become assimilated into the way things are done here." Many who expressed this view were not in close contact with immigrant communities; for instance, in many communities while their neighborhood was changing demographically, neighborhood institutions still tended to be overwhelming non-immigrant. In this sense knowledge of transnationalism seemed to be associated with direct contact with immigrants. As a general rule, the comments quoted in this chapter tended to come from people who had direct experience working with immigrants (such as church officials) and people who were themselves immigrants.

Neighborhoods and the Global Economy

For many local leaders the transnationalism of immigrant communities highlighted the complex relationship between the space of their neighborhood in Philadelphia and the larger global economy. For example, one economic development officer at a community development corporation in Southwest Philadelphia described the straightforward space-based relationship that he saw between the health of the immigrant businesses on a large

commercial corridor in his community and the quality of life in the neighborhood overall.

He argued:

> There are some 150 to 200 employers, active businesses located on, or very close to that spine, employing over 1,000 people and really in many regards where the avenue goes the rest of the neighborhood goes. There is a correlation between quality of life for businesses and quality of life in general. The theory was that if we could address some of those endemic issues, the trend issues or the structural issues that are infecting Lazy Pine Boulevard it would have a rejuvenating effect on the surrounding communities and going out in concentric rings out from that commercial corridor.

Because immigrant businesses are located adjacent to neighborhood houses and schools he sees the strength of immigrant businesses in his community directly impacting other efforts towards neighborhood improvement. This development model is focused on propinquity as an essential aspect of economic redevelopment: improving one part of the neighborhood is imagined to uplift other spaces in the neighborhood also.

However, as immigration changes both the complexion of commercial corridors and the interconnections between these spaces the global economy, some local leaders came to see their neighborhood as a place enmeshed in complex transnational networks. In this sense, they viewed the space of their neighborhood as a translocal site in which the forces of global capitalism are visible. One Catholic parish and school employee who worked closely with his church's immigrant community saw increased immigration to his community as interrelated with the process of economic globalization and industrial restructuring. He argued:

> I think there is a change [in how immigrants assimilate]. My parents immigrated from Poland when they were like 10… and when my parents came here everyone wanted to be an American. And you were to assimilate immediately. Polish immigrants now they want to come here, work, make their money and go back to Poland and invest. They do not want to be US citizens. The whole idea about being a

US citizens has changed. It's not as glorious or as glamorous as it used to be. And the chances of you moving up are not always as high. Our generation we might not necessarily do as well as our parents. We pray to God that our parents saved and helped give us stuff we'll continue to live our certain lifestyle. But we're becoming a global economy and what choices we've made. It's scary. I mean, if we have war with China where would we get our clothes? Nothing is made in America. Not that there is anything wrong with having things made in other places. We've destroyed all the factories. If we had to open factories to make clothes tomorrow, where would we find people who knew how to use a sewing machine?

These connections between transnationalism and neighborhood change highlight the importance of scale in analyzing the process of redevelopment in Philadelphia communities. To this end, the isolation between community development corporations in adjacent neighborhoods seemed difficult to reconcile with the multiple spaces that the above-quoted Catholic Church leader witnessed coming together in his community. For example, the director of a community development corporation in Lower North Philadelphia explained her interrelationship with a neighboring community development corporation:

AP: How do the redevelopment efforts that you are involved with interact with the other community development corporations? Do you co-ordinate?

They don't. We all have our own boundaries.

AP: So Better Horizon's area does not include any of your area?

Better Horizon's probably does yes. My area goes from Third Street to 19th, and from South Street to West Elm. It is a very, very huge area. And what happens here is instead of us all collaborating and working together, we're all like kind of on your own. On our own page in this book in other words. Which has its good points and its bad points. We're all protective of our own area. What we do here nobody else gets involved in. City Lights, we don't really get involved with them except for the Arts Corridor study which they were doing. Which was a good thing. It was great because we were involved with each other. But that is as far as it went.

While one of the dominant metaphors of transnationalism and globalization is networks and interactions, individual community development corporations operate within small

spatially bounded areas. In this sense, the practice of economic development in the US operates within the socially constructed scale of the neighborhood. A key problem with this socially produced scale is that it produces two sets of people: those from within the neighborhood and those from without. This scalar arrangement creates a contentious relationship between transnational immigrants and neighborhood development officials because immigrant entrepreneurs are working in order to provide for families and members of a diaspora which are much more geographically dispersed than simply those within walking distance of their store. This is essentially an imbalance in scale and power: while local loaders are concerned with only the space of their local community, transnational entrepreneurs are enmeshed in larger global networks (Portes, Guarnizo et al. 2002).

Urban Space and Urban Business

Local leaders also saw the types of businesses that immigrants run in their communities changing as a result of transnationalism. Transnational business owners were seen as having a different relationship with the local neighborhood than other business owners because they serve a more geographically diverse clientele and are enmeshed in networks that stretch far beyond the geographic boundaries of the neighborhood. These connections were seen as affecting their relationship with the process of neighborhood redevelopment. For example, an economic development official in West Philadelphia described the businesses on the corridor that he works with as being 30 percent to 40 percent immigrant-owned. He sees transnationalism affecting those businesses in two different ways:

> There are two glaring example [of transnationalism]: phone cards and money grams. Those businesses do very well here. You can get a phone card to call any country in the world specific to that country. The big reason is that people continue to stay in touch, either because of the change in immigration or because they are closer to family and they have continued to maintain contact. I also see a lot of the business selling products to both immigrants and non-immigrants, [in order] to accommodate immigrants. Like for instance the VHS tapes that you get in some African countries are different than the ones we have. So you have a special VCR that will play that. Some people were smart enough to figure that out – "there is a customer out there who wants something that nobody else will give them, and I will provide that." But on the same token these people can go somewhere and buy African videos. People are continuing to have a hunger for their culture away from home. So there is definitely that connection.

As this official describes, transnationalism has affected the types of stores that have emerged within the inner city. These new types of businesses use urban space in order to serve a broader clientele than those physically present in the community. One of the themes that emerged in conversations with local leaders was that because immigrant merchants in their community were serving such a broad clientele, for instance maintaining connections at home as well as within their local community, they were less willing to alter their business practices in response to criticisms or critiques from local economic development officials. In this sense, because they served a clientele broader than the local neighborhood they were seen as being less responsive to the needs of the local community.

An example of the changing power dynamic between transnational business owners and local leaders can be seen in the example of a Ghanaian shoe-store owner who operates out of an old grocery store in West Philadelphia. A local leader who works at an economic development corporation described how his storefront serves a constituency

located in Africa, not necessarily those walking along the street in front of his store. She

described the situation this store creates:

> I know all about transnationalism. A lot of immigrants have transnational identities
> and that is blatant. I probably know a lot of this because I am an immigrant. You see
> people have.... this one merchant he owns a used shoe business and nine out of ten
> times his shop is closed. An old grocery store. The store is always closed. You're
> like "what is this guy doing? How does this guy make money?" But he rents the
> space, he collects shoes and once a year he goes back to Ghana for two months. He
> ships them all over and he sells them there. Here if you rent a space on a commercial
> corridor [and it's always closed], people are like "it's not a store." But if you
> consider his transnational identity, he supplies to people at home so he is not
> necessarily interested in the market here. The retail space is portable.

A store located on a commercial corridor in inner-city Philadelphia serving a clientele in

Ghana has profound implications for the process of local neighborhood redevelopment.

In essence, the translocal space of the store poses questions of community membership

and belonging. For local leaders interested in providing increased retail opportunities for

local residents the shoe store does not necessarily improve the quality of the life in the

community. However, as a local businessman the shoe-store owner is a member of the

local community and hence his needs as a business owner should be part of local

economic development planning.

Local economic development officials tended to resolve the conflicts created by

translocal spaces in different ways. In the above example, the economic development

planner was "an immigrant herself" and viewed the shoe-store owner as part of her

community. However, other local leaders viewed transnationalism as a threat to their

power and a threat to the larger idea of "community control" of local community space.

The root of this powerlessness was that because the local community surrounding some

immigrant owned business was not their sole economic hinterland the views of local

residents were not seen as important. For example, an economic development manager

in West Philadelphia argued that since some immigrant businesses in his community

were making so much money from wiring funds abroad and through phone cards they

were less inclined to listen to his advice as to how the corridor should look:

> It's very interesting. I'm not going to name the business. But there is one immigrant business on Sunnyside Avenue, and like many of the others he sells phone cards and he does Western Union for remitting funds back to people from countries… I once went into his back office. He sat me down and he took out a little shopping bag, one of the flimsy grocery store bags. And in it were bricks of cash, like I've only seen in the movies when someone is paying a ransom. And then he showed me this deposit that was for $46,000 or $47,000 and said "this is my deposits for Sunday through Wednesday. And most of this money is not his, most of it is money that's been given to him to wire back and he's getting a percentage of it. What is very clear is that there is tremendous profit from serving the immigrant community. You wouldn't know it by looking at the store. This is what I find frustrating getting back to the compliance with code question. It is very easy to look at these places and say "oh there are struggling businesses, we need to be extremely sympathetic." Often they are not struggling businesses. They've just not been expected to maintain to a certain level, so they don't do it. But this guy, you can look at his store, it' looks like crap, there is no other way to describe it. It's not maintained… I'm not talking "it doesn't meet my little aesthetic" it's just dirty with broken windows. It's terrible. This

coordinator was working hard to initiate a façade improvement program and a

neighborhood clean-up campaign on a local commercial corridor only to find that the

"struggling" immigrant entrepreneurs with whom he was working actually had a much

wider network than he and therefore his power to influence their actions was diminished.

In this way the translocal spaces of immigrant businesses are altering the power dynamic

between the local community and immigrant-owned businesses.

The transnational business practices of immigrant entrepreneurs highlighted the spatially

bound imaginaries of redevelopment officials. As we will explore, Dominican

bodegueros—much like the Ghanaian shoe store owner discussed above – are

simultaneously embedded in multiple spaces. As they negotiate these different spaces they seek to create development not only on the particular block where their store is located but also in their home country. In contrast, the process of economic redevelopment in Philadelphia neighborhoods is segregated and space-based. The boundaries of local community development corporations are tightly-policed borders which serve to devalue the economic investment that immigrants make in spaces outside of their neighborhood in Philadelphia.

Business Culture

Transnationalism was also seen as changing the business culture of Philadelphia through the introduction of different social and business norms. For example, one immigrant advocate who worked at an immigrant welcoming center[14] in Lower Northeast Philadelphia funded by the Catholic Church described her job as being a "culture coach." That is, she saw an important part of her job as teaching the norms of US society to new immigrants in order to ease their process of assimilation. Many economic development officials working with immigrants similarly saw their role as guiding immigrants towards "correct" or "local" business practices. Local economic development officials saw it as their job to explain American capitalism to those who are new to the neighborhood and may be managing their businesses in a "foreign" way. This conceptualization of some business practices as "local" and others as "foreign" again highlights the dilemma faced by economic development officials of how they define the "local community."

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[14] This center provided English language classes, computer literacy classes and a variety of other acculturation type services to Spanish-speaking immigrants to Philadelphia.

A common refrain I heard with local leaders was the idea that immigrant businesses owners are not assimilating to the local business culture of the US and are instead engaged in a process of "unplanned development." They felt it was their job to try to guide immigrants' business practices towards a more sustainable model which would be more beneficial for the community. For example, Sean, an economic development official on a very multicultural business strip in Southwest Philadelphia bemoaned the number of immigrant-owned businesses selling the same product (such as hair braiding outlets). He argued that these business owners are more individualistic because of their outsider status:

> The value of Sunnyside Avenue for so long was its wide breadth of options. And the less options there are the more problems there are….there seems to be an ignorance about…. I touched on this before, this idea of community. It is presumed in our culture that I care what happens in my neighbor's house because it impacts me directly. But there is so much isolation because people are so culturally different. For them it is not their home. And they want to survive themselves and they really can't concern themselves with what is going to happen as a byproduct of that.

Sean's difficulty on Sunnyside Avenue revolved around his belief that some aspects of transnationalism are good because they bring a sense of vibrancy and cosmopolitanism to the community. However, to Sean, this multiculturalism was difficult to maintain and promote because of the "individualistic" businesses practices of the immigrant entrepreneurs. In our interview Sean expressed both his hope of transnationalism revitalizing his commercial corridor and some of his misgivings about the process. These tensions around how to merge an understanding of US business culture with transnational immigrants can be seen in his desire to host an "International Expo" on Sunnyside Avenue:

> If people want to continue to have strong deep cultural ties to the community they came from, I think that enriches [the neighborhood]. I think that is the idea of having

the International Expo: let's accentuate that. Let's say, "where else can you go and buy food from seven different countries on two linear blocks? You can do it in Southwest. Where else can you go and hear seven different languages? And you can do it here." It does hinder [them] in some ways, still clinging, it's aggressively non-assimilating…I don't blame them, if I was far from home and my culture was so different I would want those things, I think that it is only normal. But it's definitely obvious that it is happening, and in some ways it is a bit of a handicap, it is a crutch in terms of not making the cultural adjustments that might help them.

I Left my Heart in San Francisco

The dominant complaint I heard from local leaders about immigrant-owned businesses was that because immigrant entrepreneurs had other spaces that were important to them they were not interested in helping the local community. In this sense, consistent with the bodegueros' self perception as "invaders," many local leaders saw the grocers as more interested in creating profits in order to remit the money to the Dominican Republic than in investing in their local community in Philadelphia. While the grocers worked hard to both serve their shoppers and to create a positive relationship with their shoppers, none of the grocers I worked with had ever attended any meetings of any local community development corporations or had attended meetings at any of the local planning councils. Therefore their performances of citizenship within the community did not extend to the "leadership" of the community. Similarly, many leaders had never been to a bodega or had met any of the bodegueros. Among community leaders who had negative perceptions of bodegueros, their opinions were based on their experiences with other ethnic grocers (such as Puerto Rican, Korean, or Chinese storeowners), or the often negative media portrayals of Dominicans.

The local leaders with whom I spoke were necessarily place-based: they made their home

in the community or worked for an organization whose goal was to improve a specific

neighborhood in Philadelphia. Many had devoted their lives to improving their local

community. As a result of their hard work they had adopted a somewhat protective view

of the space of the neighborhood and viewed temporary neighborhood residents as

lacking the necessary commitment to take part in neighborhood redevelopment. This

equation between "commitment" and permanent placement in the community was

expressed to me in multiple ways. For example, many felt that because transnational

immigrants had a home somewhere else, they would treat their Philadelphia

neighborhood poorly. A housing official from a predominantly Puerto Rican community

development corporation expressed disgust with the transnational lives of some of the

Puerto Rican members of his neighborhood in saying:

> It's almost like, I have heard it over and over again, people who came over the United States for economic improvement and opportunities here that while they were here it was always their dream to go back. I have heard that over and over again. I had many friends who came over, did their work here for a period of time, save some money, and boom they went back. The dream was always to go back. It was almost like they were here temporarily. It was like "this is not my home."

This housing officer viewed transnational Puerto Ricans and bodegueros as neighborhood

residents who lacked commitment to Philadelphia neighborhoods because they had other

spaces which they considered "home." By claiming multiple sites as "homes"

transnationals challenge the goal of stability and constancy that local leaders strive for in

their neighborhood redevelopment projects. Transnationals instead propose an alternate

model based on movement and the redevelopment of multiple spaces. When economic

redevelopment is contemplated at the neighborhood scale, how do you include those who

live their lives embedded in multiple communities such as the Ghanaian transnational

shoe merchant, a Dominican storeowner building a home in Moñcion, or a Puerto Rican neighborhood resident investing in a home beyond Philadelphia's boundaries?

In preferring neighborhood residents to be sedentary as opposed to mobile, current models of neighborhood redevelopment seem to be constructed in contrast to the dominant trends of late capitalism which privilege movement, diversity, and change over tradition, community, and convention. As examined in chapter three, the vision of the city put forward by proponents of increased immigration to Philadelphia is for the city to be open to new mobile residents who will bring new economic investment to the city. However, in the neighborhoods where I conducted interviews this new vision was not accepted. Instead, local leaders seemed more interested in supporting existing urbanites and not adopting new models of economic redevelopment based on transnational mobility.

The inherent problem in adopting a sedentary definition of community is that it fails to recognize the ways in which movement appeals to many community residents. Therefore, local leaders often expressed dismay at the ways in which neighborhood residents used mobility to expand their life choices, constructing any movement out of the neighborhood as a threat to their survival. For example, in interviewing the director of a large community development corporation serving a community with a large Puerto Rican population, we discussed with a young 20-something staff member (Michael) the changing demographics of the community:

AP: Where do you see the neighborhood going in the future?

> Director: Do you believe what I believe that we are losing our Latino population because they are not being… we are trying to get them to stay here. They are moving to the Northeast.
>
> Michael: I was just thinking about this over the weekend. When people started to come over from Puerto Rico in the 50s it was sort of around the manufacturing sites and everyone was based in Spring Garden. And then they started to come a little bit further north and this was sort of the area in the 70s, 80s, and 90s. and now they are moving slowly further and further north. It is the housing stock hasn't been stable here. In Spring Garden they were priced out completely. They followed manufacturing and as it left they moved on. And here it's just they were in housing and it wasn't stabilized, or the neighborhood just got so bad that they decided to move somewhere else. So they are moving and moving and moving, while we are building again…I think some of this too is that this was considered such a bad neighborhood that they moved further north to get away from here. And now when you talk about coming back it is like "why would I ever go back there?" While it has changed over the last five years and we are doing homeownership and it is quickly changing it is just the thought "why would I travel backwards?"

What struck me about this exchange was the extent to which the organization was struggling with its contradictory goals of serving both the *residents* of North Philadelphia and the *physical space* of North Philadelphia. As Michael notes, many Puerto Ricans are choosing to move to Northeast Philadelphia because of access to safer schools and because this move is representative of upward mobility. However, this movement is seen as a problem for the community development corporation who see their constituents choosing a different community to call "home."

The relationship between immigrant-owned stores and the employment of local neighborhood residents arose as a key point of contention. The stores are perceived by some as transnational entities that are run by entrepreneurs with no connection to the local communities in which they are located. These customers, neighborhood activists, and economic development officials maintain that bodegas draw income out of their host

communities and invest that money either in other city neighborhoods or back home in

the Dominican Republic. As one shopper summarized:

> Well, most immigrants in the community are just in the community to get their job
> done, to make money, and then they leave. I don't know very many of them who live
> in the community. They are no better than the stores that were there before who were
> there just to earn a salary and then they leave. So I am not too user friendly with that
> type of relationship.

Central to the notion that immigrants are in some ways interlopers is the idea that

immigrants disrupt or not participate in the "local" labor market. To this end, many local

leaders had an idealistic image of neighborhood children graduating from neighborhood

schools, obtaining a neighborhood job, and remaining neighborhood residents. This

progression through neighborhood-based institutions hinged on the idea that the labor

market was a "local" phenomenon in which the universe of prospective workers was

drawn from a geographically predetermined area.

A central critique by local leaders was the claim that bodegueros did not hire local

neighborhood residents. By not hiring local neighborhood residents, the stores were not

seen as serving as an engine of job growth in the community. At the stores in which I

conducted my research only one store had a non-Latino employees (an African American

cook), and all the other workers were Latino, mostly Dominican. One local leader cited

the lack of employment of local residents by the store in her area as a symbol of the lack

of connection between immigrant-owned businesses and processes of local economic

development:

> They don't hire! They hire themselves. Some of those, they do hire, they hire under
> the table so what happens, and there is a lot of different things to be had because
> some of the stores only hire their own. That is a fact. And some of them who do
> hire, like at Sam's or different places like that, they have these young men working

for them but they are working under the table. So nobody is contributing to the community and they are not contributing to themselves because at the end of the day they think that for whatever reason they don't have to pay child support or whatever reason they're happy like this since they are not making so much. They are not paying any SSI and they are not making their lives accountable, and so they haven't looked down the road because if anything should happen to them they have not even bought into social security so they will get nothing. It's just sad.

In conducting interviews with local neighborhood leaders about immigration and neighborhood redevelopment I found that a central critique of immigrant-owned businesses was a perception that because of their transnational lives the storeowners were not interested in staying in the neighborhood and assisting in processes of neighborhood redevelopment. To this end, local leaders saw the mobility of transnational entrepreneurs as harming those residents who had made a long-term commitment to the community. Movement was in fact often conceptualized as a direct attack on the work that they were doing and the goals of their organization.

The Bodeguero as Transnational Entrepreneur

The experiences of bodegueros as neighborhood entrepreneurs exemplify the importance of transnationalism in understanding the relationship between immigration and neighborhood redevelopment. As analyzed in chapter five, understanding neighborhood codes of conduct and "embedding" themselves in the community were essential aspects of bodegueros' survival as middleman minorities. In this sense transnationalism's focus on movement elides the reality that the local remains an essential aspect of mobility (Anderson 1997). In this section I examine some of the transnational processes that bodegueros use as part of their livelihood strategies that both complicate and assist in their process of neighborhood redevelopment. In this section I argue that the grocers can

best be understood as "temporary permanent" neighborhood members. In essence, their survival strategies are dependent on both their embedding in local neighborhoods codes of conduct and performing the actions of neighborhood members while at the same time maintaining a temporary commitment to the community. Many of the grocers I worked with were planning on retiring to the Dominican Republic or transitioning out of bodega ownership into less labor-intensive careers. In this sense their commitment to the corner store is "temporary."

Most of the bodegueros I worked with were not involved in any neighborhood-based organizations such as community development corporations. The grocers saw themselves as concerned primarily with their own economic livelihood and viewed community redevelopment as a process that was carried out by other people whose goals were different from theirs. Because of the long hours the bodegueros worked they did not find time to attend meetings held by community development corporations and other urban initiatives. Therefore while grocers and community development corporations existed in the same physical spaces they were somewhat distinct groups. To this end, the two bodegueros I worked with who attended meetings on a regular basis were exclusively involved with groups that worked with the Dominican Republic and the local Dominican community. They were not involved in neighborhood-based groups. As Julio explained:

> Fix the problems in the community? I don't think so. We cannot fix the problems that we got, and then try to fix someone else's problems! We too busy solving our own problems! That's true, right? I cannot try to get myself together to try to fix someone else's problem. Even your family, sometimes, you cannot try to fix their problems. Instead of the community. The bodeguero can do something: if someone comes in here and asks for donations for some things they do in the community. I help as much as I can, no matter if it's a couple of dollars.

As we saw in chapter three, citywide policy makers felt comfortable identifying

immigrants as important players in local redevelopment efforts. However, among the

bodegueros I worked with only Rodrigo, who has been involved in political activity in

the Dominican Republic and does not imagine his future being in the US, saw the

bodegas as an important force in local neighborhood redevelopment in the US. He

explained:

> [Bodegas play the role of] dynamizing the economy because they are paying taxes,
> they are buying properties. When you are in a neighborhood and that neighborhood
> doesn't have no one that pays taxes for a corner, that neighborhood doesn't get the
> same attention as a neighborhood that pays a lot of taxes. So that's the role that I see
> bodeguero playing here. It is making it busy for the city, the distributor – for the
> distributor who needs to hire more people to make the distribution of different items
> like food and soda and different things.

Transnational Practices of Bodegueros

Table 6.1 Transnational Practices of Bodegueros
Vacationing in the Dominican Republic
Medical Care
Political Activity
Hometown Associations
Family Connections
Remittances/Property Ownership
Utilizing Dominican Ethnic Codes in the US

The transnational practices that the bodegueros were involved in were essentially mobility practices which allowed them to cross boundaries and scales in ways that improved their lives.

While transnationalism was presented as a "crutch" by some local leaders, or was seen as

a force which worked against the incorporation of immigrants into the local community, I

found that the connections the bodegueros kept with the Dominican Republic both

assisted them in maintaining their fragile position as middleman minorities and

demonstrated their interest in redevelopment in the Dominican Republic. Table 6.1

summarizes these strategies. By maintaining connections with two geographically

disparate spaces, the actions of the grocers supported the development of these different areas. Below I analyze each one of these strategies.

Vacations Taking vacations in the Dominican Republic served as a much needed release valve for grocers. Six of seven grocers I worked with returned to the Dominican Republic yearly, and it was only Julio who lacked someone to run the store while he was away who did not regularly return. The lower cost of living and extended family networks in the Dominican Republic provided grocers the opportunity to visit family and friends and relax for an extended period of time. In this sense, the self-sacrifice the grocers engaged in at their stores was made possible by their access to the Dominican Republic as a space of relaxation and renewal.

For a number of bodegueros, the Dominican Republic existed primarily as a vacation destination because children, identity, and their financial life were so firmly planted in the US. As José lamented, the lower standard of living in the Dominican Republic as compared to his life in the US made it an unreasonable place to live permanently. He noted "maybe it's a good place to go for vacation, but not to live. Maybe you can have a generator and so when the power goes off you still have electricity, but when everything [is bad it] isn't good."

In addition to serving as a space of relaxation, the Dominican Republic was constructed as an idealized space that contrasted sharply with the difficulties of their daily lives in Philadelphia. In this sense, many bodegueros had strong positive memories of the time

they had spent in the Dominican Republic as children or young adults. In comparison to their difficult lives as bodegueros in the US, memories of home were both idealized and a critique of what they saw as the materialism and lack of strong communities in the US. For example, María compared her neighborhood in the Dominican Republic to her current neighborhood in Philadelphia by arguing "[t]hat's a big difference. I understand this is America, but, over there people help each other. Right here, you only got your own and that's yours. There people share everything. And it is a very peaceful neighborhood there. Right here, a lot of noise." The image of the Dominican Republic as a place with poor people, but with people who helped each other out and looked after each other and therefore had a more communitarian ethic than the US was a popular observation among the grocers I worked with.

Health Care The ability to travel to the Dominican Republic for health care served as a transnational tool which allowed the grocers to run their stores. Many grocers described getting a full checkup during trips home and often postponed necessary medical treatments until they could be handled more affordably at home. For instance, I met grocers who financed back operations and dental work in the Dominican Republic through their stores in the US. The advantages that home offered the grocers were both financial and familial: the lower cost of medical care made healthcare a reality for entrepreneurs without health insurance in the US and extended family networks allowed them to recuperate in a comfortable space.

Political Activity During the period of my field work the Dominican Republic saw a presidential election in which the ruling party switched from the PRD to the PLD (the two dominant Dominican political parties). The election was viewed differently by the bodegueros in my sample: from apathy and disinterest to active campaigning. For example, after the election Rodrigo left his store in order to serve in Philadelphia as an official with the PLD, while another rushed to have a car shipped to the Dominican Republic while the PRD was still in power and therefore able to offer a reduction in import fees.

Engagement in transnational political activity highlights the relationship between assimilation and transnationalism. For local leaders concerned that immigrants' true allegiances were elsewhere, their engagement in political activity at home was a symbol of this lack of interest in US political activity. However, the grocers I worked with who were most involved with politics in the Dominican Republic were also most involved in politics in the US. For example, Rodrigo and María were deeply involved in Dominican politics: Rodrigo through his work in the PLD and María through her work with the Moñcion hometown association. Yet these two grocers were also extremely involved with La Asociación de Bodegueros Domincanos and were committed to local, national, and international political developments. In this sense, it seemed as though transnationalism broadened their scope of political involvement and created multiple spaces of engagement instead of symbolizing lack of interest in the neighborhood in favor of the Dominican Republic.

Hometown Associations Hometown associations are a well established part of transnationalism. María, for example, vacillated between her involvement with La Asociación de Bodegueros Domincanos and her hometown association, which was raising money for the construction of a new guard rail to be built along a dangerous road in her province. In addition, she had timed her trip home in order to be present at her hometown festival where she represented members of community living in Philadelphia. In a similar vein Juan was still active in his parish in the Dominican Republic and sent money to the church whenever there were calls for donations.

Family Connections All of the bodegueros I worked with had families living in the Dominican Republic (and often other states in the US too) with whom they kept close contact through telephone calls, e-mails, and letters. Because of the time demands in running the store these relationships were often maintained while the bodegueros were behind the counter dealing with customers, often putting bodegueros in the difficult position of talking about personal family issues (albeit in Spanish) while interacting with customers. These family connections also allowed the bodegueros with children to send their kids away for the summer.

Remittance/Property Ownership All of the bodegueros I worked with were remitting funds to family members in the Dominican Republic. In addition, the topic of remittances was often discussed in meetings of bodegueros. On the whole, the bodegueros I worked with were sending between $100 and $300 a month, although transfers between the US and the Dominican Republic were often hard to quantify as they

often took the form of goods, payment of tuition for family members in school, and other

non direct-cash payments. Decisions regarding how much money to send home were

dependent on the ability of grocers to manage the finances of the business in the US, their

families in the US, and the needs of family members in the Dominican Republic. As

Rodrigo explained, he though about sending money home by analyzing the costs

associated with maintaining his family in the US:

> I have my mother there so sometimes I send her $100, but it's not much money. I
> spend a lot of money here so I can't send a lot of money like some of the other guys
> do: private school, etc. Those guys don't have much family here so they can send
> more home.

In addition to sending money to family, bodegueros sent money home to local churches

and invested funds in homes in the Dominican Republic. Three bodegueros among the

group I worked with had homes that they had built in their hometowns. Remittances also

emerged as a sore spot with local leaders concerned that income made in their

communities was quickly leaving the community for sites abroad. As Rodrigo noted, all

of the grocers were concerned about how to divide their income between re-investing in

their store, personal consumption, and remitting money home.

Utilizing Dominican Ethnic Codes in the US An important aspect of bodegueros'

ability to exist in their position as middleman minority was their ability to position

themselves racially vis-à-vis the overwhelming Black/White duality of race relations in

the Philadelphia. Other scholars of Latino ethnicity have noted the existence of a

"continuum" of racial categories in Latin America, as compared to a dichotomous

Black/White racial classification system in the US (Waters 1999; Itzigsohn and Cabral

2000). Bodegueros maintained this racial classification system and identified themselves

as Dominican, thereby viewing the White/Black duality as a product of specific conditions in the US distinct from their views of race. In this sense they viewed others as being conscious of race and themselves as less color conscious. This view can be seen in Rodrigo's response to charges of racism leveled against bodegueros:

> Rodrigo: No, no, no, no, no. There is not bad treatment between Dominicans and African Americans. I hear it a lot, people talking about racist. But we Dominicans are used to black, white, brown, people, Chinese, whatever, because what we have in our country is a real mixture of people. My great-grandfathers, some of them were Spanish-white, some of them were African-black. So in my family I have all sorts of colors. I'm used to sitting at the table with black family relatives, dark skinned relatives, and also clear to white skinned relatives. I used to do that because that is what my family looks like. So once you come here you are used to it. Sometimes you see other people reluctant to you. But we are not the problem.

> AP: Because the Dominican Republic is such a multi-racial place?

> Rodrigo: Actually, we say it is a place of mulattos. So I wouldn't say when we are talking about race, that Dominicans are the problem. Because we are used to colors.

> AP: Which means that if there is racism it is coming from someone else?

> Rodrigo: And I see it every day: Blacks are racist, Whites are racist. They don't talk to each other, they don't like each other and you are right there in the middle.

While Bodegueros dismissed the idea of race determining their relationship with the clientele, class-based understandings of how money should be budgeted were important themes in terms of how bodegueros understood differences between ethnic groups in the US. For example, in describing why their stores were successful many bodegueros noted the way that African Americans did not budget their money and spent all of their potential savings at the store. In this sense, class, as symbolized by budgets, became a much more important distinction between customers and bodegueros than race. Juan, for example, described the benefits of locating his store in an African American neighborhood by saying:

> It's more better. It's more business in the Black neighborhoods than the other communities. For some reason, in the Black neighborhoods when they got money they spend it. And I never work in the Hispanic neighborhood, in the other kind of neighborhood because I only work in the Black neighborhood. But I think that in the other neighborhoods they think differently. Like if they make 300 dollars, they probably think a little bit more before spending the money. They trying to save money. They come here and they go to the market, see what they need and buy it. But in the Black neighborhood they don't care. They want to eat this stuff quickly.

In this sense, bodegueros used Dominican understandings of race which place less emphasis on color and more emphasis on class in their understanding of their clientele. They viewed their White and Black clientele as racist, and saw themselves as "middlemen" from a different culture unconcerned about color.

The economic success of bodegueros is based on their ability to be embedded in the network of their neighborhood community in Philadelphia while simultaneously taking advantage of their connections to the Dominican Republic. These connections to the Dominican Republic include vacations, health care, political activity, hometown associations, family connections, remittances/property ownership, and the utilization of Dominican racial codes. All of these practices directly assisted the bodegueros in running their businesses and can be understood as mobility practices which allowed them to utilize their connections to geographically distant spaces to support their life in the US. I maintain that in supporting their lives in the US, the transnational connections of the grocers also support the local communities surrounding their stores. Trying to position these transnational entrepreneurs as either good or bad for Philadelphia neighborhoods ignores the importance of mobility to the their business practices.

Business Mobility

The transnational connections that bodegueros use in order to facilitate their business life are not the only form of movement that bodegueros are involved in. The importance of movement can be seen in two different aspects of bodegueros' livelihood: future employment prospects and wealth creation within the stores. All of the grocers I worked with argued that it was not going to be possible for them to continue to run their store their entire life. Because of the family and personal stresses caused by bodega ownership, all of the bodegueros I worked with were imagining a future career outside of bodega ownership; most were planning on becoming investors and owning either other bodegas or housing units, while others planned on transitioning into the white collar sector to work as teachers, reporters, or legal services providers. The different career paths imagined by bodegueros highlight the role of the bodega not only as a neighborhood institution, but as an intuition of wealth creation and career mobility for their owners.

The most common form of career mobility I saw was the bodegueros' plan to use their expertise in neighborhood retail to transition to a career that did not involve the direct running of the bodega, but instead involved lending money to other bodegueros and living off of the rent payments, or transitioning from bodega ownership into a position as a landlord. José, César, Julio, and Juan were all working towards this goal. In each of these careers the time they spent working as bodegueros would provide them with capital they could then invest in other moneymaking opportunities. As José described this process:

> Sometimes when [my wife and I] have arguments about running the store we talk about it and we realize that we cannot run this store forever. Because mentally and physically it strains you. What I want to do is one day is move out of this business, but you need money to do that. What I want to do is to one day move out of this business into some kind of real estate business. But you need money to do that. So I have no choice but to get up everyday and do this day in and day out. Do what I have to do.

> AP: So you're thinking about other things you'd like to do later on?

> Maybe buy a building, rent out some houses and live and then rent them out. It depends. Maybe find someone who could run the business for you, but it's hard to find someone who will run it as good as you run it, or as good as you think you run it.

José's description of the difficulties of transitioning into other businesses was typical of the views of other bodegueros I spoke with. Working in the bodega was labor intensive but provided an opportunity to save money which could then be invested in less labor-intensive moneymaking ventures such as real estate. Staying involved in the bodega business and investing in other bodegas that could be run by employees was a common, but difficult, strategy. As José notes, it is difficult to find someone to invest in because success as a bodeguero is based almost entirely on the human capital of the owner.

Other white collar careers involved getting out of the bodega business and utilizing the education bodegueros had received in either the US or the Dominican Republic. During my research María graduated from a local school with an associates degree and began working as a legal assistant during the day and at the store in the evening. Similarly, Pedro was making plans to go to school to study education so that he could work as a teacher and have summers off with his wife who was already a schoolteacher. Rodrigo's wife finished an associates degree (while often studying behind the counter during slow periods) and she and her husband were negotiating a work schedule wherein she could

work outside of the store in order to take advantage of her new skills. Last, in the long term Rodrigo saw himself returning to the Dominican Republic to work as a reporter in the Dominican Republic, and during my research was running his store on the weekends and evening hours while working for the Dominican consulate in Philadelphia.

As hinted at above, all of the grocers viewed their presence at their current store as a "temporary permanent" situation. The long hours it takes to run the store and sense of danger while working behind the counter push bodegueros towards alternative careers. I begin by examining "temporary permanence" through the different ways that bodegueros create wealth and then turn to a discussion of the expected future homes of bodegueros. One way that bodegueros create wealth is through the selling of the store, not through the day-to-day operation of the business. As Juan explained this process:

> I don't think bodegueros make that much money. What happens is if you buy a store for $40,000 selling $6,000 a week [in sales] and you can bring that store up to $10,000 that store is worth $80,000, $75,000 [when you sell it]. As you can see, most people buy a store and two years later you go there and somebody else is there. That is the money they made. They sell it for more money and that is the money they make. It is not actual income…it's like the stock market. You don't buy stocks to get dividends, you buy a stock to see it go up and make some money. That's the same situation with the stores.

As Juan explains, bodegueros operate in a manner similar to other ethnic entrepreneurs in that they forgo immediate consumption in favor of long-term wealth accumulation. The dilemma is that grocers' capital is fixed in the physical space of the store, not liquid. Therefore, if grocers have a need for cash and want to realize the value of their stores, they have to sell the store and eventually reinvest in another bodega in order to maintain cash flow. In this sense, many bodegueros owned stores for a few years, sold the store in order take a vacation, and then reinvested in another bodega. The interesting aspect of

this process is the continual community embedding that must occur for this process to be successful: because bodegueros' business practices are based on knowing their customers wherever they invest their capital they must come to know the community. Another aspect of this process is that going away for a couple of months and vacationing in the Dominican Republic is an essential stress reliever, yet it is also costly and difficult. Therefore, as Juan describes, owners look forward to a chance to relax:

> Most of us are immigrants, and probably most of us just want to make 5, 6, 8 years in a place and move on someplace else. The reason is that you can't be in a place forever, it is too hard. Have to take some time off sometimes. And it is only the old folks who are doing it. You have a lot of young fellow, but some young fellows don't want to work as hard as the older generation. Even owning stores! A lot of young people don't want to get into it because it is rough: 14, 15 hours a day. It's not easy. Not too many people are willing to do it, unless you immigrate and then you have no choice. You come here and you get an education and a good job and get into another field you will never get into this. So basically most of the stores are owned by immigrants because only immigrants know how to do it because probably they worked 15 hours a day anyhow and they are willing to risk a year of their lives, or maybe their own lives to own a store to make some money, to make a living.

Other grocers chose to stay in their store a long time, and create wealth not through movement but through continued presence in one community. Many of the bodegueros I worked with remember the difficult work of learning English and establishing themselves in the community and are reluctant to relocate because they do not want to repeat this process. José, for example, often joked that I could take whatever I wanted for lunch because "the store was paid for." Because he was no longer paying off loans, the store was profitable. Similarly, although María was transitioning out of full-time employment at her store she realized that the most difficult days were now behind her because she had built a good relationship with the community. In fact, María often noted that her main concerns about violence came from people not from the neighborhood around her store because she felt as though her regular customers would not harm her.

In addition to viewing their position as bodegueros as temporary, the grocers also viewed their placement in the US as a temporary arrangement. While the common perception of bodegueros was that they all wanted to return permanently to the Dominican Republic, the grocers I worked with imagined a more complex relationship between Philadelphia and the Dominican Republic: two were expecting to stay in the US permanently (José and Pedro); María and her family were undecided; Rodrigo planned on returning to the Dominican Republic; and three were looking for some way to create a transnational life (César, Julio, and Juan). This last group wanted to use their capital in the US to create lives for themselves in which they could live as long as possible in the Dominican Republic while still maintaining economic investment in the US and thereby living off of capital created in the US. This process of searching for a way to create a transnational lifestyle was a frequent topic of conversation both between me and the bodegueros and within the bodeguero community.

Bodegueros considered a transnational life because of what they saw as the impossibility of a permanent move to the Dominican Republic. Many felt that while they would like to move home, their children were raised in the US and would be reluctant to leave. For example, almost all of the bodegueros I worked with had children in US schools and were worried about the difficulty of transferring those children back to the Dominican Republic. In addition, most bodeguero were skeptical that the money they had saved would last them permanently in the Dominican Republic. Everyone told stories of bodegueros who had returned home with $50,000 in profits from the sale of their store,

only to return a year or two later broke and having to start all over again. While living

off savings was considered difficult, identifying a business in the Dominican Republic

that a bodeguero could invest in was considered almost impossible. While living in the

US they had lost touch with the business conditions in the Dominican Republic and

therefore lacked in-depth knowledge about the "local" business climate. While the

grocers were enmeshed in the local conditions of Philadelphia neighborhoods, they did

not know the particular conditions of business development in the Dominican Republic.

As César summed up this problem, "it's hard to know when you are living here."

Dominican businesses were viewed as less profitable than businesses in the US.

Therefore, the thought of taking capital out of the US and investing in a less profitable

business in the Dominican Republic struck most bodegueros as ridiculous. Juan, who

wants to live a transnational life, described his skepticism of a permanent move to the

Dominican Republic:

> Back and forth? You can't…yeah it's not that you're going to leave the US for good.
> You might go [to the Dominican Republic] and rest a little bit, but what could you do
> there? What can you do there? Over there is hard. After you retire you just want to
> go over there to spend money, you wouldn't go there to make money. So you can't
> be there in a place where you only spend. You have to be here and there. Most
> Dominicans always have dreams of going back. It is something that is in our blood.
> But 99% of the time it never happens. And if it happens you go there and you do it
> for 2-3 years, but believe me, you be back here. Because I know people who left with
> fortunes, and they back here. Over there it is hard to make it. You get into a
> business, something you don't know what you're getting into and you lose when the
> business doesn't work, and there you go, you got to come back here.

The essential dilemma for bodegueros who envisioned themselves returning to live part-

time in the Dominican Republic was how to maintain a foothold in the US economy

while living elsewhere. One solution to this problem was to invest in apartments and

other buildings in the US and collect rent payments. In this sense bodegueros desired to

move away from making money off their own self-exploitation and become an investor.

Julio, for example, described his ideal plan:

> I think I want to go live over there, not living there forever, but be there for a couple of months and have a couple of houses, get money from here that I can, with the rent from the apartment, with the rent from another house like that you can get two rents, $2,000 a month, I think is what I need to live off. And just go over there and stay a couple of months and then come back over here and stay for a month or three months, see how everything is.

Another solution to transnational wealth creation involved owning a bodega in the US and finding someone to run it for you on your behalf while living in the Dominican Republic. The problem with this strategy, as analyzed in chapter five, is that profits are realized in the store through the hard work and self-sacrificing behavior of the owner. With the owner absent, it is difficult to find an employee with the skills necessary to administer the store sans oversight. Most grocers recognized that individuals who could run a store profitably would prefer to own their own store rather than remit the profits back to the Dominican Republic to an absentee owner.

The mobility of the bodegueros is an essential aspect of their economic strategy. They use their transnational connections to help maintain their stores and use the stores to facilitate their mobility into more profitable careers. The mobility of the bodegueros contrasts sharply with the spatial isolation of neighborhood residents and suggests that the concept of mobility needs to be re-theorized to include a temporal aspect; hence we need to recognize how mobility is part of all peoples' life cycles.

Transnationalism, Movement and Communities

The more time I spent exploring the relationship between local leaders and immigrant

storeowners the more I came to see that the idea of mobility was an essential component

of their divergent views of neighborhood redevelopment. Many local leaders were

looking for a way to create communities which were sedentary: where local businesses

would hire local residents and children would be able to stay in the neighborhood as they

aged. Considering the larger forces working against the mobility of African Americans

in general and residents of urban communities in particular, these strategies made perfect

sense: within an urban fabric that systematically limits the mobility of African Americans

and poor people, working to develop the spaces within which their lives are contained is a

sensible decision. Community development corporations working to develop inner cities

are involved in a struggle to un-make decades of urban policy. To bell hooks, the process

of creating a "homeplace" for African Americans is an act of resistance because it builds

spaces of support and nurturing within a wider racist society (1990).

A central theme among local leaders who felt threatened by transnationalism was the idea

that because immigrants were living lives in which other spaces were important to them

besides the neighborhoods in which they were physically located they were not

committed to neighborhood redevelopment. To this end, because of the centrality of

other geographic spaces to their identity immigrants were often constructed as imperfect

neighborhood residents. I argue that, to the contrary, the connection that bodegueros

maintain with the Dominican Republic assisted the bodegueros in their process of

economic development. Having the ability to vacation in the Dominican Republic, return

home for medical care and keep in close contact with relatives actually strengthened their

ability to administer their stores. To the grocers, the Dominican Republic served as a

space of refuge in which they could decompress from the stress of their daily workload

and a place where they could purchase goods and services unavailable to them in the US.

These connections strengthened their ability to run bodegas in the US.

The spatial and temporal mobility that the grocers exercise is consistent with calls from

policy makers who imagine Philadelphia as a place not suitable for everyone but suitable

for some. As Philadelphia looks to reach out to new international immigrants, these

policy makers are re-imagining the city as a place of movement which is dependent on

the inflows of new population to fill the spaces left by those who chose to leave. As the

assistant to one Philadelphia city council member explained:

> Turnover is good. Philadelphia does not have anywhere near the turnover of residents that the City of New York has. But the City of New York is growing in size, whereas the City of Philadelphia is rapidly shrinking. So while it is certainly interesting it is not a reason to be discouraged. We certainly want plenty of immigrants here, and as long as they come and they are good residents we are happy to have them.
>
> AP: It is so interesting thinking about a city as a place that someone doesn't live in permanently, but as a temporary and churning place.
>
> And t is in sharp contrast, especially in Philadelphia, to what a lot of residents would want and a lot of politicians would want. Certainly you would want somebody to live and die here and to put all of their hard-earned money into a neighborhood, working towards the revitalization of that neighborhood. I think you are always going to have a certain amount of people that are going to want to do that. But on the other hand part of what makes a city a city is that churn. New people always coming in.

However, promoting (and recognizing) the role of mobility in neighborhood

redevelopment demands a policy response of taking concrete steps to integrate these new

members of the community into local networks. In my work I saw only two

neighborhoods which had begun strategies to better integrate immigrant businesses into local communities. They used such strategies as using translators to ensure that when immigrant business owners attended community meetings they were able to understand and participate in the discourse. Other strategies, such as a trip which brought local African Americans to Korea, facilitated intercultural communication. However, these strategies are piecemeal and were not enough to change the perception that immigrant entrepreneurs are hurting Philadelphia neighborhoods.

It seems to me as though the two sides of "temporary permanence" are mutually constitutive. Bodegueros' economic development strategy is based on embedding themselves in urban communities because only with this insider knowledge will their stores be able to thrive. The lack of interest that some bodegueros have in selling their stores illustrates the importance of sedentariness to their economic development strategy. At the same time, the crossing of boundaries and movement are also important. Bodegueros cross neighborhood boundaries in stocking their stores and international boundaries in returning home to the Dominican Republic. In a temporal sense, the stores facilitate the grocers transition into other careers as they gain skills and life options. In this way, the life trajectories of the grocers unfold over the physical space of Philadelphia neighborhoods. Valorizing the contingent nature of mobility and sedentariness as essential aspect of how bodegueros engage in economic development may help us to understand the relationship between urban space and urban residents.

The temporary permanence of bodegueros highlights the connection between capital mobility and the mobility of labor. Bodegueros use their stores as a way of amassing capital; however, the stores are a form of fixed capital which is transformed into liquid capital through the sale of the store and movement out of the bodega into safer and less labor intensive occupations. This use of urban space puts the bodegueros in direct conflict with some local residents who see bodegueros' mobility as being based on their lack of mobility. In this sense, the transnational economic "success" of bodegueros comes at the expense of the particular place-based racist strategies of US urbanism (Massey and Denton 1993). The image of a static community in a fight for its survival against globalization rubs up against the reality of merchants living transnational lives. Without addressing exclusionary zoning, labor market discrimination, and housing market discrimination that prohibit the mobility of neighborhood residents, conflicts with immigrant entrepreneurs are inevitable.

One way of reconciling these different understandings of the use of urban space is through re-imagining urban citizenship. Bodegueros currently perform the actions of citizens, but feel like outsiders. Similarly, plans to increase the level of contact between immigrant business owners and neighborhood residents will remain façades of communitarianism without addressing the relationship between mobility and neighborhood redevelopment. Because bodegueros are members of the Philadelphia polity who care deeply for their homes in the Dominican Republic we should not imagine these investments as taking funds away from neighborhood redevelopment in Philadelphia. Instead, these two spaces are connected through the networks built by

Dominican migration and can be imagined as translocalities enmeshed in global networks of labor and capital mobility (Smith 2001).

Expanding the conception of citizenship to include all those affected by urban policy enacts a transnational form of urban citizenship which recognizes the spatial and temporal mobilities of urban residents. For example, in Mark Purcell's examination of Lefebvre's *right to the city* he argues that the phrase can be interpreted to call for all those affected by the production of urban space to have the right to participate in decisions regarding its construction (2003). My analysis of the temporary permanence of the bodegueros suggests that mobility is an important aspect of urban citizenship. If we take Grosfuoguel and Coredero-Guzman seriously in their call for a rethinking of transnationalism to include the crossing of *all boundaries*, not merely transnational boundaries, we can see how the mobility of the bodegueros is directly related to the spatial entrapment of poor urban residents (1998). Contemporary analyses view entrapment and denial of mobility as a key aspect of US urban patterns (Flusty and Dear 1999; Graham and Marvin 2001; Smith 2002). My research suggests that bodegueros use their mobility in order to realize their life dreams and to facilitate upward mobility. In contrast, segregation works by limiting the mobility options of the lower class through the creation of ghettos and the denial of the ability to vacate these spaces. Mobility is therefore a key ingredient in the determination of freedom and citizenship. While bodegueros may be spatially trapped behind the counters of their store, they are deeply enmeshed in transnational networks. The key to rethinking neighborhood development is opening up those networks to all.

Chapter Seven: The Bodega Business as a Family Business

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the ways in which households, gender identity, and the process of social reproduction interact with the process of neighborhood redevelopment. I focus on the other identities that bodegueros have *besides* being entrepreneurs: they are also members of households and people with gender identities. I argue that these other positionalities play an important role in how the stores are administered and thus play an important role in neighborhood redevelopment. I view these issues through two different lenses: security and care.

As we have seen, security has been a constant problem for bodegueros. The fear of physical violence at the store governs bodegueros' relationship with their clientele. While, thankfully, incidents of violence are rare, the perception of the bodega as a violent place is very real, and stories of violence are told and retold among bodegueros. Importantly, it was the killing of a bodeguero the led to the creation of La Asociación de Bodegueros Dominicanos. In this section I analyze security issues in two different ways. First, I focus on the stress that the fear of physical violence creates within the families of the bodegueros. Because the stores are seen as such violent places, bodegueros are worried about themselves while they are at the store, and worry about their workers and family who run the stores in their absence. These fears about safety feed into their interest in moving out of the bodega business, and thus serve as a cornerstone of

decisions made within bodegueros' families about how to provide for themselves economically. Therefore, physical violence is an issue which affects much more than simply the physical space of the store: it shapes the contours of bodegueros' involvement in the labor market. Second, security and threats of violence must be understood as gendered concepts. Male bodegueros see themselves as better able than women to handle potentially dangerous situations and thus seek to limit the amount of time Dominican women spend at the stores. Thus the fear of violence influences gender relations within the bodeguero community because male bodegueros construct the stores as a dangerous space which Dominican women must be protected from. This gendered understanding of violence is also applicable to customers' experiences of shopping at the stores. The majority of violent interactions at the store arose between bodegueros and male customers, yet the majority of customers at the stores are female. Therefore, bodegueros tried to negotiate their relationship with customers in a way that encouraged female customers to feel comfortable and guarded against violence from male customers. In this chapter I explore how gendered understandings of physical violence at the stores affected relationships at the stores.

While bodegas were definitely capitalistic businesses, the motif of care played an important role in how decisions about store management were made. I analyze this concept in two different areas: care for the neighborhood and care for the family. As I began this project I had been thinking about bodegas in traditional economic terms and thought that my research would examine the dynamics of remittances and neighborhood redevelopment. However, early in my fieldwork, as I was discussing with a bodeguero

named Miguel the possibility of his taking part in my study, I saw how much the care that bodegueros have for their families influences the operation of the stores. As we were talking Miguel and his teenage son Gabriel got in an argument in the middle of the day, in the middle of the store. Gabriel wanted to take the van out to a baseball practice, but there was a problem with the insurance papers for the van. Neither of them could find the required documents, and the son was insisting – in English – that his father was going to "make it seem like I'm the irresponsible one." Meanwhile, Miguel was trying to wait on customers and search behind the counter for the insurance card, all while yelling at his son in Spanish. While Gabriel thought it was safe to use the car without the insurance card, Miguel was insisting that his son take care of the insurance issue right away because the police would pull him over if everything was not exactly right. This fight about the van used to stock the store took place in public and was conducted in two different languages.

As Miguel's story indicates, combining familial care duties with store ownership in a public space is difficult. Family issues are not distinct from the economic aspects of running a profitable store; instead maintaining positive family relationships in a stressful environment is an essential aspect of running a bodega. In the same way that bodegueros must understand community codes of conduct, they also must negotiate relationships within their families. All of the bodegueros I worked with were either married or had girlfriends who worked in their stores, and all but one of the stores were run using labor provided by family members. In this sense, negotiating family relationships was akin to human resources policy. Further, the negotiations that emerged as family members left

the bodega and took on different roles highlighted their gender and household identity. For example, Rodrigo hoped one day to leave his store and begin a less dangerous career and thought of this transition as way of spending more time with his family. I begin by examining the issues that are raised when families work together, and then move to a discussion of upward mobility and examine how the life plans of bodegueros' families relate to the idea of "temporary permanence" analyzed in chapter six. While the bodegueros were understandably proud of the stores they had built, they had conflicting emotions about whether their children should take over their stores when they retired. In this sense, decisions about the future of the stores were made within a context of familial needs and were not strictly economic.

Care can also be seen as a central element of the relationship between bodegueros and the community in which their stores are located. Bodegas are typically viewed as very masculine spaces where solitary men provide for their family through the running of a corner grocery store. As one Dominican woman and experienced community activist told me, lamenting her inability to organize in the bodegueros community, "you've seen the bodegueros, it's a bunch of men. And the women are *lindas* and beautiful." Similarly, a common series of commercials in the Dominican Republic features a young man leaving home for New York City where he works in a bodega in order to gain the money to return home and marry his upper-class girlfriend. However, in contrast to this masculine image, during the day the stores are often very feminized spaces. Because the majority of shoppers at the stores are women and the stores sell a broad range of domestic goods the bodegueros have become experts in the traditionally feminized space of the

home; they know what kind of cleansers sell better than others, which brands of soup are preferred by different customers, and what type of diapers parents prefer for their children. The range of services that bodegueros provide for their shoppers – as detailed in chapter five – helps make social reproduction possible in low income neighborhoods of Philadelphia.

I read the role of bodegueros in urban communities as lying at the intersection between what feminist economist Susan Donath labels the market economy and the "other economy" (2000). She writes

> There is the story about competition in markets, but there is also the story about the other economy. The other economy is concerned with the direct production and maintenance of human beings. This production and maintenance of human beings is an end to itself, not a means to producing commodities. Producing and caring for children is one very important part of the other economy, but it is not the only part. There is also the care needed to sustain adults throughout their lives (116-17).

Donath argues that one of the defining characteristics of work in the other economy is that productivity gains cannot be achieved because of what economist William Baumol labels the "cost disease". [15] In the service industry productivity growth is very difficult to obtain, so the cost of services tend to rise relative to the cost of manufactured goods. Donath views traditionally undervalued household labor as suffering from the "cost disease" within which efforts to increase productivity always result in an inferior product: increased class size, a larger ratio of nurses to patients, etc. Efforts to "solve" the cost disease often involve immigration, because these new workers lack the ability to negotiate for higher wages. In the areas of child care and nursing immigration is one way

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[15] For further information about the Cost Disease see Baumol, W. and W. Oats (1967). "The Cost Disease of the Personal Services and the Quality of Life." <u>Skandinavska Enskilda Banken Quarterly Review</u> **2**(44-54).

of resolving this dilemma through the migration of third world women to work as nannies and nurses in the US (Yeoh, Huang et al. 1999; Choy 2003).

Bodegueros can be seen as providing this sort of care work for the neighborhoods in which they are located. The personal service which they provide for the community and self-sacrificing behavior that they take part in position them in a role similar to immigrant child-care workers: their low wages provide a solution to the cost disease and their labor assists in the social reproduction of families. Shelee Cohen, in her work on West Indian migrant women who provide child care in New York City argues that in the movement of female child-care workers we see a process of "stratified reproduction" within which families in the West Indies are torn apart to assist upper class families in the first world (1995). The work of bodegueros takes place outside of the household but is intimately connected to social reproduction. Their work in the feminized public space of a corner store underscores the connection between households and neighborhoods: social reproduction is a key ingredient of neighborhood redevelopment.

In this chapter I argue that bodegas exist at the intersection of two different families: the family of the bodeguero and the families of their clientele. This intersection between the family and the economy underscores the importance of the household as scale of economic analysis: in overlooking the stresses of bodega ownership on the families of bodeguero and disregarding the importance of bodegas as sites of social reproduction within urban neighborhoods we ignore the role households and families play in constructing urban communities. I argue that by viewing households as a scale of

economic redevelopment we can better conceptualize how urban neighborhoods are formed and how they can be strengthened.

I begin by examining the ways that bodegueros' families are intimately involved in the economic decisions made at the store and the role of the store in creating family wealth and mobility. Second, I examine the bodega as a gendered space within neighborhoods. I argue that the bodegueros' ability to provide for the social reproduction of the households within their community allows for a reinterpretation for the work of a bodega as undervalued "care work" within the community.

The Bodeguero and the Family

As we have seen bodegueros, like other ethnic entrepreneurs, engage in a process of self-exploitation, in essence substituting human capital for other forms of capital. Because of the time demands this process of self-exploitation engenders, bodegueros rely on members of their families to assist them in both operating their stores and handling the processes of social reproduction within their families that they do not have time to take care of. The bodega is therefore a family project, not an individual project. In this section I analyze four different ways that this care work manifests itself in the operation of bodegas: (1) finding time to run the business and spend time with family and friends; (2) worrying about the safety of family while running the stores; (3) combining family obligations with store obligations; (4) and last, using the store as a way to create better opportunities for family members.

The Isolation of the Store

While mobility was an essential aspect of the bodegueros' business model, their movement did not translate into free time to spend with friends and family. Instead, their connections with other bodegueros and with various entities outside of their stores (family in the Dominican Republic, distributors, friends etc.) were usually maintained through telephone conversations while seated behind the counter or during brief outings when they found someone else to cover the counter in their place. Everyone I spoke with described problems finding time to spend with their families and viewed the store as a source of stress within their families. César, for example, describes how working with his wife allows them to spend time together, but seeing other family members and friends is difficult:

> Well it's hard to have friends in this business, because unless they come and visit you, it's hard to see them. My family lives in New York so sometimes I drive there and then drive back, so I get to see them. It's a killer. With my wife I don't have that much problem because we see each other upstairs [in our apartment], keep interacting. Sometimes too much [laughs]! You don't want to be around your wife all the time! Now a lot of guys get in trouble with their family because they don't have time to spend time with their wife or family. But that part I have under control because all my kids are grown. When you have a young family it's difficult.

One of the reasons that many bodegueros had the goal of living part-time in the Dominican Republic or transitioning out of the bodega business was the desire to spend more time with their families. For example, José plans on staying in the US but is making plans to get out of running his store. José's wife has a 9-5 job at a local university and has been pressuring him to move on to a different career. He plans on transitioning out of bodega ownership and becoming a landlord. He described the ongoing problems he and his wife have had in dealing with the stresses of running the store:

My wife, she not agree with my job actually. She know me in a store. When I met her I told her, in the beginning when we started going together, I told her "look, I would like to change, I think things can be better." When you start with something you don't know how it going to come out. At that time I told her "look, I don't plan on being in this store all the time." That is what I told her at the beginning, so she say "you told me at that time, but still you don't have no time." So basically, she pushing me to spend more time with her and the family.

Physical Violence and Mental Stress

Another problem with combining family with business ownership is the mental stresses brought about by the fear of violence at the bodega. As previously mentioned, fear of physical violence was a constant theme in interviews, especially during times when the bodegueros themselves were not physically present at the store and left the store under the care of another worker. For example, while I spoke with Julio in his small apartment upstairs from his store, he commented on the difficulty of just being away from his store for the hour that we spoke:

> Like right now, we can be here talking some, and some customer can be there loud, and break something and say we stole it from him… and some people take drugs so you have to mix with every kind of people. You have to know what you're going to do with the situation: Can you fight the guy, call the cops, or let it go away with just one or two dollars? So it's hard to make a decision. If you can let it go for the two dollars go ahead, no matter.

While Julio is adept at making decisions regarding the treatment of difficult customers (choosing whether to call the police or offer the customer free merchandise in order to resolve the situation) he was always afraid that his other employees, in particular family members, were not able to resolve these situations as adroitly as he has learned to do. In this sense, the crucial skill of "performing" to community expectations was extremely fragile: when the bodeguero left the physical space of the store and delegated someone

else to administer the business the linkages he had built were in constant danger of being broken or strained if other employees managed customer relationships poorly.

The process of bodegueros worrying about whoever is watching the store in their absence is not unidirectional; the families of bodegueros are also worried about the bodeguero behind the counter. In this sense all family relationships are strained by the fear of violence endemic to store ownership. For example, Rodrigo described his family as "involved" in the running of the store along with him. Because of the constant time demands of the business, his family life revolves around store ownership. He told me

> Actually my family is involved in this with me. This job, making time… everybody goes to school except my little one. My wife goes to school, my kids go to Visitation [a local Catholic school]. When my wife goes to college my little girl stays here [at the store] with me. When my wife comes home from school she takes her to the house, and then she goes to volunteer [part of a requirement for her degree] then she picks them up from school, I go to the warehouse, and then stay at the store all night, and the kids stay at home and do homework. And then I go home at 9:00. That's Monday through Saturday. On Sunday I have a meeting. I cook for them on Saturday because they like my food. Sometimes on Sunday I can take my wife to a movie or a restaurant and have some time together.

> AP: You said when you're with your family you worry about the store.

> Rodrigo: Yeah, you can't enjoy your life out there because you're worried about the delinquency.

> AP: And when you're at the store you're thinking about your family….

> Rodrigo: They be safer out there. But I know they be thinking about me here. This is like a bomb shell that could explode any day.

As Rodrigo explained, in addition to the process of arranging time for him to be physically present with his family, the fear of violence makes the store a "bomb shell" that all family members must live with. This process of worrying about family running

the bodega has a transnational component, especially for a bodeguero like Julio who has been living in the US without family, yet is in constant communication with his family in the Dominican Republic:

> They [my family in the Dominican Republic] think it's a little bit hard for me because there is nobody from my family here… that's the way my father looks at it. He prays for me everyday because they know something can happen here when I'm here by myself. Who can look after me if I get sick? Somebody…they can come and try to rob. I'll be here today but who knows if I'll be here tomorrow? They say if somebody from my family was here they would more care what I doing. It's a little bit of a headache they have with me being here by myself. Someday I could get sick and I won't be able to get up and go to work.

> AP: So your parents pray everyday….

> Julio: He prays everyday. My mother says to be careful. They a little headache.

Working With the Family

A central dilemma for bodegueros revolved around the relationship between family members working in the store or pursuing careers outside of the bodega. Out of the group of grocers I worked with Julio's family was in the Dominican Republic, but his girlfriend and her family worked at the store with him in a manner similar to the stores in which family members worked together, José operated the store without his family, while María, César, Rodrigo, Pedro and Juan all ran the stores with the help of their immediate families. Each one of these different store "staffing" strategies engendered different understandings of how to protect family members from the violent atmosphere of the store, achieve upward mobility, and contend with the lack of status associated with working at a bodega. Relying on family labor was seen a symbol of the economic marginality of bodegueros: having family members work in the store increased profitability, but it denied them the ability to pursue other safer and more respected

careers and thus illustrated the second-class status of Dominicans in the US. Decisions about store staffing were also made in order to alleviate the high level of stress within families. Some grocers found it better to work with their families in order to spend more time together, while others thought combining work and family created a more stressful work environment. Julio, in this description of his store, noted the complex ways that families are involved in store ownership:

> [For the family] to work somewhere else, it's better to working in your [bodega] with the family. To get a job somewhere else is better. [But] most of the time your family, they probably take better care [of the store] than other people. Sometimes it's good and sometimes it's bad. Like sometimes you say something to the family and they get mad. You tell something to her mother and the girlfriend gets mad! And that makes it kind of difficult when working with your own family.
>
> AP: You tell the mother something and she tells the daughter…
>
> Julio: Then everyone gets mad! But the other way, they going to be with you for a little more time, you got somebody else working here they may be here for a couple of weeks, and then he tells me he going to leave. What can I do? So the family they care a little bit. If they leave, they going to let you know before they have to leave.

Since Julio's family is not present in Philadelphia, the family networks that he negotiates are those of his girlfriend, and this is a complex yet essential aspect of his store duties as a store manager.

José, Pedro, and Rodrigo all thought it was better to have family and bodega separated. Pedro was working with his father-in-law with whom he did not get along, and this tension was motivating him to move to a different profession. Likewise, José's wife worked at a local university and had been pressuring him to get out of the bodega business, and to this end he had been working on becoming a landlord. José's described the problem in this conversation with me:

AP: Some of the owners have their wife or their family working with them in the store. Do you think it is better to have the family all running the store together?

José: You can make more money like that sometimes, but it is not better. I told you that before. I don't want my family here. Like one day it is OK, like they come here to visit me. But to see her working, I don't like that.

AP: Because it is unsafe, or you spend too much time together?

José: It's not really safe. This place is not really safe. Any minute something can happen. You have to keep that in mind. I would rather her be away. If they be here, I don't have to be paying too much for employment, it would be less because they would be working all the time. But that's it.

To José, not having his family work with him at the store was a reflection of the lack of security at the store and his desire to protect his wife from this insecurity. Rodrigo, whose wife was graduating from community college, was dealing with the issue of upward mobility. The store had provided the opportunity for his wife to be able to attend school, and her transition to working outside of the store was a symbol of upward mobility. As Rodrigo explained:

This is a matter of opportunity. When you have a person going to college and that person graduates, I don't think it's fair to have that person work in the grocery store if they can get a better job. So it all depends on what kinds of jobs are available. People come here, they get used to the system: the neighborhood, the city, and get better jobs. Of course they get out of the store because this is not an easy life. You don't want to have someone here working 12 hours a day if there is some way you can make about the same and have more time for your friends and family. Of course you are going to get of there! So I would be glad if I could do that for my family.

Similarly, as María finished community college she worked part-time at the store and part-time in a legal career. However, this splitting of time was a constant source of tension between her and her husband, who noted that the store was more profitable than the entry-level jobs that she was able to obtain right out of school. María argued that her career would become more profitable over the long run and that she did not like the

environment at the store and preferred a job in a safer office environment. This conflict was resolved at first through María working both jobs simultaneously and eventually through María starting her own business (providing immigration and other legal services), which she ran out of an office above the bodega. These negotiations were economic as owners contemplated whether the wages saved through a family member working at the store were worth the sacrifice that person was making by not pursuing alternate careers. The decisions also involved issues of gender identity as Dominican women tried to take advantage of opportunities unavailable to them in the Dominican Republic and men adjusted to their diminished social status in the US.

Juan, César, María, and Julio all thought it was better for families to work together in running the store. Regardless of the tensions involved in combining family and business, this mixture offered very real benefits: having a family member that you trust working behind the register provided a level of trust that other employees could not provide. For example, César had to fire a non-Dominican employee for stealing and now he allows only a family member to work at the register. As he noted "at the register it's only family members with the money: me, my wife, my daughter, my niece, my cousin. Basically you have to have family or you can't run a business like this."

Running a bodega with family labor also allowed families to spend more time together. I often saw bodegueros playing with their children while working the register at their stores. For example, everyday during the summer Rodrigo watched his youngest daughter, Pedro brought his two children into the store, and César spent time with his

daughter and grandchild. In this sense, while bodegueros often discussed the lack of safely at their store and their desire to keep their children out of the store, they often made exceptions so they could spend time together with family. In this vein, while María transitioned out of running a bodega in order to pursue other career goals, she chose a career as an entrepreneur partly because of the ability to control her work hours and spend time with her children, albeit in an unsafe environment. She argued that:

> One of the best things [about owning the store] is that you can be all the time with your children. As you know, most owners live on the second floor and you be watching your children.

> AP: After your kids came [to the US from the Dominican Republic] did they stay with you behind the counter, did you take care of them in the store?

> María: No I don't let them to be behind the counter because it is too dangerous. They be upstairs watching TV.

The Bodega as a Stepping Stone for the Family

As discussed in chapter six, the bodegas are best described as sites of motion: they are enmeshed in a local network of distributors and bodegueros, they are transferred as a way of creating wealth, and they are paths to upward mobility for their owners. Many of the owners I spoke with were proud of their store, but as Rodrigo described above, also cognizant of the fact that workers in other occupations have greater amounts of free time. In this sense bodegueros are both proud of their stores and embarrassed by their stores at the same time. These conflicting emotions arose in conversations about if they imagined their children taking over their stores when they grew up. Only César had any expectation of his children taking over his store, but he saw it as a fairly unlikely possibility. As Rodrigo describes this dilemma:

AP: do you think about your kids taking over this store?

Rodrigo: No way. I don't want them to be in a store risking their life. That's why I spend so much money for them to go to school so they can do better.

AP: What do you think about your kids doing?

Rodrigo: They like school. My hope is that they do something with their life. I try to keep them away from bad influences. My wife she didn't go to school, we talked it over, and now she went to school. I hope my kids follow her. I don't want them to follow me to the store. And me myself, I don't think I will be here all my life. I want to go back to my country. My kids were born here but they always want to go back. They always asking "when are we going back?"

Rodrigo continued, describing why his children would not want to work at the store:

…because they see how it works. For example one of my stepsons, sometimes I bring him in here and he says "I wanna go, I wanna go" They don't want to stay here longer. We talking about, I get out of my house 6:00 in the morning to like, now I'm working until 2:00, but when [my other employee] is not here [I work until] 6:00. I get out from my house going back home 9:00, 9:30 at night. So I know for sure they don't want to take over no store.

All of the grocers argued that the stores were unsafe places and they were making efforts to limit the amount of time their children spent at the store. Likewise, while they do not imagine their children running the store, they all saw the store as an institution which could create upward mobility for their family.

During the time of my field work I saw this progression begin to take place. María and Rodrigo's wife Cecil each finished community college degrees and started careers outside of the store. Likewise, Rodrigo began working for the Dominican government in Philadelphia while simultaneously operating the store. Finally, Julio's girlfriend Elizabeth was studying English so that she could obtain her G.E.D.

Only César imagined his children taking over his store. He thought this would be the best way to facilitate the transnational life that he imagined himself one day living. However, he was cognizant that his plan was not going to work. His daughter *hated* spending any time at the store and was extremely unhappy during the brief periods when she worked at the store, and his other children were pursuing other careers in the US. As he described his idea of his kids running the store for him when he retired:

> That's one plan [my children taking over the store] that I always have. The thing is, though, that they don't have the same plan that I do. One of them, the older one, lives in Florida with his family. He has two girls and a boy, and they seem like they happy over there. He has a good job and doesn't want to come to Philly and live in a one-family house… It's a nice area. So basically he's not interested. This one [my daughter], you see, she don't want to be here, and the other one is a teacher. So basically I don't think I'm going to have that luck.

Although the stores were labor-intensive, they served as stepping stores for future careers that were less labor-intensive and offered better working conditions and higher salaries. As discussed in chapter six, none of the bodegueros imagined themselves remaining in their stores permanently. Instead, their placement at the store was a sort of "temporary permanent" situation wherein they imbedded themselves in the community with the goal of eventually leaving the space of the neighborhood. Similarly, the owners did not imagine their children taking over their store for them. Instead, they saw their sacrifice in running the stores as a way of creating better opportunities for their children in other professions.

The Family Store

Relationships within the family were a key component of the bodegueros' business model. These connections manifested themselves in four different ways: finding ways to

maintain relationships amid long working hours; fear of familial safety within the store; deciding whether it was preferable for the family to work at the store or to work in other careers; and last, the bodega served as a stepping stone into alternative careers. The ways that these dilemmas of family and the store developed indicate the changing gender and family roles brought by migration. All of the grocers idealized the time they had spent in the Dominican Republic and viewed the pace of life in the US as too fast and not family-oriented enough. To this end, I was always struck by how conversations about the economics of bodega ownership merged into conversations about family, upward mobility, and moving into a less labor-intensive career so that grocers could spend more time with their children.

Gender and family identity were also an essential nature of how the process of upward mobility was negotiated. However, these negotiations were complicated. For example, María and Cecil each used education as a way of finding employment outside of the store. They each indicated that they did not view this education as possible within the Dominican Republic. For Rodrigo, Cecil's movement away from the bodega indicated a class movement upward because no longer would his wife be in the unsafe and low-status job of running a bodega. However, María and Hector had different negotiations: as María left the store Hector belittled her employment outside the bodega as not providing as much income as the store did. María, however, felt unsafe and "confined" at the store and insisted that with education she had earned the right to find outside employment. Her return to the store as an independent legal services provider provided her with an intermediate position. Her legal services office in the store returned her to a space under

the watchful gaze of her husband and thus limited some of the mobility and independence she had received working downtown. However, in running her own business she was able to spend more time with her children and family – priorities that she had expressed – and she was able to make more money.

The Neighborhood Community

In this section I explore how the motifs of care and safety underscored the relationships that bodegueros created with the communities surrounding their store. I argue that understanding relationships at the bodega demand that attention be paid to the concept of gender. My argument unfolds in the following manner. First, I examine the bodeguero as a gendered position. The vast majority of bodegueros are men although, as we saw above, their families are essential to their survival as entrepreneurs. Bodegueros argue that it is their social position of men which make them better able to administer their stores. Second, I apply a gendered lens to the concept of safety. While the majority of the customers at the stores are female, it is male customers who create the sense of insecurity at the store. In this sense male and female customers are understood as occupying different positions because of their differential involvement in the central fear of bodegueros: crime.

The care work that bodegas provide for their communities has important implications for the process of urban redevelopment. The process of urban redevelopment is often discussed in purely economic terms. However, research indicates that neighborhood satisfaction is a result of the interaction of various forces such as the quality of public

schools, crime, and city attentiveness to urban problems (Greenberg 1999; Pine and Whitman 2002). Similarly, thus far in our analysis of the experience of bodegueros in Philadelphia, we have seen that much of their capital accumulation strategy is extra-economic: their livelihood strategy revolves around cultivating a sense of belonging in the communities in which they are located, and the grocers go out of their way to understand their customers and provide boutique services to them. The importance of these "extra-economic" processes reminds us of the importance of feminist re-theorizations of citizenship and the economy which focus on replacing the autonomous "economic man" with a conception of citizenship in which individuals are enmeshed in family and social networks (Connell 1994). How might the process of urban redevelopment be different if we paid more attention to this care work?

Men who Run Bodegas

Owning a bodega was a gendered position that reproduced the unequal power dynamic between men and women in both the US and the Dominican Republic. The male bodegueros viewed themselves as better able to occupy the position of business owner because they saw themselves as better able than women to handle the long hours that are needed to run the store and because they felt that they were better able than women to protect themselves and the store in an unsafe environment. The fact that male bodegueros saw themselves as better able to run the stores seems quixotic given the importance of their family in running the stores and the centrality of family concerns in the lifestyle choices of bodegueros. As we saw above, the families of the male owners play an essential role in determining the goals of store-ownership. As Juan described the

importance to of his family to his position as a bodegueros, "yeah, about the family, sometimes you lose the family because you stay at the business all week. If you don't have a good wife to stay behind you and feed you you're going to lose." As Juan's comments indicate, male bodegueros both acknowledged the importance of their family and insist on the importance of their maleness as an essential aspect of their position as a bodeguero.

The idea that men could better handle the security problems at bodegas was a constant theme in discussions about gender at the store. However, as we saw in chapters four and five, grocers go to great lengths to avoid physical confrontations. Therefore, in arguing that men could better handle security problems bodegueros were not arguing that men would use their physical strength to solve problems. Instead, they referred to a set of social benefits that men accrue in US society as instrumental in their ability to create a safe environment at the store. As Rodrigo explains, being male gives bodegueros a greater respect among their clientele and the police:

AP: Most of the owners are men. I wonder why you think it's men who run the stores?

Rodrigo: Well different factors. You come with this "you Latinos are macho and stuff like that." It looks like this is a very hostile environment, coming to a corner where you don't know anybody and sometimes you find drug dealers outside. Not sometimes, but most of the time. You find drug dealers outside that were there before you got there. You got to be ready if you want to have a decent place and a place where you can bring your family and work there. You're going to need to be strong without relying on the police for the assistance. And you know that they respect more a man than a woman. I think for that reason men are more likely to open a grocery store or to buy a grocery store.

In this sense Rodrigo did not view the physical attributes of sex as the determinant of men owning stores, but instead pointed to his positionality as a male as giving him greater power in relationships with police and customers.

Another benefit that male bodegueros saw themselves as having over prospective female bodegueros was their gendered ability to accrue power within the Dominican community. For example, César understands the predominance of men in the bodega business as a combination of security issues and the greater amount of prestige that men have in the Dominican community than women. He argues that women do not feel safe in the stores, most likely have other responsibilities in the home which prohibit their working long hours, and do not have the ability to obtain capital through intra-ethnic loan associations or to tell their employees what to do. He argued:

> I think it is men [running the stores because] for one, two, or three reasons. The first one would be the security. A woman would not feel secure being in the store by herself. And maybe having other people working for her. Maybe she don't feel like she has enough authority to tell the workers to do this and do that. The other thing is also the hours. I don't think a woman could be in the store 14 hours in a day. She probably has either a husband to take of, a son or daughter, or a mother or father or whatever. She might have some responsibility at the house, I don't think she could afford to have all the time. And another reason probably: Men might be able to come up with the money to start the business, or maybe a man and a woman together, [as opposed to] a woman by herself. If a woman has a business she has a husband. Basically, in the Hispanic society the men handle things. Even if she put the money, he put the face to it.

The existence of the bodega as a family business in which upward mobility is achieved through the sacrifice of the family presupposes a patriarchal nuclear family which backs up the male breadwinner who "puts a face to" the business. This face is shown to customers and the police whom the bodegueros felt would better respect a man. This face was also shown within the Dominican community where male bodegueros were seen

as having greater access to intra-ethnic loan circles and a greater ability to direct the actions of other Dominican employees.

The proposition that only men can be bodegueros hinged on a number of assumptions about Dominican and US gender relations. All of the grocers acknowledged the importance of their family in providing the motivation for running their stores and in providing labor either for the store or for social reproduction. Therefore family played an important role in the administration of the store. In addition, male bodegueros were seen as more successful in running the stores in part as a reaction to US gender relations. The greater respect that the police and the community bestow on men therefore interacts with sexism within the Dominican community to create the image of the male bodeguero. While women often worked behind the counter, the male bodegueros with which I worked made it clear that they were there to solve any problems that may arise. Last, as I will examine further below, the success of the bodeguero lies in their ability to avoid confrontation, and engage in the traditionally feminine roles of creating connections and maintaining positive social relations. As noted, the men were not interested in physical confrontations with their customers; they were interested in serving their customers in order to avoid confrontation and then presenting an image of strength in case problems arose.

María's experience as a female bodeguero who both worked at a store with her husband and transitioned to another career underscores the social constructedness of this position of the male bodeguero. Consistent with other analyses of the experiences of female Dominican migrants to the US, she had seen her opportunities expand in the US

(Grasmuck and Pessar 1991). She attributed her ability to attend school to her migration to the US, and through her ability to speak English and excellent understanding of both legal and businesses issues she occupied an important position with the bodeguero community. She summed up the difference between women's position in the Dominican Republic versus the US in saying "there you stay at home and do wife things. Here you can do the same thing that men do. That's the best thing about [being here]." María was adept at handling relationships within both the Dominican community and the larger White community, for example serving within the Asociación de Bodegueros Domincanos and working in the legal profession in a firm and later in the non-profit sector. In essence, her knowledge of English and ties within the Dominican community gave her the power traditionally accrued to men. María argued that most men owned stores because of "discrimination [laughs]. Because I can do it. I feel I can do it. They always treat women like we are light and because it is hard work. But I don't think we are. I don't have no problem to handle it."

Gender and Customer Interaction

Understanding customer interaction as a gendered relationship helps us to understand how the overwhelmingly male bodeguero workforce relates to their male and female customers. I begin this analysis by focusing on the types of products that men and women purchase and the different times of day that they shop at the store. Next, I focus on violence within the store and discuss the ways in which violence is gendered.

The items that men and women purchased at the store tended to differ: while women

mostly bought groceries and other items for the home, men tended to purchase pre-made

food from the kitchen: for example hoagies, French fries, and cheesesteaks. As César

described the gender differences in the purchasing of his customers:

> Yeah because a lot of women buy things for the house, for the kitchen: cereal and things for the family. Most men buy things for themselves, like food to go eat, and drink, that's it. They don't bring food to the house. And you see someone buying five hoagies, or five sandwiches, it is because they have kids in the house and most of them are women. Men just come and feed themselves and go about their businesses.

 Juan affirmed this analysis, and noted that he thought that 75% of their grocery sales

were to women, noting that he thought that women tended to have greater power in the

domestic realm and this influenced their shopping habits.

The importance of female shoppers to the survival of the stores meant that bodegueros

needed to treat their female clients in ways that made them feel safe. This observation

underscores the idea that fear of violence informs women's understanding of urban space

(Mulvey 2002). As Juan explained this process:

> Most of the business we do is with women. That's why I tell the employees they have to be nice to the women. No matter if they be young or old. Sometimes, you know, they be a little bit fresh with the women. I don't like that. Number one, it can cause big trouble. And the women don't feel comfortable…maybe some women like it but most of the women don't. Maybe when the men come in in the night time, they'll say "you know those men at the store be bothering me every time I go in the store." And you never know if the men will come with a gun: "Who's bothering you?" "Oh you're in trouble with me." "Come outside and we can do something outside the store." I want to avoid that kind of situation.

In addition to treating female customers respectfully, bodegueros addressed security

issues with an understanding of the importance of safety to their female clients. María's

husband Hector often worked behind the counter, although his English skills were much

lower than hers. He dealt with all customers, but particularly female customers, in a very joking and flirtatious manner, commenting on how they looked and who their boyfriends were. In a conversation with a middle aged black woman who had come to the store wearing slippers and a white shirt and loose pants – like the kind that one would wear around the house – we talked about how she liked having the store in the community. She liked the having the store to shop at, indicating that she only came to the store during the brief intervals she spent staying with her mother. She commented "yeah they good. He funny, the guy behind the counter, always messing with people. They good though, like if you short they let you go and they don't sweat you." While Hector personally made customers feel comfortable, her concerns about shopping at the store revolved around the bodegueros' ability to project safety in the area around the store. She noted her one concern was:

> Well the young guys, when they hang out in front of the store. They can be
> intimidating to the old people, I know sometimes they [the owners] scared to ask
> them to move…but I know that it's not their fault all the time. But other than that they
> cool.

While I was fortunate enough not to witness actual acts of violence, I did see conflicts erupt between owners and customers over issues such as customers not paying for food that had been cooked in the kitchen. For example, one afternoon at José's store a young boy of around fourteen ordered a cheesesteak from the cook in the rear of the store and then left without paying for it. Because the food is cooked in a location different from the register a level of trust is needed between customer and bodeguero in order to ensure that after food is received it is paid for. In this case, the young man slipped outside the store without paying for his food, yet remained in the bodega's doorway and on the sidewalk in front talking to his friends and eating his food. The actual loss of income for

José was fairly small, but José was absolutely livid: telling the young man never to come back to his store again and relating to me that he always does this kind of thing. Later on, the boy's aunt came into the store and paid for the sandwich and apologized for her nephew's behavior and told José that he had her permission to "kick his ass" if he ever came into the store again. José was so mad at this point that he could not even respond. Later on he discussed the importance of this one particular event and the problem that it posed for owners:

> Look, I was talking to this with somebody, a friend of mine, saying in every store, talking about, every store got somebody who is bothering you. Somebody from the neighborhood, mostly a young boy, 14, 15 years old. They want to be playing in the store. They want to be touching everything, talking to the customers. Mostly, from a 100 stores 99 they have one specific, some specific person who bothers them.
>
> AP: You think it's usually a young boy?
>
> José: Most of them. But in some stores, like for example on 47th and Brookline, there is a man, not an old man, let's say like 29, 30 years old. He stays in the store. They got to keep talking to him "get out." He keep talking to the customers, bothering the customers. Staying in the store. He's a grown man in that case, but like him, you can find someone in other places, the same guy like that.
>
> AP: What do you think their deal is?
>
> José: They people who don't have anything to do. They not working. They don't got nothing to do basically. So they go to spend their time right there in the corner store.

Violence at the stores tends to be a reflection of both gender and age. It is younger men who are responsible for the majority of violence at the store and for creating the sense of insecurity at the store. For example, Julio described his biggest problem in the store by saying:

> Most trouble in the store is a young guy 14, 12, 13, 16, men like 20 something years they don't start trouble for nothing. Like they be in trouble with the man for some reason, probably, it be my mistake her mistake, or there be some kind of confusion. But they don't start trouble for nothing when they 20 something.

Julio's and José's analysis of urban violence implicitly connects urban unemployment with vagrancy and delinquency (Wilson 1996). Bodegueros often seemed perplexed by how young men in the US could act so disrespectfully and reflected back on their childhoods when this type of behavior would have been impossible.

There is also a temporal nature to violence at the stores. The bodegas tend to serve different clienteles during different times of day. During the day, most of the customers were women and retired persons who shopped for goods for the home. In the early afternoon, as school got out, the stores were full of young children buying candy and snacks, and problems tended to revolve around the bodegueros' ability to "shepherd" these children in and out of the store appropriately. In the early evening hours more working adults shopped as they stopped by after work. And, as it got later and darker the stores sold fewer groceries and more pre-made food and cigarettes, and the clientele was predominantly male.

A key aspect to creating profitability at the stores was being able to understand and effectively serve the different clienteles who shopped at the store. In order to accomplish this goal, the grocers treated different customers in different ways. In recognizing the different needs of the customers, the grocers were very aware that over-the-counter relationships are a gendered interaction, which often demand, for example, that men utilize typically female communication patterns in order create a positive shopping experience (Leidner 1991; Forseth 2005). For example, Leidner's analysis of male insurance agents found that these men broadened their understanding of acceptable male

behavior to include *any actions which could lead to a sale*. In this way typically female communication patterns such as expressions of empathy and tenderness were seen as acceptable and masculine. Similarly, a key technique of store management was pacifying and accommodating angry customers non-violently in a manner more typically associated with feminine communication processes. However, the position of the male bodeguero remained unchanged, and the grocers interpreted these traditionally feminine traits as masculine actions. This process highlights the ways in gender identity can be better conceptualized as a continuum than a static and unchanging reality (Butler 1990). This interpretation of gender highlights the fluidity of gender identity and underscores its importance in negotiating over-the-counter relationships.

Conclusion

Care and safety are two issues through which we can see the importance of family and gender in the operation of bodegas and through which we can better understand the situation of bodegueros within their communities. The interrelationships between security and care formed important pillars upon which store management practices depended. Security and care each affect the relationship between both bodegueros and their families, but also between bodegueros and the community. In this conclusion I argue that the household is an important component of urban economic development in particular and the economy in general.

An important aspect of bodegueros' existence is the balancing act they maintain between care and safety. Providing for their families through running their stores and creating

upward mobility for their families undergirds many of their store management decisions.

Yet safety emerges as an importance issue that complicates this process: fear for the

safety of workers introduces stress into their households and operates against the

intergenerational transfer of the stores. Fear of physical danger impedes the care work of

bodegueros and therefore has a direct effect on economic redevelopment. The

proliferation of violence in inner cities contributes to bodegueros' decision to move out

of the bodega business.

The motifs of care and safety are also present in bodegueros' relationships with their

customers. While bodegueros view their position as men as important, the very work

they are involved in can be viewed as feminized labor because it is so directly related to

the social reproduction of families. The labor-intensive process of stocking and

supplying the store is the same process needed to maintain urban families. As seen in the

work of Donath, this care work suffers from a structural problem within the capitalist

economy wherein without the prospect of increased efficiencies, the labor is undervalued.

In provisioning and feeding their customers, the masculine position of the bodeguero is

recast as the feminized provider and deliverer of undervalued labor.

The management of violence and creation of a safe space within the stores is a gendered

process. The predominantly male bodegueros attempt to create a safe space for their

female shoppers by utilizing or highlighting different aspects of their gender identity in

their communication with customers. While levels of violence are a common component

of many indexes of urban health, rarely is violence understood as a gendered concept

which affects not only personal safety but familial relations as fear of violence affect relationships within families and becomes one part of determining store management policies. In this way their care work in the neighborhood is jeopardized by their fears of violence against their family.

The dichotomous position of bodegueros who care for both their families and the wider community sheds new light on the debate concerning how the household can be viewed as a scale of economic production (Marston 2000; Brenner 2001; Marston and Smith 2001). We should not look solely within the household for actions that construct the home as a space of economic production. Instead, in exploring the *interconnections* between the households of bodegueros and the process of neighborhood redevelopment we can see these spaces as interlinked. As María argued "[o]ne of the best things [about owning the store] is that you can be all the time with your children. As you know, most owners live on the second floor and you be watching your children." As the grocers' experiences illustrate, the household, the family, and the neighborhood are mutually constitutive. In positing a distinction between the home and the workplace we perpetuate the masculininst distinction between work and home. As this chapter argues, the grocers' business practices are predicated on their ability to care for their families; hence, care for their family is part and parcel of care for the neighborhood. The issue of safety emerges as an issue which bridges the economy and the household. Violence creates fear in the household and pushes bodegueros towards other businesses. Similarly, fear of violence leads shoppers towards other stores that have done a better job of creating safety within their stores.

In urban redevelopment the process of "care work" is often overlooked in order to focus on the physical replacement of buildings or "upgrading" the skill level of the population. As we saw in chapter three, neoliberal citizenship is focused on a particular definition of citizen: not creating citizens who are better able to care for their families, but creating citizens who are educated according to the needs of the labor market. By focusing on the motifs of care and safety my interest has been to show the importance of these processes in creating urban communities. How can we create communities in which the other economy, "the direct production and maintenance of human beings," is the ultimate goal? The labor-intensive work of bodegueros serves this function, yet this work is often under appreciated in traditional analyses of ethnic entrepreneurs. By situating the reproduction of the families of bodegueros along with the reproduction of communities my interest has been to explore the importance of social reproduction to the life of urban communities and situate the household as a scale interwoven with other scales of production.

Chapter Eight: Constructing New Forms of Neoliberal Urban Citizenship

Introduction

This dissertation makes claims about three separate aspects of geographic theory. I use the story of Philadelphia's nascent movement to attract more international immigrants and the condition of Dominican bodegueros as small neighborhood entrepreneurs as a way of commenting on citizenship, mobility, and scale. Here I briefly restate the conclusions of the thesis and offer spaces for future research. I hope that my research on the relationship between immigration and urban economic redevelopment underscores the importance of locating studies of transnationalism within the dynamics of urban life. As immigration to the US increases, the interconnections between people and places brought by globalization will force scholars to challenge existing understandings of terms like "urban," "redevelopment," "citizenship," and "immigration" in light of the transnation nature of contemporary life.

Immigration and economic redevelopment are twinned concepts. The process of capitalist development – with its never-ending reorganizations of space – can be understood as a form of development in which the contestations between the "fixity and motion" of capital play a fundamental role in creating the tensions surrounding the pace and form of economic redevelopment projects (Brenner 1998). To this end, traditional Marxist thinking about space has positioned the "place-based" nature of communities against the mobile nature of capital, maintaining that modernity and capitalist development destroy the "organic" and "natural" pre-capitalist spatial order (Lefebvre 2003). The theorization of communities as immobile and capital as mobile needs to be

rethought in light of the mobility practices of many urban groups, especially immigrants.

To this end, Rachel Silvey and Victoria Lawson's *Placing the Migrant* uses the mobility

of migrants to rethink static understandings of "people" and "place" (1999).

My work is a continuation of their queries: I use the experiences of Dominican

immigrants in Philadelphia to explore how place-based strategies of economic

redevelopment interact with the mobility of immigrant communities and how

Philadelphia's call for increased immigration challenges the centrality of location and

territorialization in prevailing understandings of urban citizenship. While immigrants are

constructed by policy makers as entrepreneurial and hard-working, the bodegueros are

also individuals who "perform" to the expectations of others. In essence, their behaviors

are conditioned by community expectations, and conformance makes their fragile

position as "middleman entrepreneurs" possible. I label the grocers' process of economic

development "temporary permanence" as a way of challenging discrete notions of "here"

and "there" implicit in Marxist critiques of capital mobility. I argue that the bodegueros

are able to serve Philadelphia neighborhoods only through their simultaneous adherence

to neighborhood codes of conduct *and* their ability to freely cross the socially constructed

boundaries of urban neighborhoods and live simultaneously in multiple spaces.

Citizenship

The process of incorporating new immigrants into the neoliberal US city illuminates the

dynamics of citizenship. I argue that the construction of immigrants as hard-working,

entrepreneurial, and self-sacrificing engenders a form of citizenship in which the service

individuals provide to the economy is considered more important than other aspects of their identity, such as family members, artists or volunteers. The way that immigrants are "molded" into citizens sheds light on the importance of population management – what Foucault terms "governmentality" – and thus serves as a stepping-stone into debates about the ways that neoliberalism affects urban life and urban space. I use the concept of governmentality to argue that this focus on the behaviors and characteristics of immigrants is an example of the state's continuing interest in the "conduct of conduct." That is, state resources are now measured less as a function of topography or population size and more as a product of human capital. The level of education and the entrepreneurial spirit of citizens are key components of a city's economic strength. Hence, the state has a keen interest in creating citizens who embody these characteristics. This insight brings us to the important question, "how is this definition of citizenship constituted in policy?"

In my analysis of Philadelphia's nascent movement to attract more immigrants, I argue that we can see these ideas about citizenship take form through specific processes: a ranking of the population according to individuals' ability to contribute to the urban economy; the promotion of cosmopolitanism as an economic characteristic; a favoring of entrepreneurialism in immigrants; and the use of economics-based arguments to promote immigration. What we see in these practices is a construction of the individual urban citizen as a malleable body, presumed to exist merely as a programmable piece of the urban economy. As I have argued, this narrow definition of citizenship has been adopted by a broad range of policy makers, signifying the hegemony of this neoliberal

understanding of citizenship. When immigrant advocates and those working outside of economic development organizations make claims for the rights of immigrants based on their economic ability to contribute to the urban economy we see a codification of this narrow definition of citizenship.

However, two different trends emerged in my interviews. As noted above, I saw a codification of a neoliberal definition of citizenship, but also a nascent construction of what James Holston has termed "insurgent citizenship" (1999). Consistent with other scholars of "actually existing neoliberalism," I argue that the state is not a monolithic entity that imposes its invariable will on a defenseless populace (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Instead, the state operates as an agglomeration of often competing interests, each of which vies for power in the urban decision-making process (Jessop 1990). Jessop theorizes that the state is not a monolithic institution; instead it holds power through what can be thought of as an institutionalized assemblage of actors who compete for ascendancy and to become the hegemonic manifestation of state power. We can see the differences between these competing voices in the policy-making process in the different ways that immigrants are imagined as members of the urban population and workforce: while urban economic development officials present the view of immigrants embodying the urban economy, other "insurgent" voices present an alternate construction of citizenship as a malleable institution that can be reconfigured in order to protect and support immigrant workers.

The different forms of "insurgent citizenship" I saw emerging from these contrary voices within the policy-making community have certain commonalities. Most importantly, they recognize the agency of individuals and legislators in creating the conditions under which urban change takes place. To this end, they view the urban labor market and the process of urban change as practices under the control of government; hence, an active government can change conditions within the city in order to protect disadvantaged groups, and mobilized citizens can effect the actions of government. A second important component of insurgent citizenship – especially for transnational immigrant – is a de-linking of the rights of citizenship from the physical space of the city. My examination of the "insider" and "outsider" dynamics of immigrants in Philadelphia communities and the importance of mobility to bodegueros suggest that de-linking citizenship from the physical space of the city offers immigrants the freedom to valorize the multiple spaces important to them within their transnational lives.

My analysis of how citizenship manifests itself in Philadelphia neighborhoods is consistent with the work of Goode and Schneider, who argue that in negotiations between immigrants and long-time residents, "belonging" is a process beset by miscommunication, and how newcomer groups conform to unwritten neighborhood codes of conduct is an essential aspect of their survival (1994). I argue that the bodegueros' economic marginality and linguistic isolation lead them to "perform" to the expectations of neighborhood residents in order to gain insider status and safeguard their ability to survive as "middlemen entrepreneurs." Understanding citizenship as a performed and coerced identity interprets the *laisser-faire* rationality of (neo)liberalism

as a system of deliberate state absence into which ethnic, linguistic, and other forms of bias serve to conform the actions of newcomers.

Given these different understandings of citizenship, what can we say about the institution of citizenship within the neoliberal city? Citizenship is not a "natural" or static positionality; instead it is an evolving identity influenced by relations within urban communities and by state policies. Citizenship is malleable, subject to state oversight and the individual actions of immigrants. Citizens are not widgets that come trundling off state assembly lines; they are conscious beings who develop identities based on outside influences and personal needs. Citizenship is not natural or eternal, but is instead an evolving institution subject to the pressures of organized groups vying for new understandings of how individuals relate to the state. "Community" plays an important role in both delineating and policing the boundaries of "correct" or "acceptable" behavior. Hence, the views of the community are consciously manipulated by grocers in their play for acceptance and are also instrumental in forming the grocers' perception that they are unwanted. In accepting the mythology of the unitary "urban community" or "neighborhood community," we elide the diversity of urban life. The state cannot mandate pro-immigrant policies without taking practical steps to address how different communities view immigrants and to recognize the negotiations that take place in neighborhoods over definitions of "insider" and "outsider." Citizenship is more than simply a set of laws delineating proper behavior; it is also a set of social relations "on the ground." My research points to the importance of integrating the discourse of policy makers with the conditions that exist in urban communities. Arjun Appadurai labels this

process of reshaping the actions of urban residents along more egalitarian lines "governmentality from below" because its aim is to utilize the conforming aspects of governmentality in the service of an inclusive and democratic form of urban rule (2002).

Mobility and Redevelopment

A major theme in this work is the tension between the mobility of immigrants and the economic development of specific spaces. Neoliberal development operates through a process of spatial competition: within a framework of mobile capital, places alter what factors of production they regulate in order to contend for investment capital. However, the transnational lives of bodegueros complicate the policies that cities and neighborhoods enact to encourage economic investment within their specific boundaries. I label the grocers' process of development "temporary permanence:" they bend over backwards to serve the neighborhoods surrounding their stores and "perform" to the expectations of local residents, yet they simultaneously remain embedded in the Dominican Republic and other spaces at a distance from their Philadelphia neighborhood. I argue that the grocers are successful as businesspeople only because of the temporary nature of their relationship to the space of their stores. The grocers are "temporary" neighborhood residents because they imagine themselves leaving these unsafe spaces and entering other, less labor-intensive careers elsewhere as time progresses and they gain other skills. Even in operating the stores they leave the neighborhood on a daily basis. These forms of mobility are denied to many bodega shoppers through segregation in the housing market and through the inability of many less mobile neighborhood residents (especially children, mothers and the elderly) to shop at other stores. However, the

grocers are also "permanent" residents in that they are careful observers of neighborhood codes of conduct and use their behaviors to situate themselves as neighborhood insiders. Thus, for the grocers, temporariness and permanence are mutually constitutive elements of their relationship to Philadelphia neighborhoods; it is only by maintaining this duality that they are able to both serve the community and remain economically profitable.

I argue that our theorization of economic development must necessarily entail a reconceptualization of mobility. The "temporary permanence" of the grocers mirrors the mobility practices of other urban residents. Neighborhood economic development officials, for example, were also mobile creatures, whose upward mobility was often contingent on working in a succession of different neighborhoods, learning skills and making connections along the way. However, these very mobile operators often espoused a form of economic development based on community residents remaining in their place-based communities. However, just as there is no simple relationship between migration and economic restructuring (Pandit and Withers 1999), mobile does not necessarily mean powerful. For example, poor women often have commuting times and patterns similar to high-income men; however, their movement is not a testament to their power, but a result of urban segregation and the dynamics of the service economy (England 1993; Gilbert 1998). Similarly, the grocers are not powerful transnational entrepreneurs, but rather their economic niche is contingent on their "middleman" status. For them, mobility emerged out of their powerlessness to improve their economic conditions in the Dominican Republic.

The Scale of Economic Redevelopment

While some scholars within geography are moving away from scale and are promoting other metaphors to understand spatial interaction such as "networks" and "flat ontologies" (Jones, Marston et al. 2005), this dissertation explores the complex ways that scale can be used to aid our understanding of how economic redevelopment arranges itself spatially. I view Foucault's understanding of governmentality as essentially a rescaling project. To Foucault, with the rise of the sovereign there has been a movement towards increased policing of the actions of state residents. The discipline of psychology, the practice of social work, and the concept of "employability" are all deeply implicated in the process of neoliberal economic development, the practice of urban planning and urban governance because they focus on improving the quality of individuals in order to bolster the economy (Peck and Theodore 2000). Within this rubric we can understand the process of citizen-making that immigration creates as a rescaling project, one that seeks to inculcate in *individual* urban residents the "correct" and most economically profitable behaviors in order to expand the *urban* economy.

On the other hand, the call for increased immigration effectively rescales the process of urban labor force creation from an urban problem to a global dilemma. This scalar project recasts the global population as prospective entrants to the Philadelphia labor market and enacts a neoliberal conception of citizenship that sees labor market readiness as more important than city of birth or nationality. This policy also engages in a complicated process of shifting the burden of social reproduction; by calling for increased immigration the city engages other areas to prepare their citizens for work and thus

reduces the pressure on the city to improve the educational quality of its schools (Katz 2001).

I argue that social reproduction is a key component in the process and politics of rescaling. The grocers play a vitally important role in making life possible in poor neighborhoods of Philadelphia. While neoliberal organizations such as the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City paint the lack of inner city grocery stores and retail opportunities in starkly economic terms (Porter 1995), I examine how the grocers use their own mobility to solve the spatial entrapment of neighborhood residents. This process involves their learning the consumption needs of community residents and using their stores to provide neighborhood residents with all of the goods needed for social reproduction. If we conceptualize "redevelopment" in abstract terms such as "making people's lives better" the grocers excel in this process. Bringing the lives of people and the maintenance of households into discussions of neighborhood redevelopment implies a different definition of "better" and a new understanding of the goals of redevelopment. My research indicates that even though the grocers are responsive to the needs of individual community residents, they were not viewed positively by neighborhood economic redevelopment officials, who instead tended to see them as forces of neighborhood destruction or siphons taking money away from the urban economy. By privileging the views of neighborhood economic redevelopment officials – whose views embody a capital-centric understanding of economic redevelopment – we discount the importance of social reproduction in the process of neighborhood change.

The familial lives of the grocers and their customers are completely intertwined at the stores. Family and household relations govern both who is behind the counter and what is being purchased. "The household" therefore becomes directly intermixed with the store: marital relations, childcare decisions, and the difficult process of transferring Dominican models of family relations to a "foreign" country are labor management policies, and family finances are interwoven with the store's finances. The neat delineation between home and work that is implicit in the scalar debates does not hold true in the lives of the bodegueros and this forces us to reconceptualize an understanding of scale that presupposes such a division (Marston 2000; Brenner 2001; Marston and Smith 2001). I argue instead that in the lives of immigrant entrepreneurs and the process of social reproduction in poor neighborhoods, the spaces of the home and work are mutually constitutive.

Citizenship, the Economy, and a World of Borders

My initial impetus for engaging in this research came from my fascination with the interaction of immigration and economic redevelopment. In an era of "footloose" capital, how do the socially constructed boundaries of neighborhoods and cities interlace with the mobile lives of transnational immigrants? I used the site of the "corner store" – the bodega – as a space where these forces came together. A common – but harsh – generalization about the stores is that they are little more than "siphons" from which "community" capital was extracted and deposited in the Dominican Republic in a vicious zero-sum game in which the Dominican Republic is the winner and Philadelphia communities the clear losers. The difficulty with this "siphon" analogy is twofold: it

implies a one-way movement of capital away from Philadelphia, and it views economic development as a zero-sum game. In examining how these forces actually interact at corner stores, my analysis instead focused on social reproduction, citizenship, and the mobility of bodegueros' lives.

I examined these issues primarily through an extensive ethnographic analysis of how belonging and citizenship influence how Dominican bodegueros operate as "middlemen entrepreneurs," and how policy makers and community leaders envision immigrants contributing to Philadelphia neighborhoods. An important component of ethnographic research is situating opinions and worldviews within the communities and experiences that produced them; the powerful metaphor of bodegueros operating as "invaders" comes from the apparent ease with which bodegueros move in and out of urban communities as compared to the more spatially confined lives of their customers. For scholars interested in the process of urban change and development, the methodology of ethnography has the unique ability to describe and discern how urban communities operate. Holston's insistence that scholars focus on an "ethnography of the present" suggests that new forms of citizenship are constantly in production in the various spaces of the city, and we must focus our intellectual efforts on understanding how these changes recreate the institution of citizenship (1999). It is my hope that this work on bodegueros in Philadelphia is one step on this long road.

In retrospect, this research could have been structured differently in order to comment with more authority on the connections between citizenship, economic redevelopment,

and mobility. Analyzing seven stores in seven different neighborhoods proved exhausting, and I found myself missing community meetings, family rituals, and other important events because I had commitments to keep at other stores. These time constraints meant that I was left without as deep an understanding of the dynamics at individual stores as I would have liked and instead had a breadth of different observations across different stores to draw upon. Now that I know the intensive time demands of ethnography and the complex linkages between families and economies I would choose a smaller number of stores to analyze and develop those relationships into fuller case studies. This methodology would also allow a more complex view of shoppers' and local leaders' perceptions of bodegueros to emerge from the analysis.

In this research I did not get to visit the Dominican Republic and see the impact of remittances on the bodegueros' hometowns or witness how connections to the Dominican Republic were structured. My lack of mobility was a function of my own interest in redevelopment efforts in the US and the time demands of researching the seven stores included in the study. However, by not including this space in my research the Dominican Republic emerges in my study as a somewhat phantasmagorical space: it was defined solely by bodegueros living in the US and by local leaders and shoppers who had never visited the Dominican Republic. By conducting interviews in the Dominican Republic I could have painted a more complex view of this space and better situated my understanding of "temporary permanence" and household reproduction within the transnational lives of bodegueros.

The shortcomings of this research point to unanswered questions and future research projects. In this work I focus on how neoliberal citizenship operates and find spaces in which a more insurgent form of citizenship could flourish. However, because my focus was on bodegueros and the conditions of their placement in Philadelphia neighborhoods I did not get to fully explore alternative understandings of citizenship. In the future I would like to examine the few neighborhood organizations in Philadelphia that have been working closely with immigrant entrepreneurs. By studying these institutions I could investigate alternatives models of citizenship, instead of accounting for the existing system.

APPENDIX A: Interview Schedule for Policy Makers

1. Why do think immigrants choose to relocate to Philadelphia?

2. Why do you think there are fewer migrants to Philadelphia than other large cities?

3. Are there things that Philadelphia can do to encourage more migrants to relocate here?

4. How do you think that migrants today compare within immigrants of the past, like Irish or Italians? Do they keep in closer contact with their homeland or other immigrant communities?

5. What do you think that immigrants add to Philadelphia neighborhoods?

6. How do you respond to the criticism that immigrants are costly to local communities because of the need to hire ESL teachers and other special service providers and the low earnings of immigrants?

7. What about competition in the job market, is there a contradiction between inviting new émigrés to Philadelphia at a time where there is a high level of unemployment?

8. The Pennsylvania Economy League Report on Immigration talks about immigrants reviving communities with large amounts of abandoned housing. Are there some ethical problems about expecting immigrants to live in communities that are unsafe?

9. I'm wondering about access to capital for immigrant entrepreneurs. Where do you think they find the funds to open small business? Should the city be more involved in helping (or stopping) immigrants from opening businesses?

10. What are some problems that immigrants face in running businesses in Philadelphia?

11. How do you think immigrants fit into the political structure in Philadelphia?

    a. Are there some problems they face?

APPENDIX B: Interview Schedule for Bodega Owners

1. Owning a bodega in Philadelphia

1. So could you tell me about your history working in bodegas. What was the first bodega like that you worked in? And where did you work next?
   a. Did your family own a store?

2. What is the best thing about running a bodega in Philadelphia?

3. On the other hand, what are your biggest problems as a storeowner?

4. Could you tell me how you find workers to keep your store open? You're your family work here also?

5. Do the demands of the store cause problems in terms of spending time with our family or friends?

6. Do you see yourself as becoming more Philadelphia or American the longer you're here running a store?

   b. How about Philadelphia, is it becoming more Dominican?

7. What does your family think about you running a store in Philadelphia?

8. Do you (when/if you) see your kids taking over this business when they grow up?

2. These questions are about funding your bodega…

1. When did you buy your first bodega?

2. Where did the money come from to open this first store?
   a. Did you try to find other sources of income to buy the store? How about banks, personal loans, income from the other sources?

3. Did you use a different source of funding to open your following stores (If appropriate? Why this change?

4. Have you lent any money out to help other people buy bodegas or other business?

   a. How does this that process work?

5. How is this store different from when you first bought it?
   a. for example did you make physical changes like adding a hot kitchen, expanding the store, or other changes like treating customers different?
   b. How much time did all these changes take? How much did they all cost?

6. Do you end up sending much income to family members living in the Dominican Republic? How does this work?

7. How often do you return/visit to the Dominican Republic? How about other family in New York or in other cities?

    a. Do you have business ventures there?

    b. What community in the Dominican Republic are you from?

    c. Is your store very similar to corner stores in the Dominican Republic?

3. The Bodega and the Neighborhood

So this second set of questions look at how your store relates to your neighborhood around the bodega.

1. How do you describe your store to people who have never been to Philadelphia before, or to people in the Dominican Republic?

2. Do you see the neighborhood improving, or deteriorating? Why?

3. How does your neighborhood in Philadelphia compare to other neighborhoods you've seen, in the Dominican Republic? How about New York?

4. What is the best thing about your customers?

5. There have been a lot of press report about bodegas overcharging their customers. How do you respond to these types of criticisms?

6. These maps show where African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Whites live in Philadelphia. Why do you think so many bodegas are in African American and Latino neighborhoods?

7. A lot of people say that immigrants are really important to Philadelphia neighborhoods because they fix up old houses and open business in the city. Do you think that Dominicans immigrants are good for Philadelphia?

8. What kinds of recurring problems do you face in operating your store?

9. Do you feel safe in your store?

10. Have you been robbed?
    a. (if yes) How many times?

b. Could you tell me what happened?

4. City Policy

The last set of questions addresses city policy, and how your bodega is treated by the city government.

1. Are there some similarities about running a bodega in Philadelphia and running a business in the Dominican Republic?

   a. Are there also some differences?

2. In order to run your store I know you need to spend a lot of time talking to city agencies like Licensing and Inspections, the Police Department, The Health Department. How do you feel that you have been treated by these agencies?
   a. How did you come to feel that way?
   b. How does the city government in Philadelphia relate to your experiences with other cities?

3. Have you had any problems obtaining all of the permits you needed to open your store?

4. Have L & I asked you to make changes at your store?
   a. What was that experience like?

5. What is your relationship like with the police?
   a. Are they responsive when you call? Do they stop by the store?

6. If you were in charge of the police department, what would have them do differently to serve bodega owners?

7. The city is currently doing a number of programs to help the neighborhoods of Philadelphia like Operation Safe Streets and the Neighborhood Transformation Initiative. Have you seen evidence of these programs in your community?

8. If your store could look however you wanted, what would you imagine your store could look like?

5. These last couple of questions are about you and other bodega owners…

1. Do you talk with other storeowners about your work?
   a. What are some common things people say?

2. The Dominican Grocer's Association has been talking about ways to organize bodega owners to make their life as business owners better. What kinds of issues do you think they should focus on organizing around? Why?

3. Do you have anything else you would like to add?'

6. Other Questions that were asked

1. Why do your customers shop here?

2. How do you do your shopping for the store?

3. What problems do you deal with on your own, and which ones do you call the cops for?

4. Is there competition for workers?

5. Why is it mostly men who run the stores?

6. Do you see connections between Haiti, Race, and the DR

7. Some grocers say that there is "just one boy" who creates problems at the store. Have you seen this to be the case?

8. Some grocers say that having your family work with you at the store is preferable to having the family working someone else. How has this worked for you?

9. WIC. ACCESS what do you think of these programs?

10. When you look around and see problems in your neighborhood, whose job is it to solve those problems: the federal government, the state, the city, the people themselves? Do grocers have a role in that process?

11. What kinds of things do you make the most money on?

12. Are there differences between the ways women and men shop?

13. Where do you imagine yourself living in the future?

14. Do you go to New York very often?

15. How much money does his store make?

APPENDIX C: Interview Schedule for Local Community Leaders

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself and your organization?

2. I have three questions about the neighborhood, and then the last 3 look at immigrants in Philadelphia…

3. How do you describe the neighborhood where you work to people who have never been to Philadelphia before?

4. Do you see the neighborhood improving, or deteriorating? Why?

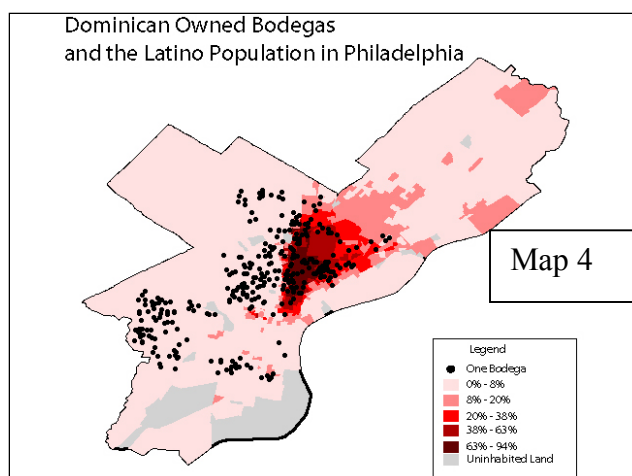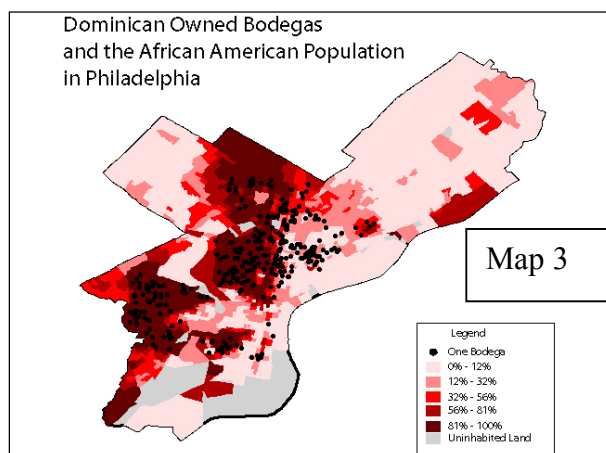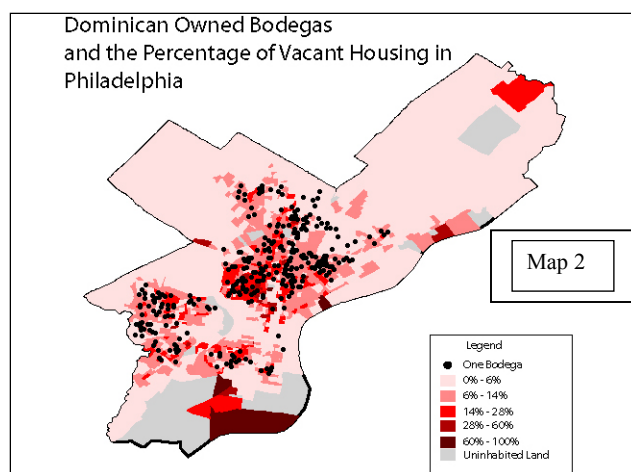5. What do you think that immigrants add to Philadelphia neighborhoods?

This next question has two parts…

A. A lot of people say immigrants businesses are good for Philadelphia because they offer people a place to shop and fix-up vacant building. What do you think?

B. On the other hand, a lot of people say that immigrants businesses overcharge their customers, treat their customers bad, take jobs away from locals and are bad for the community. Have you had heard about, or had to deal with these kinds of problems?

7. How do you think that migrants today compare within immigrants of the past, like Irish or Italians? Do they keep in closer contact with their homeland or other immigrant communities?

8. How do you think immigrants fit into the political structure in Philadelphia? In terms of neighborhoods and the city as a whole…

9. Is there anything else you think I should know?

10. Are there other people in the area you think I should talk to?

APPENDIX D: Interview Schedule for Customers

1. What kind of stuff did you buy today?

2. How often do you think you shop at this store?

3. What kinds of things do you usually get?

4. Do you think these little stores are good for Philadelphia?

5. Some people say they overcharge or take money out of the neighborhood. Have you heard those kinds of complaints?

6. Do you think this store is different from other little grocery stores?

7. Is there anything else you think I should know about this store?

APPENDIX E: Maps

Dominican Owned Bodegas and the Percentage of Vacant Housing in Philadelphia

Map 2

Legend
One Bodega
0% - 6%
6% - 14%
14% - 28%
28% - 60%
60% - 100%
Uninhabited Land

Dominican Owned Bodegas and the African American Population in Philadelphia

Map 3

Legend
One Bodega
0% - 12%
12% - 32%
32% - 56%
56% - 81%
81% - 100%
Uninhabited Land

Dominican Owned Bodegas and the Latino Population in Philadelphia

Map 4

Legend
One Bodega
0% - 8%
8% - 20%
20% - 38%
38% - 63%
63% - 94%
Uninhabited Land

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