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Infrastructures of Trust and Care in Latin American Migrant Communities

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This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Rebecca Klenk, who I have to thank for introducing me to this subject matter and showing me the kind of student I strive to be, Dr. Solange Muñoz, who has guided me tirelessly through the completion of such a lengthy project and shaped the student I am today, and of course, every migrant who agreed to participate in such vulnerable and intimate research.

1. Introduction

The decision to migrate away from one's country and begin a life in the United States, whether permanent or temporary, is never easily made. Despite the current narrative within this country, it takes careful consideration and immense trust and often a crisis point for one to decide to take the leap to leave their native country. In this essay, I unpack the process of trust relocation after top-down infrastructural failure in one's life which necessitates the overwhelming risk to migrate as a means to regain agency over one's ability to care and ability to receive care.

Throughout this research, I interviewed five Latin American migrants from Mexico, Honduras, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic, who now live in Knoxville, Tennessee and participate in the ESL classes at Centro Hispano, a local nonprofit organization for the Latino community of East Tennessee. I was able to interview each of these Latin American migrants at least once if not twice to learn about their lives in their native countries, their families, their processes of migration, their work here in the United States, and their communities. In order to better understand these testimonies, I argue that these narratives detail the relocation of trust into a new realm of life that exists in the United States as an effort to regain the ability to enter into care collectives and engage in self care as a response to top-down infrastructural failures. Though each interview outlines distinct and specific life experiences and conditions which led these migrants to the United States, there are themes and threads that we can follow throughout each narrative in order to better illuminate how these participants were able to trust enough and take the risk to migrate to a new country in the pursuit of care for both themselves and their families.

This paper asks, once individuals make the decision to leave their place of origin due to infrastructure failure, what characterizes the process of risk assessment and relocation of trust? How do trust networks, between people, communities and opportunities aid in the reformation and relocation of trust? Onto whom and what do migrants relocate their trust in the face of risk, and why do they do so? How do migrants use trust to pursue collective care and self care?

2. Methods

In the fall of 2019 I began to volunteer as an adult English as a Second Language teacher in the workforce development program at Centro. I immediately latched onto not only the opportunity to spend two hours, multiple times a week, practicing my Spanish in a context outside of the classroom, but also the unprecedented amount of time I was able to spend with adults who had migrated from Latin America and were devoting eight hours a week, outside of normal work hours, to pursue English. Since I started teaching ESL in the Fall of 2019, I have been lucky enough to participate in other sectors of Centro Hispano, and yet I have never once questioned whether I wanted to continue teaching these evening ESL classes. In fact, I have found ways to not only support students as they breach the incredibly uncomfortable barrier that is language acquisition, but also to slowly form deeper, more personal connections with them that go past merely English learning. This project was born of these experiences.

We began planning this project in the winter of 2021 and 2022, narrowing the research questions, outlining the purpose, applying for IRB approval, and drafting a list of interview questions to ask the participants. During this process, Dr. Muñoz often reminded me of the inability to strictly outline research with human participants, because as much planning as I put in, each interviewee will have newer, and more different experience than I was prepared for.

Instead, what I needed to do was to gather my ideas more generally, specify my own definitions of care and care infrastructure, and prepare for improvisation. I wrote proposal after proposal into order to more succinctly depict that which I hoped to learn through my interviews with Centro's clients and my students, which proves difficult when you think you'd like to hear anything and everything, and then try to make sense of it in the form of a thesis later in the process. After taking a month or so to narrow my own research interests and plans for this project, I began reaching out to many students who were in my class at the time, as well as students that I had had in the past. Out of the eleven students I reached out to, nine of them responded within a day, agreeing immediately not only to be interviewed once, but to help me through the process in whatever way possible. What struck me most during the process of recruitment was the frequency with which they replied by saying, "te cuentes conmigo," which translates to, "you can count on me." Up until this point, and truly, continuing after, I had seen my research as a mere burden to these people, which they might be willing to endure only as a result of their extended relationship with me. Never did I expect that not only would my students and friends consent so readily to be interviewed, but they would also encourage others to do the same, expanding my pool of possible participants and strengthening my chances of being able to make this thesis project work.

I have been able to interview five of my students, a few of whom I interviewed multiple times, and I have plans to continue the interviews into my post-thesis future. Four of the five interviewees were in an ESL class that I had been teaching once or twice a week for about eight months at that point; I predicted that they might be most willing to participate as they saw me so frequently, and in all likelihood, trusted my intentions more than the students who I had not taught recently and for such a duration. These participants include Laura, Javier, Valeria y

Maritza (all pseudonyms). The final interviewee was a woman by the name of Caterina (also a pseudonym) who had only been in my ESL class for about a month before approaching me to ask about my research and my education. Despite my hesitation, each participant was not only more than ready to share their experiences with me, but they were often desirous of the opportunity to explain their narrative to a young, white student (a representative of the very demographic that so often silences them). As a result of their generosity and willing vulnerability, I have been able to spend multiple months scheduling and conducting semi-structured interviews with immigrants about whom, despite our acquaintance, I still knew very little.

In planning the meeting times and places with the participants, I offered really any time outside of my class schedule, and offered to meet them wherever they felt most comfortable. I also checked with my contact and friend at Centro, Brandon Ledford, to see if the location of our classes could also be used for interviews. He told me that I could also offer the option of meeting my students for an hour before class time in our regular classrooms. This ended up being where most of the interviews took place, as the students often already had that time carved into their schedules, and could easily get to the classrooms. In addition, Laura invited me into her home for her interview, where I met her young son, Damián, and Caterina joined me at my apartment for her second interview. These interviews, as could be expected, felt more intimate than those that were held in a classroom and allowed us to get a new, visual insight into each other's lives, going past just description. However, I found intimacy in each and every conversation I had with the participant, no matter the location. On two occasions the interviewees made me small snacks for the interview and gave them to me as an obvious offering; this, of course, baffled me because I saw their involvement in my research process as such an already generous favor that I couldn't

understand additional gifts. At her house, Laura and her son offered me what Damián described as a "smoothie," and made himself. This smoothie consisted of milk, my fruit of choice (strawberries), and sugar (the amount of which he discussed with me because, as an eleven year old boy, he and Laura both knew he would likely put in more than I would have preferred). Damián went as far as to ensure with his mom that the strawberries weren't too green to serve me before bringing me my smoothie, which was delicious. In planning for her interview in our classroom prior to ESL class, Valeria prepared me a cup of what she described as gelatin, a classic Mexican snack. I ate this during our meeting as we worked through the interview questions and discussed her experiences past merely what I had planned to ask, just as I had with Damián's smoothie.

Some interviews were longer than others. Ranging from around 30 minutes to three hours, I took as much time as each participant was able to give to me, often limited by the arrival of other students and the beginning of ESL class at 6:00 PM. Depending on the length of the interview and the comfort level of the participant, I was able to get through varying amounts of my interview questions and oftentimes, ask additional questions to cover topics we had not yet been able to discuss. As a result of the order of my questions and the basic flow of a conversation, many of the interviews started with discussion of more basic, demographic questions as to their countries of origin, construction of families, job statuses, etc. However, after giving me the basic rundown with which to contextualize their stories and experiences with immigration, every single participant delved into their reasoning for decision making and their process of leaving one country to form a life in another. Whatsmore, I found that an undercurrent to all of my interviews, and a topic which the majority of my interview questions spoke to, was the motivation to move one's trust elsewhere. Each of these participants, throughout their

narratives and regardless of the order of my questions, outlined a sort of necessity to reposition their trust that "things will work out" elsewhere after some sort of infrastructural failure. These failures encompass a wide variety of infrastructures, most often the top-down, governmental infrastructures. These failures and gaps in support coming from the "top," as will be explained later in this paper, lead the interviewees to varying degrees of crisis, which triggered the overwhelming decision to take the risk, and move to the United States. It is this necessity of risk taking and subsequent repositioning of trust that underlined the prompted and unprompted discussions throughout each interview.

Despite my intensive planning and outlining of the research process, I knew that upon entering into the interview process, the narratives I had assumed I would be receiving would be flipped upside down. This, as predicted by Dr. Muñoz, occurred immediately. As a result, while my focus on alternative, bottom-up care infrastructures remains the same, I also have a strong interest in tracing these people's feelings of "trust" and belief that they will make it through the immigration process. What "making it" looks like is widely varied from participant to participant, and the "trust" that they will be okay is based on a wide range of insurances and safeguards. However, this pursuit of security and use of trust as the footing for strong infrastructures of care is reflected across each and every interview. Because these topics were not directly addressed in the questions I prepared for the interview process, I quickly adjusted my approach to ensure that not only was I giving the participants space to explain their feelings of trust, but also that I was not enclosing too quickly on a specific definition of trust, and instead, letting them define it to me. For this reason, as the interviews went on they became more open ended and even less structured than the first few had been. I learned to adapt to and participate in

conversations that I wouldn't initially have known what to do with were, leading me to even more clarity and analytical ability than I would've had with just intensely structured interviews.

In the future, as I plan to continue the interview process and my relationships with these ESL students far past the conclusion of my thesis research, I hope to continue conducting guided, but widely open ended interviews that tell me even more about the formation of new trust networks as the basis of alternative care infrastructures. Dr. Muñoz and I plan to continue pursuing this research and giving our friends at Centro the space to narrate their lives as they see fit. Contrary to my assumption that my students would have very little interest in this research and would participate only as a favor to me, I have found that each participant was pleased to have a platform on which to stand and tell their stories. Nearly all participants gave the unprompted testimony that they are glad to have research being done about their lives, as they feel that very few people here have even a clue about the way they live and how they have lived in the past. I was surprised by this, as I have always seen research as important and semi-exploitative, and though this is still true, I feel empowered by the support of my students and their desire to have their experiences written about, even in an academic setting. These testimonies of the research's value, along with the immensely deepened connections I have been able to form as a result of this interview process, make me want to continue this project for as long as I can. With the help of Dr. Muñoz, who knows what we might be able to do as a group of students, academics, language learners and residents of a nation characterized by and built upon immigrant narratives.

3. Theory

In this paper, I will apply concepts of trust as a means of risk assessment and management, infrastructure as a sociomaterial assemblage based in the everyday, and radical self care and care collectives as life sustaining work in the face of structural failures in the process of migration. Despite their vast differences in location, time, and narrative, throughout five interviews with Latin American immigrants that now live in Knoxville, Tennessee, I noticed a loose but important pattern which I will unpack using the aforementioned theoretical framework. In each interview, with differing words and explanations, the participants described living in conditions of extreme social and economic uncertainty that limited them from being able to pursue personal and familial goals or from living a secure and stable life. These conditions are not specific to the individuals but part of broader national conditions that produce what I refer to as top-down infrastructural failures. These top-down infrastructures cause individuals and families to live in chronic uncertainty due to political and economic instability, which eventually leads to a moment of crisis in which each participants' distrust of their government and their own efficacy within their society necessitates their decision to take the risk to leave their home country. As I show, it is not that the women lost hope, but rather a moment of crisis forced them to make dramatic decisions that instead returned a sense of hope to them in which they almost seemed to ask themselves: "what can I control throughout this process?" and "what will give me agency as I make this life change?" As I show in this paper, the women's decisions to migrate allowed them to reimagine their lives and regain their trust that things will work out eventually and they will, in the future, have access to care. However, the new sources of trust, or the answers to the previous questions of agency and control, differed widely.

I argue that by migrating, each person was searching for another space or opportunity in which to put their trust, what I call varying "north stars" of survival in order to regain trust and

pursue access to care, whether that is collective care or self care. The four categories into which I divide the "north stars" of migrants' trust are: 1) people and community, 2) space and environment, 3) opportunity and growth and 4) one's plan. In these five interviews, each participant used their own narratives of trust, collective care and self-care as a way of giving sense to their life and to justify the risk of migration. By relocating their trust outside of top-down infrastructures that failed them, the participants in this research found new commitments to care communities and self-care through which to ensure their access to and participation in life sustaining activities. After pursuing one of these north stars and arriving in the United States, each participant continued their trust in and pursuit of their own "northstars," with some people devoting themselves to care communities within the migrant community, others embracing and immersing themselves in the new environment, and some committing themselves to finding job opportunities and financial security. Here, despite their individualized reasons for migration, each migrant is able to become a contributor to their own care infrastructures that emerge in response to structural failures in their countries of origin. In this section, I will use literature and scholarship from a variety of disciplines to further unpack and contextualize the notions of trust and risk as responses to crisis and care as the basis for life-sustaining infrastructures.

3.1 Infrastructure

Before attempting to understand the responses of trust, self-care and risk involved in the decision to migrate, we must first analyze the concept of infrastructure. Recent studies in the social sciences have given rise to the use of the concept of "infrastructure" as a term to explain, not only the material but also the social structures that organize communities' and individuals' daily lives and opportunities. Recently, scholars like (Amin, 2014; Simone, 2008; Power and

Mee, 2020) have focused on the ways in which people and their daily practices and networks can be understood as infrastructures. Most importantly to this paper, I use the concept of infrastructure to describe care collectives of people that emerge in response to top-down infrastructural failures and that provide support for migrant individuals.

Amin (2014) asserts that infrastructures are often mixtures of the material and the living, arguing that many infrastructures are both sociotechnical and sociomaterial in their manifestations. Also important to the definition of infrastructure is its existence in "the everyday." Both Alam and Houston (2019) and Graham and McFarlane (2014) place a specific focus on this aspect of "the everyday" when conceptualizing infrastructure's power and significance in people's lives. Similarly, Alam and Houston (2019) argue that it is in the everyday, non-institutional, relational *spaces* in which communities create infrastructure.

As a result, when infrastructures fail, individuals and communities are unable to get things done or to achieve basic goals, pushing people to find other alternatives because they must. One of these alternatives is migration. I argue that in order to take the leap of faith, pick up one's life, and move across a border, a migrant must possess an immense amount of trust, a deep devotion to radical self-care, or both.

3.2 Trust

Though "trust" seems like a fairly straightforward term with a meaning that is clear enough, in reality, the word can be used to discuss various human emotional reactions and rational motivations. As I mentioned above, when I use the word trust I am referring to that faith that everything will be okay eventually, and that you and your loved ones will make it. However, scholars have done much more in depth work to define and outline trust as an academic term,

with variation across disciplines. In their chapter titled “Trust and the City: Analyzing Trust from a Socio-Spatial Perspective,” Ulrike Gerhard, Judith Keller, and Cosima Werner come from a geographical context in order to identify trust as an inherently relational quality for which there is not one, identifiable meaning (Gerhard et al. 112). Their conceptualization of trust is the *understanding* of another person or thing as trustworthy as a result of a mutual relationship, and therefore, such a banal, everyday experience that it becomes a “habitualized practice in daily lives and experiences” (Gerhard et al. 116).

In this paper, I will use a similarly cotidian concept of trust that one experiences in their relationships to people, as Gerhard et al. detail, and also to places, plans, and opportunities. I argue that the intense, relational ties that ground Gerhard et al.’s conceptualization of trust can extend not only to people and communities, but to material and social entities as well. Charles Tilly also grapples with the definition of trust in his article titled “Trust Networks in Transnational Migration,” as he identifies certain “trust networks” which connect people to one another, and have historically fulfilled many “political, economic, and spiritual” roles in migrants’ lives (Tilly 5). In addition to these concepts of trust, I argue that migrants must often form these trust networks with entities outside of interpersonal relationships often relying on strangers and ‘faith’ that things will work out despite the great risks they take to migrate. Tilly explains that in order to enter into these networks and situations of trust, one must put themselves at risk of other people’s mistakes and failures, and assess the “likelihood that other people will meet their responsibilities competently” (Tilly 5). If one assesses this risk and decides that they are willing to go forward despite the possibility of someone else’s “malfeasance,” this embodies the relational trust between two people (Tilly 5). With the assertion that these inherently relational networks can exist between people, places, and goals, it

is also important to state that though both “fluid and changeable,” these connections formed on trust can offer “stability, authority, and reliability” throughout the process of migration (Gerhard et al. 115). Gerhard et al. tell us that trust relations develop around conflicts and crises, coming about in order to stabilize a time characterized by both risk and uncertainty, thus coming into being as a result of the necessity to migrate and reposition one’s life (Gerhard et al. 131). To understand the reasons for their formation and eventual manifestations, we must also consider how risk plays out in a migrants’ life, and consequently how trust and trust networks can act as a guide, or a north star throughout migration to a new place.

Gerhard et al. and Tilly both identify trust as the localized, contextually-bound commitment between people based on mutual relationships and strong interpersonal ties (Gerhard et al., Tilly). For migrants, this trust is often necessitated by a certain moment of crisis or increased risk to which one is vulnerable, and thus trust networks form between not only people and communities, but also between people, places, plans, and opportunities more generally. Throughout my research process, Allan M. Williams and Vladimir Baláz’s article titled "Migration, Risk, and Uncertainty: Theoretical Perspectives: Migration, Risk, and Uncertainty" has been seminal as I grapple with my own conceptualization of trust and trust networks. In this piece, Williams and Baláz insist that migration informs and generates risk and uncertainty for all people involved, and that as migrants endure the process of leaving their native countries, they each have “varying levels of risk tolerance and risk aversion” which impact their individual decision making (Williams and Baláz). However, the location and cause of this risk is far more complex than can be analyzed with a mere “stay or go” binary. As Williams and Baláz detail, migration can be less of a risk than remaining in one place, so it can be risk ameliorating (Williams and Baláz). However, for other people experiencing risk and

considering migration, the process of migration itself is often risk generating as moving to a new country creates new challenges and barriers. In the interviews to follow this theoretical framework, regardless of the source of crisis and risk experienced by the migrants, and whether the actual migration is risk ameliorating or risk generating, the risk inherently necessitates trust in order to move forward. Williams and Baláz explain that trust is the key to action in the face of risk and uncertainty; when one does not have adequate certainty about their futures, they must rely on trust. In the testimonies of my participants, they move this trust, their key to action, outside of the people, places and plans they have formed in their native countries. Instead, the experiences of the five migrants that participated in this research necessitated the relocation of their trust to people, places and plans and elsewhere.

The very decision to migrate is caused by the erosion of trust as a result of top-down infrastructural failure. In this paper I ask that once one realizes that trust is not possible in one's present situation, what characterizes the process of risk assessment and relocation of trust? How do trust networks, between people, communities and other aforementioned entities aid in the reformation and relocation of trust? To what entities and networks of entities do migrants relocate their trust in the face of risk, and why do they do so? The answers to these questions are anything but straightforward, and while there are similarities between the testimonies of the five migrants interviewed in this research, each decision-making unit's motivations and rationalizations of risk taking vary indefinitely. As people ask themselves, "what can I control?" and "what will give me agency?" their risk aversion and their willingness to embrace a new form of trust shapes their own processes and narratives of migration. This is the theoretical framework I hope to apply in order to explore the narratives of migration with which I have been entrusted.

3.3 Care

In its application to this paper, I will analyze both collective care and self care as the life sustaining agency which these participants pursue through their decision to migrate. To begin, we need to unpack the way that care is used more generally. Within the social sciences, one of the foremost formulations of care is as an inherently relational concept. Alam and Houston (2019), Power and Mee (2020) and Hobart and Kneese (2020) all detail the interrelationality that exists in care interactions and care collectives. In the conceptualization of Alam and Houston (2019), care practices are those that have the power to create an alternate infrastructure to that of the dominant by involving "communities, materials and practices" with one another. Power and Mee (2020) go on to define care as every life-sustaining action "that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our world;" they also assert that every single person participates in the giving and receiving of care during their lives, and thus care relates all living people to one another in a collective effort to sustain life as a concept.

Hobart and Kneese (2020) go even further to conceptualize a specific "radical care" that requires "reciprocity and attentiveness to the inequitable dynamics" of the current top-down infrastructures, and can be seen as political warfare as it "constitutes a feeling with, rather than a feeling for, others." Examples of this kind of care include access to child care within your community, assurance that you have a place to stay in the event of an emergency, occasional financial support to guarantee food and shelter, and much more. Though there are minor variations in every definition of care, the emphases on relationality, plural ontology, and collectivity in each of these definitions mirror and reinforce each other.

3.4 Care collectives

So how can these conceptualizations of care be understood as infrastructures that function radically in response to the dominant, top-down infrastructures enforced by those in power? Scholars use the concept of "care collectives" to discuss the mutual relationship between community members in which people rotate between being the care giver and the care receiver, a privilege to which Alam and Houston (2019) argue every individual should have the right. Power and Mee (2020) detail a certain "relational politics of care" that exists within these care collectives in order to describe a connection between those involved in caring relationships. They go on to explain that these politics operate "along lines of social difference, shaping care opportunity by gender, class, race and so on" (Power & Mee 2020). Alam and Houston (2019) explain that the kind of "care-full" infrastructural turn that Power and Mee (2020) describe in their work is the key to establish "participatory urban flourishing" in which mutual care is utilized and each care collective is able to bring its own agency to the community infrastructure of care (Alam & Houston 2019). This has the same emphasis on relationality that Power & Mee exhibit, and allows each community the space to organize their own infrastructures and spaces. This radical infrastructure of collective care, Hobart and Kneese (2020) argue, has the ability to help communities endure precarious worlds, and can be employed against both immediate concerns and hazardous futures. Hobart and Kneese (2020) also call these care collectives involved in creating new infrastructures "coalitions," and explain that they "inspire people to work together across class, race, ethnicity, religious, and state boundaries toward a common cause," furthering the idea of collective, community flourishing (Hobart & Kneese 2020). Here, in all of these conceptualizations, we see an infrastructure of care forming as the collective means with which to fight against precarity, and to rely on the care of the community around you for support in the way that your specific infrastructure deems best. This "participatory urban

flourishing" through a "relational politics of care" ensures that each community member has the right to give and receive care, on the terms of the community's infrastructure, rather than that which is enforced from the top.

3.5 Self care

In addition to the conceptualizations of collective care and care communities, scholars also pursue a kind of radical self care which involves pursuing opportunities and conditions which give you the ability to fulfill your own needs, and often the needs of your loved ones. Hobart and Kneese (2020) explain that self care is not just the choice to put your own needs above other pressures, but instead, it is "necessary for collective survival within a world that renders some lives more precarious than others" (Hobart 5). Though self-care is the increased focus on one's own needs, oftentimes one's needs include the livelihoods of others. The clearest example of this kind of self care is that of mothers and fathers, as they desire to be able to care for themselves in order to care for their children as well. As Abrego and Schmalzbauer (2018), Contreras and Griffith (2012), and Pierrette and Ernestine (1997) investigate in their works, oftentimes self care for mothers and parents does not simply look like the individualized, self-sustaining actions, but instead actions that allow for the care for themselves and their families as a unit.

In this section, I have begun to set up a framework in which migrants experience moments of crisis and losses of trust as a result of top-down infrastructural failures, and have been forced to assess the risk included in migration. Each of the participants in this research decided to take the risk and migrate away from their native countries, instead placing their trust in a different scenario's ability to give them access to collective care, self care, or both. In the

following section I will tell the stories which I have been lucky enough to hear, and attempt to understand how these migrants were able to take the leap of faith and move to the United States to be able to care for themselves and their loved ones.

4. Narratives

Each of these narratives comes directly from one or multiple interviews I was able to do with ESL students I met through Centro Hispano. In this section, I will attempt to tell the stories as accurately as they were told to me.

4.1 Valeria

Valeria is a 46 year old woman from a small Mexican pueblo in Dolores Hidalgo, Guanajuato. She currently lives in Knoxville, Tennessee with her husband and their five children, aged between five and 15 years old. Valeria has been involved in Centro Hispano's English as a Second Language classes for many months now.

At present, Valeria stays home and explains that while she does not have a job outside of the home, she still works. She does not live by the pressure of her work schedule as in Mexico, for example, when to open the shop and when to tend to the animals, but instead, she's "inside the house doing jobs" for herself, her children and her husband. She makes this comparison because, growing up in a small ranch town of Guanajuato, Mexico, Valeria worked alongside her family to run their farm and produce meat to be sold to clients. She describes the work as very taxing, as there were a large number of both cows and chickens to care for, as well as tortillas and other food items to produce daily. She even explains that the intensity of this work on her family's pueblo led to a large amount of the current pain and sickness that she feels. However,

this land has been in her family for around 250 years, and due to the work to which she, her parents, and her 9 siblings committed themselves, her family was never short on food or in need of necessities.

Valeria grew up surrounded by siblings and was very close with not only them, but also with her mom. When she was four years old, her father passed away in a car accident leaving her mother to care for 10 children and run the entire family far. Valeria teared up and smiled while describing her mother as a "warrior" after her father's passing, because she acted as both the mother and the father to so many children. She told me that when her dad died, her oldest brothers were between 17 and 19, and her youngest sibling was born eight days after her father's accident. The oldest boys, already into adulthood, acted as the support for her mom after their father's death. Because of the loss of their father and the need to continue their work for their mother and their livelihoods, all of the siblings came together to help maintain the farm without their father. Valeria's mother was the brains behind the operation, "always teaching" her children to be hardworking and leading them through their necessary tasks. Valeria describes her mom as an entrepreneur as she would take the products produced on the family farm, most specifically the cheese, and knock on doors around the town until they were sold. It is obvious that Valeria has immense respect and love for her mother, who was forced to step into the role of a single mother of 10 after the tragic and entirely unexpected passing of her husband. Valeria explains that, not only was she able to do this and raise all of her children well, but she was also able to keep the family farm sustainable and prosperous, leaving the family with no overwhelming wants or needs.

While living on the farm during her childhood, Valeria had many friends from surrounding pueblos with whom she was close, but really only had time for her education and

her farm work. She told me that in reality, her young siblings were her best friends because they worked and played together constantly, and understood each other most intimately. Her oldest siblings, on the other hand, were more in the style of parents, as they helped to guide the younger children, and fulfilled tasks such as driving to deliver milk as their dad would have done. During her childhood, Valeria never felt that she and her family lacked medical attention because they could cure themselves; they did not lack food or doctors despite the fact that the nearest "doctor" was a thirty minute drive away in the nearest town. She also stated that by the time she grew into adulthood on the farm, they owned a washer, a dryer, and many other appliances, and even after she moved away from her pueblo, she did not feel like she had grown up lacking anything.

Valeria stayed on the farm with her mom until she was 29 years old; in fact, she was the last child of the 10 to live on the farm with her mother, tending to the animals as well as caring for her aging mother. By this point, each of her other siblings had already gotten married and moved away, and some of her sisters had moved to the United States with their husbands for various reasons. At present, Valeria has three sisters in the United States, divided between Georgia, Oklahoma and Texas. Her other siblings, two sisters and two brothers, still live in Dolores Hidalgo and a nearby community working as butchers. At the age of 29, Valeria was also working in a local butcher shop while playing a major role on the family farm. Valeria met her husband at her place of work, as there was a path that he often took from his pueblo that passed her butcher shop. Not even 3 months after getting married, Valeria and her husband moved to the United States. Her husband had to move for work and Valeria was insistent on avoiding an extended separation from him as she had seen immigration cause irreparable familial separations before. Because she was the last child living at home on the family farm, Valeria and her other siblings decided that her mother should come to the United States as well so that she

wouldn't be tasked with the farm's upkeep alone. At the time of the interview, her mother was 86 years old and in bad health, suffering from knee pain and other ailments. Valeria explained that her mother travels back and forth between Mexico and the United States, not only to visit her children divided by the border, but also because she has never come to feel completely comfortable and at home in the United States.

When she and her husband decided to move, Valeria already had sisters that lived in Georgia. As a result of this and her husband's job, Valeria spent her first six years in this country in Dalton, Georgia as her husband spent a large amount of time traveling for work. She explained that when she got married at 29, she knew that she needed to hurry in order to have the four kids she wanted. After moving to the United States and settling in Georgia, Valeria and her husband had their first baby girl. Soon after her birth, they moved to Carrollton, Georgia where Valeria gave birth to her second child, a boy. After living in Carrollton for some time, they moved to yet another Carrollton, this time in Kentucky, a smaller city where they lived for a year and a half with their two children. Valeria's third child was born in Richmond, West Virginia after exactly three years. However, when her oldest daughter entered the second grade, Valeria decided that the family could no longer move around so frequently, as the children needed consistency with their schooling. As a result, Valeria requested that the family move to Knoxville, Tennessee where one of her sisters was already living so that she would have support while her husband was traveling around the country.

Now, in 2022, Valeria lives in Knoxville with her husband and her five children. When asked who Valeria goes to most frequently for help, she explained that her sister is her support system in any way necessary, whether the car breaks down, a child gets sick, someone needs to pick one of the children up from school, and so much more. Valeria's sister also has children, but

they've already grown up and moved away, so she has the time to act as Valeria's immediate support when necessary. It is not just helpful but entirely necessary that Valeria have her sister living so close and providing this care as her husband travels for work so often, and she feels as if she still does not know many people here. Valeria explained that this is not a one-way support system, but instead, a mutual dependency that aids them both. She also noted that she has a very limited relationship with her neighbors because of cultural differences and the language barrier, which serves as a reminder of the often stark difference between life in the United States and life in Mexico. She goes as far as to say that in Mexico, you're not as "locked up" as you are here, meaning that within a Mexican neighborhood, one feels more "familiar because it is a place where you feel welcome and they give you help if you need it." Because she has experienced such an isolation within her own home and away from those living beside her, Valeria relies on the support and care she receives from her sister in order to manage a household of five children in a culture vastly different from that of Mexico.

Valeria did express the wish to go back to Mexico at some point, hopefully to stay there permanently. She explained that when she and her husband moved to the US, they came with the idea that once her kids were of a certain age, the family would return to Mexico together. They still have a house in Dolores Hidalgo waiting for them, but Valeria explained that they're scared to bring their children back to that "beautiful little town" that is now dominated by violence. Out of precaution for the safety of their children, Valeria and her husband decided that while they can be in the United States, they will be so that they do not have to endure constant worry. However, Valeria expresses many more reasons for her desire to return to Mexico. Though she does not regret coming to the United States in order to keep her family together, she still feels a painful division, as her siblings and her mom are divided by the border. Valeria explained that even

though her husband and kids live here with her, she still feels split because she is not close to her mother, who has returned to Mexico. Either way, Valeria told me, she wouldn't have been entirely happy, as the division was inevitable. Though she and her siblings constantly work together to care for their mother and for each other, both emotionally and financially, she remains painfully aware of the amount of space between the family members.

Aside from the pure familial pull that exists in Mexico, Valeria misses the world of parties and festivals in which she lived. The Catholic spirit she felt in Mexico is unmatched by what she has experienced in the United States, and as a result of the celebrations for the saints and other religious figures, festivals are constant. Valeria explained to me that in Mexico, there are many places you can go to meet people, while here you can barely even talk with your neighbors. Yes, Valeria said, her migration gave her family a better opportunity to live a different life and to support themselves, but she misses the freedom to walk in different places and know more people than she experiences here. Valeria does not know whether she will be able to return to Mexico; there are many factors to consider including her children, her mother, their finances, the culture, and so much more. Throughout all of her time here, Valeria has known that in either location, her heart will be divided across the border, and this is a paradox with which she lives constantly.

4.2 Laura

Laura is a 31 year old from Danlí, Honduras, who lives here in Knoxville, Tennessee with her 11 year old son, Damián. Laura also lives in the same house as her brother, his wife, and their young daughter, too. She works cleaning houses around the city, cleaning in the hospital, as well as picking up shifts cleaning the floors for the construction company that employs her

cousin. She has been cleaning houses for multiple years now, while she only began her work at the hospital recently. In fact, Laura had to put her study of the English language on pause in order to take the hospital job. Though she regrets putting our ESL classes on the backburner, she explained that she feels that the additional hospital job augments her ability to care for her family. She says that of course she enjoys the pay increase, but also feels far more tired with such constant work. Lissy has participated in Centro Hispano since October of last year, and before taking the hospital job, was in my ESL class for many months.

Before moving to the United States, Laura worked as a social studies teacher in secondary school teaching children aged around 14-15. Though she loved her work as a teacher, a profession that was passed down from her father, Laura emphasized that it was extremely difficult to establish oneself within a government position in Honduras. When I asked her for clarity, she told me that the governmental parties really only want to employ their own people, those that agree with them, and so one's favor can change in an instant around the time of an election. For government employees, the political party in power plays a major role in the jobs available, and during changes of political power, employment can become very precarious. As a teacher, she explained, you can work for private companies, but you work far more hours and for less pay. Laura told me that "there are very few possibilities to work, so [she] had the option to come here and [she] came," drawing an immediate connection between employment opportunities as a result of political leanings and her decision to migrate.

In Danlí, Laura lived with her dad and her two younger brothers, as her mother was temporarily living in Spain caring for the elderly. She explained that her everyday life was divided between her work as an educator and her duties within the household, which included cleaning and cooking for her brothers and her dad. She also worked in the family bakery in her

free time, which her mom taught her to do throughout her childhood. Of course, also, Laura spent a great deal of her everyday time and energy caring for her young son. When I asked Laura about her community in Danlí, she told me that not only did she have very limited time for her friends, but her friend group was often split between their pueblo and the nearby city where they were attending school. However, she mentioned that her daily community was heavily influenced by both her church and the neighborhood in which she lived, as most people would spend their free time on the porch and talk to people as they passed by. Also, both her uncle and her grandfather lived very nearby in the same neighborhood, bringing support for necessities like childcare and company. Though Laura did mention that she occasionally turned to her live-in and nearby family members, she also told me that childcare wasn't usually necessary because Damián was in school. In addition to the accessible childcare that Laura had, she told me that the availability of healthcare and medical attention wasn't often a concern because Damián's father was a medical student. Laura did go on to explain that though they had access to healthcare and there was a hospital nearby, the health system in Danlí was much slower than in the United States, and it was hard to get priority for herself and her loved ones.

Eventually, Laura told me, though she didn't lack any immediate necessities in Danlí, she decided to migrate to the United States as a result of unemployment. I asked if she migrated directly after an election due to a change in political power, but she described a much more drawn out process than that. Laura explained that she spent a year working for a private company, which, as I mentioned above, paid her less and expected her to work longer hours, while searching for the government job she desired. Finally, after this year in private education, a 27 year old Laura decided to move to the United States with her young son, Damián. Though we only talked about it briefly, Laura told me that during their journey from Honduras to Texas, she

and Damián traveled for ten days between buses, cars, and trucks. In the truck, she described a small space with a bed behind the driver's seat that she shared with her son and one other young man that she had just met. Her first destination was Houston, Texas, where her cousin had already lived for around ten years. She spent six months in Houston with her cousin, but explained that she felt strange living with just a male cousin and no women, as if she couldn't get completely comfortable. After spending six months in Houston working in a bakery and adjusting to life in the United States, Laura moved to Knoxville where she had other cousins with wives. Also, as aforementioned, her brother also lives in Knoxville with his wife. She emphasized that her main reason for moving to Knoxville was to live in a community of women; women "understand you better, you understand them better, and it helps you."

In fact, this community of women helped her immediately after moving to Tennessee. Though Laura explained that the job search here is much easier than it had been in Honduras, she told me that her cousin's wife helped her the most in finding work here. Laura detailed that the process of looking for work and figuring out transportation in a foreign country is what confused and daunted her the most, and so having the support of a nearby community of women was a great comfort to her. She initially found her job cleaning houses through word of mouth as a result of her cousin's wife's recommendations. After becoming pregnant and being forced to give up her duties as a house cleaner, Laura's cousin's wife introduced her to two of the families that she currently works for, who then went on to recommend Laura to even more households. From then on, Laura began forming her own job network through the community that existed when she arrived in Knoxville, as well as through her own self advocacy. Laura currently cleans the houses 0of many families, some from other Latin American countries and other people with whom she made her own connections. Laura told me that it is nice to enter into trust relationships

with the families for whom she cleans, and that she feels proud to have their confidence to enter into their homes. During our interview, Laura was strong in her belief that she has many more job opportunities in the United States. She told me that she feels as if she wants entirely different things now than when she did when she arrived in Houston. Now, her goal within the United States is to work independently so that she doesn't have to depend on anyone else: she wants to own a small cleaning company. Though her work life is hectic and busy, she is sure that here in the United States, if she has an idea and a goal, she can find a way to accomplish it.

Laura's everyday community includes her family and cousins, sometimes her clients, but never her neighbors. Like Valeria, Laura drew a stark contrast between the neighborhood dynamics within the United States and Honduras. Instead of forming her community of neighbors as she did in Danlí, here she finds herself looking toward her boyfriend, her family, and Centro Hispano when in need of support. Laura, of course, provides many others with support as well. When I asked her to whom she often lends a helping hand, Laura said that here, "it's anyone in need." This help that Laura provides could be as minor as a car ride somewhere or childcare, and also includes financial support. Laura told me that she helps with money when it is necessary, especially when someone is sick or is out of work. She explained to me that "you do it because you know how hard it is to find a way to earn money." She also explained that she is always ready to send remittances to her family members whenever necessary.

Though Laura enjoys the possibilities that life in the United States brings her, she does not intend to stay in the United States. Eventually, Laura wants to move back to Danlí and either return to teaching or open her own small business. It is her plan to stay here for at least three more years to earn money, but she knows that whenever the time is right, she will live in Honduras again. However, Laura's brother does not think he'll do the same; she explained that

her brother has different goals that do not involve returning to Danlí. Laura explained that it was, in fact, easier to enter into relationships of trust in Danlí. Though there were many poor people with scarce resources in her native city, Laura told me that the focus in Honduras is family before anything else, whereas here the primary focus is always work. Laura exists within a major complexity of missing the culture and customs of Honduras, yet appreciating the risk of migration and the new opportunities she found in the US and negotiating between the paradoxical feelings.

4.3 Caterina

Caterina is a 27 year old woman from the state of Hidalgo in Mexico. Caterina is entirely fluent in both Spanish and Nahuatl, an indigenous language spoken by all of her family members and a large portion of her pueblo. At present, Caterina lives with her four year old daughter and her sister in a trailer home near Knoxville, Tennessee, and works cleaning houses. She used to have another job in addition to being a housekeeper, but she quit her second job in order to be able to focus on learning English through Centro Hispano.

Caterina grew up in Hidalgo, a rural pueblo with a large indigenous population and an extensive family history. As an adult, Caterina moved to Mexico City with her husband and began a very successful food truck business before soon having a baby, Adriana. After having her daughter and achieving success with their food truck, Caterina decided it was time to go back to school and get her degree. She soon entered a university in Mexico City and studied agro-industrial engineering, where she felt most fulfilled and excited about her future. However, after eight total years in Mexico City she and her family had to leave their business, university and home to return to Hidalgo where Caterina had grown up, before Caterina was able to complete

her degree. Caterina told me that leaving school was “the saddest thing” because it was the only personal goal that she wanted to be able to accomplish for herself. There were many causes for the family’s move back to Hidalgo, but Caterina explained this decision by saying, “every human being has personal and family failures, then everything falls apart.” In Hidalgo, Caterina explained that she and her family did have access to medical care, but that it was not uncommon to have to drive to a different state to get medical attention or to pick up the necessary medicine. She described Mexico as a place with many good things and many opportunities, yet she still knows that there were many parts of her life there that caused her to leave.

After returning to her childhood pueblo, Caterina quickly grew tired of the province, and quickly decided that her only option was to leave Mexico entirely, where she could no longer see a future, and move to the United States where her estranged mother lives. She told me that before coming here, she believed that everything would be different and that she thought she would be able to escape that which was plaguing her in both her province and in Mexico City. However, now, she wonders why people actually don’t want to live in Mexico, and what leads them to believe that life will be so much better elsewhere. When I asked her specifically why she decided to leave Mexico, Caterina told me that she was going through a very intense depression as a result of the utter “collapse” of everything she had built as a woman: her business, her family, her marriage, her education. In fact, she pointed to her education at the university as one of the driving forces in this seemingly unexpected collapse; she began suddenly to think more critically about her womanhood and her life’s goals, and suddenly experienced a period of immense crisis to which migration was the only solution she could see. There was one specific professor at her university in Mexico City that had a huge impact on Caterina as he “started talking about machismo, about women, about men who think that” way. Caterina formed a strong bond with

him at the university, and then began to be plagued by constant questions such as “why are you here at the university?” and “are you here to be able to show others that you are someone?” After forming such a strong bond with this professor, Caterina began to read continuously, searching for answers about what she truly wanted and why she wanted it. Thus, being forced to leave school and move back to her province only intensified the personal crisis that pushed her out of Mexico to a reunion with her mother.

Another factor in the utter “collapse” that Caterina described was her role as a woman within her marriage. When I asked her about her marriage and her discomfort within it, she immediately replied with one word: “machismo.” Caterina gave examples of her husband telling her that if she could stay home and focus on the family and the house, they would be able to work on their relationship together. When Caterina told her husband that she longed to find her mother and once again get to know her, he told her that her mother was never going to return, and that their relationship would not be solved through this pursuit. She discovered that the role of having a house and caring for other people within the home was a large cause in her feeling of upheaval, and she experienced a “kind of crisis of saying, ‘I’m over it.’” She regrets that she didn’t have counseling or therapy at this point in her life because she described this period as a continuous “panic crisis where my throat started to get sore, I couldn't breathe, my body started to get hard, I couldn't even move.” As her depression and panic began to worsen, she realized that the only escape she could visualize was leaving to see her mother, who had moved to the United States around 15 years earlier. She thought to herself, “it doesn't matter if I have already lost everything, what else can I lose? I am leaving.” Upon making the decision to move to the United States to find her mother, Caterina describes being profoundly conscious of the fact that she needed to take her daughter with her, knowing that if she were to leave Adriana there, her

daughter would eventually suffer the same crisis and panic that she was experiencing. However, she knew that she, alone, was taking the risk of migrating with her daughter, and that whatever happened during the process would be her responsibility. She understood that living as a woman in Mexico was a large part of what pushed her away, but at the same time, knew immediately that enduring the process of migration as a woman was just as risky. However, the desire and the need to see her mother outweighed all of her worries, and she decided to leave for Knoxville, Tennessee. In Caterina's words, the year before her migration was "a literal transition, a 360-degree change of life in one year" as she realized that her future might not be in Mexico.

As aforementioned, Caterina's mother had lived in the United States for around 15 to 20 years, and had left Caterina in Mexico when she was only five years old. For all of this time, Caterina knew her only by her photo and the occasional phone call; she did not know much at all about her mother's personality or the reality in which she had been living in the United States. When I asked Caterina about her mother's history, she told me that much of her mother's life was still fuzzy in her mind, despite the fact that at the time of the interview she had been in the United States for around two years. Caterina explained that from her understanding, her mother fled family and domestic violence in Mexico because she would not tolerate abuse, instead coming here for a fresh start. However, this had a huge impact on a young Caterina, who experienced a sort of "war" between her family and the neighbors brought about by her mother's decision to leave. Many people around Caterina told her that her mother left her behind. As a child, she explained, Caterina believed everything that the people around her told her, and she had a very hard time coming to terms with the fact that her mother had left. However, as she aged, Caterina began to see her mother's migration differently than those in her neighborhood did, and instead, came to understand the motivations that a young woman, and more specifically,

a young mother would decide to migrate. Therefore, during her period of crisis and panic, Caterina believed that moving here to be with her mother would help alleviate the complete chaos in which she felt that she was living.

Directly after moving to the United States, Caterina moved in with her mother and her sister, who had already been here for a year. Shortly after she realized that she wanted to live alone and to build a life for herself and her daughter in a space that was their own, and so she found a trailer home that she would be able to afford. Though Caterina was unsure, when her sister asked to move to the trailer home with her, she hesitantly agreed and now the three of them live together. She still has an extensive amount of family that remains in Mexico, including her dad and all of her dad's family (brothers, uncles, aunts, etc), while her mother's extended family is, for the most part, here in the United States. Caterina told me that she does not find it easy to socialize with people here or to keep up her relationships with those still in Mexico, believing that within this process, "distance is inevitable." She is unsure as to how long she will stay in the United States and is critical of the frequent tendency of migrants to stay here longer than they initially plan. However, for now, Caterina is devoted to building a life for herself and her daughter in the United States, learning English, and eventually returning to school.

4.4 Maritza

Maritza is a 47 year old woman from Guárico State, Venezuela, who lives in Knoxville, Tennessee with her husband and three sons, ages 19 to 29. Maritza and her family have been in the United States for about five years now, and she has participated in Centro Hispano since September of 2021.

In Venezuela, Maritza and her husband owned both a construction company and an entertainment and catering company. She and her husband met in their small pueblo of Guárico State, but moved around between large cities shortly before coming to the United States as a result of her husband's work. All of Maritza's family remains in Guárico State to this day, and she explained that they often struggle financially. It was with her family in a small pueblo that Maritza grew up, and where she formed her community of friends and support systems. Maritza described her everyday life as "very cheerful," and though they worked all week and even on some weekends, Maritza mentioned most specifically that "there was always something to do to share as a family," and this brought her joy. Maritza lived in her pueblo for her entire life until the family's move to the city for her husband's job, which was not entirely disorienting for her because they had already traveled so much together. Her husband's family had beautiful beach houses and places to stay all around the country in places like Caracas, Valencia, Maracay and Barquisimeto where they often visited on long weekends and for holidays; throughout her marriage, Maritza was no stranger to travel and to large cities.

However, Maritza described the shift in their lifestyle and their potential for a future in Venezuela as happening as rapidly as just one year, in which everything changed and forced the family to consider migration. When I asked her why she migrated to the United States, Maritza told me that she and her husband had "worked hard to get their children ahead to have a future," but despite this work and their ownership of two successful businesses, the change in the political party in power threatened everything they had built. Maritza explained that after the change in government, her husband could no longer find a job because her family were opponents of Nicolas Maduro, and whatsmore, were required to give the government things, like cell phones, for free. Not only was her family beginning to endure financial hardship and

political pushback, but they also began to receive threatening phone calls at their home saying that their boys would be hurt and that they were in danger. As a result of all of these push factors, Maritza and her husband decided, within a year of the political shift, that they could not see a safe future for themselves in Venezuela.

To begin their process of migration, Maritza's husband traveled to the United States in March of 2017. Maritza later joined him in July of that year with her two youngest sons (her eldest was studying in Spain at the time). Maritza told me that when she left Venezuela, she "said goodbye to [her] mom and dad as if [she] were coming on vacation," because they would not have "put up" with her explaining that she did not know when she would be able to return to the country. One difference between Maritza and her family that she noted here is that they, along with her entire pueblo, are Chavista, while Maritza and her family are not, which may have played into their difference in opinion on migration. Upon leaving Venezuela, Maritza and her husband sold all their cars and used the money from these sales to move to Tennessee and rent an apartment to stay. Their first destination in the United States was Knoxville because her husband had a friend who already lived here and would give him work in the city. They stayed in this initial Knoxvillian apartment for about three years, before buying a house in Halls, where they currently live. Maritza explained that her family is happy in Knoxville and would like to stay if possible.

During her time here, Maritza has worked as a seamstress sewing bulletproof jackets and gun holsters for a company that sells to police and other armed forces. Her husband, as previously mentioned, has his own job as well as they put their children through higher education. Outside of the financial necessities of living with a large family in the United States, Marlene also budgets to be able to send a large amount of money back to her family in

remittances every week. Maritza explained that she gets paid $400 weekly through her work as a seamstress, and on any average week, she sends $200 of this paycheck back to Guarico State to support her family. She often sends boxes of clothes, food, medicine and more in addition to the weekly $200. Though she values the ability and financial solvency to be able to so routinely send money back to her loved ones, Maritza did describe the major change in moving from the position of a boss to an employee as a surprise.

Maritza also makes sure to stay prepared for any financial or medical emergencies in case anyone in her family needs more support than usual. Maritza went on to tell me that not only is her father in a wheelchair and requires more frequent medical attention, but also, her younger sister has just recently entered remission for cancer. Though she and her husband's family had the money and access to healthcare that they needed, Maritza explained that it is not rare for a family to go without medical care due to poverty. She detailed some specific payments that we don't often consider in the United States, like injections and gloves, and explained that if a family does not have the money, they will simply be refused care as opposed to taking on large amounts of debt to be dealt with later. It is for this reason that Maritza reserves half of every paycheck to be sent back to Venezuela, and ensures that in the event of an emergency, she's ready to send whatever else is needed as well.

In the same vein, Maritza emphasized many times the safety and security she has felt since moving to the United States; she attempted to explain this to me with two separate examples. First, she told me that her husband was robbed at gunpoint and even shot at once in Venezuela by a group of men. She said "thank God, we live. Nothing is sure" to explain the way she felt living among "insecurity" in Venezuela. The second example she gave me of the relative security she feels in the United States was the comparative access to basic necessities, and in this

case, bread. She described the four hour wait she had to endure just to get bread, and considered how even with their social and financial position, they still had to wait in such an extensive line to buy food. In contrast, she told me that in this country there is everything. This relative security and safety on which Maritza commented many times has allowed her to feel as though her children can go out freely and they will be cared for; she feels that their migration secured safety for her children.

In an effort to give back and ensure that she won't see people in the United States going hungry, Maritza and her oldest son volunteer at a local church to give out food to people in their community. She's done this work for quite a bit of time now and she loves it; she told me that it is an amazing feeling to be able to give *free* food to those in need. She also identified this opportunity as one of those that did not require such intensive cultural and linguistic training to understand. Instead, Maritza felt that even though "when [she] was newly arrived [she] didn't *know* anything… [she] worked in a church giving to people" and has been able to continue doing so ever since.

Despite their success here, Maritza told me that the idea of truly emigrating to stay is very sad, and that it would be very painful to permanently separate from her family and remove herself from the country in which she spent 40 great years. For now, Maritza and her family do not have plans to return to Venezuela, but their connection to their native country and pueblo remain very strong through familial ties, remittances and their past.

4.5 Javier

Javier is a 47 year old man from the Dominican Republic that moved to the United States from Santiago, Dominican Republic in 2019. Here, Javier works as an electrician for a local

company in which only English is spoken. He lives here with his wife and is working on securing documentation for his 19 year old son, Lorenzo, to be able to join him. Javier has participated in Centro for about 6 months and has been in my ESL classes for almost the same amount of time.

Javier was born in Puerto Plata, Dominican Republic, but only lived there for four to five years before moving to Santiago where he spent the rest of his time before migrating. Much of his family still remains divided between Puerto Plata, Santiago and Santo Domingo, but Javier put the most emphasis on his son in Santiago, who he is actively trying to move to the United States, as well. Just before leaving for the United States, Javier was living with his parents after having separated from his ex-wife, with whom he has his only son, Lorenzo. Javier spent seven years with his wife and son as a family, but "because of destiny," got a divorce after these seven years. For the 15 years before and throughout his marriage, Javier worked at various different pizza restaurants as the manager. However, he grew tired of this work and felt stuck in his profession. After the divorce, Javier described a sort of realization of his independence: "well, I don't have a partner or anything; I'm going to start studying." It is at this point, Javier told me, that he began to consider a change of career path, and settled on a career as an electrician. To reach this goal, Javier dedicated himself to three and a half years of studies of not only electricity but also refrigeration, and eventually found a job in Santiago in this field. However, Javier expressed concern for his newfound career as he described a common "problem" in the Dominican Republic that "when you are around 35 years old or older… you are not considered to be a very efficient person in a job." Because he decided to become and electrician around the age of 30, this commonly held assumption worried Javier as he aged in his native country.

While he was working as an electrician in Santiago, Javier's cousin introduced him to his current wife who was also from the Dominican Republic, but had been living in Miami for around 30 years. Javier's migration process began when his wife told him that they were going to get married, and he began to plan to move to Miami with her. Though he did not already have family in Miami, when he decided to migrate to the United States he had a member of his community that knew the area well. When I asked Javier why he wanted to move to the United States, he said simply, "mejoría," or "improvement." More specifically, Javier described Miami as an excellent fit for him because its "climate is similar to my country. So it's like it's summer." He wanted to move to the United States more generally to improve and grow as a person, but he enjoyed beginning in Miami because it was familiar to the environment he had always known.

Though Javier repeatedly emphasizes his increased ability to improve, his move to the United States was not an entirely effort-less one. When asked what the hardest part of moving to a foreign country was, Javier explained that for his first year in Miami he was constantly intimidated and scared by officials and people that would interrogate him. He explained that for some time, he just "wanted to throw away the fear and to feel himself among them," or the citizens of the United States. Now, after some time he does not harbor this fear anymore, and instead tells himself often, "I am not illegal or anything, I am legal," which helps him to relax in this country. Now he feels at ease enough to actually prefer some of the customs of the United States, including the (often southern) habit of greeting strangers constantly and making sure to make space for them in public.

After their first year together in Miami, Javier and his wife moved to Knoxville to be closer to her daughter and grandchildren. Now, Javier and his family plan to stay in Knoxville indefinitely. Not only did Javier describe Knoxville as a calmer, less accelerated place with more

greenery and space to be in nature, but he also placed a large emphasis on Knoxville's potential to help him grow into a new person. Javier described his idea of "crecimiento," or growth, as closely related to his ability to learn English and develop overall, in his personal life, his career, his education, and more. Javier saw his possibility to grow as highest here in Knoxville, as English is spoken so constantly, and would not be able to rely so heavily on Spanish. As Javier pointed out, the ability to speak both Spanish and English gives you far more options in the labor market. Because of this fact, the move to Knoxville represented an opportunity for "crecimiento" more than anything else by opening up new possibilities for career advancement and new challenges in communication appeared to Javier as an opportunity for "crecimiento" more than anything else.

In addition to his acquisition of English, Javier described many life changes upon migrating from the Dominican Republic to the United States. Specifically, he outlined the fact that while in his country he didn't have his own house, car or salary, while here he does. Whatsmore, Javier told me that in one week here in Knoxville, he is able to earn what he earned over three months in Santiago. As a result, he feels completely able to accomplish what he wants to in Knoxville. It is for this reason and many others that Javier is working so hard to make sure his son joins him in Knoxville. His initial plan was to have brought his son with him to the US immediately, but when the pandemic hit, every part of the process was delayed indefinitely. Not only does Javier believe that the United States will be more lenient with his son's tattoos and rebellious past, but also, Javier is sure that if Lorenzo lives here, he will *grow* as a person.

5. Findings

Throughout each of these narratives, the participants explained in detail their experiences of the complete loss of trust in their native countries' infrastructures that migration process; many connections can be drawn across these narratives, yet at the same time, each participant rationalizes their migration and their risk taking differently. I theorize a process of losing trust in one's local infrastructure after devastating experiences with top-down infrastructural failure that then necessitates the risk involved in deciding to leave one's native country and move to the United States. In order to take this risk and pursue a life elsewhere, I argue that each participant placed their trust in a sort of "northstar" elsewhere, which as I mentioned in the theory section, I theorize to include 1. People and community, 2. Space and environment, 3. Opportunity and crecimiento (or growth) and 4. One's plan. Though these may be the four quasi-separate recipients of migrants' trust after a moment of crisis, what migrants are really pursuing is care, and often, radical care. As discussed in the theory section, the idea of care can be broken up into two larger sections including care collectives (communal care) and self care. When these five participants migrated from Latin America to the United States, they were not pursuing just one single "northstar" or one type of care. However, each of their stories relates most closely with the one of the four categories. With that being said, both one's trust in people and community, as well as in a space and environment fall under the larger idea of trust in care collectives, as they are pursuing a care infrastructure which allows them to care for others and to participate in a space where they are cared for. On the other hand, one's trust in their own crecimiento and their trust in their *plan* fall under the more general idea of self-care, as they understand their decisions to move as the pursuit of the ability to care for themselves in a way that they couldn't within their native countries. Throughout the next few paragraphs I am going to unpack what each of these northstars means and how the participants in this research described their own motivations

and processes of trust, as well as how these northstars help us understand migrants' pursuit of care, both care collectives and self care.

5.1 People and community

I characterize the pursuit of people and community through migration as the trust that in the United States, one will find a community of people that will support and care for them. These care collectives are, for many migrants, the recipients of their trust that alleviate stress the most. It is extremely common for migrants to pick locations in the United States based entirely on the family that already lives there or the pre-existence of a group of people that they can join.

This is true of each of the participants in this research. Valeria was comforted by the fact that many of her sisters had already moved to the United States and would be near if something went wrong or if she needed support. Laura first moved to Houston, Texas where her cousin had already lived for ten years in order to get her bearings in a new country surrounded by family and support systems. Caterina moved to the United States to join her mother who she believed would be able to guide her out of a period of immense panic and crisis. Maritza moved to Knoxville, Tennessee specifically because her husband had a friend who already lived here, and thus their family would have at least one familiar member of the community that could guide them through life in the United States. Finally, Javier moved to Miami specifically because that's where his new wife had lived for more than 30 years, and where there were many other Latin American migrants among whom he could live. In this sense, each and every migrant picked their destination point and understood their ability to acclimate to their surroundings based on the knowledge that there would be both specific people and larger communities with which they could become intimately involved.

The pursuit of people and community through migration also includes the trust that in the United States, one will be able to continue forming community and live amongst continued support, even after their initial period of acclimation. For Valeria, this meant that she had faith not only in her ability to find immediate support and guidance from her family, but also that she knew that with the aid of her sisters, she and her husband could both begin their own family, as well as bring Valeria's mom to live here, too. Valeria trusted that in the United States, she could form her own care collective that would exist and grow throughout time, and that no matter how long they choose to stay here, she would not be without community. Though Laura relied on her male cousin in Texas upon first arriving in the United States, she knew that there were collectives of women elsewhere on which she would be able to rely going forward in her life here. She only stayed in Houston for six months, and then moved to Knoxville where she has been proactive in forming a community of her sisters-in-laws and their female friends; she knew that her opportunities to live within a strong community were not limited to just the community in Houston, but that she would be able to move elsewhere and continue building her own collectives. One's "northstar" of people and community is not just limited to trust in those that they know upon moving here, but also includes trust that they will be able to create their own care collectives through which they will be supported and they will give support.

Valeria's narrative is the testimony that shows this "northstar" most clearly. Throughout every question and every story she told me, Valeria explained that she moved to the United States both because she was the only one left in her pueblo and wanted to join her sisters here, and also because she wanted to come with her husband and start their family while he, her sisters, and her mother were near. Since then, Valeria has committed herself to building a care collective within their family unit by devoting herself to the work of a mother and a homemaker,

and also by insisting that the family move closer to one of her sisters to be able to access and give support more regularly. Valeria trusted that here, in the United States, she would be able to access care collectives as well as continue to form her own, and it is this trust in communal care that helped her to justify taking the risk to move to the United States as a young, newly wed.

5.2 Space and Environment

The pursuit of a certain space and environment is the second "northstar" that falls under the overall trust in one's access to collective care. This can be a literal space, such as a desired city or state in which one would like to live, but more often involves the pursuit of an environment which the migrant believes to be more conducive to their life. This might look like either a more or less liberal environment, a safer one, and calmer or busier one, and much more.

Throughout these interviews, trust in a space and environment functioned differently for each participant. For example, in the most basic sense, Caterina grew tired of her province and knew that she needed a change in environment, thus ultimately deciding to migrate to the United States. Maritza, on the other hand, knew that the space and environment in which she and her children lived in Venezuela was no longer safe or secure. Maritza trusted that by moving to the United States, her family would be safer and have more secure access to their necessities, which she felt could no longer be guaranteed in her environment. Javier, contrastingly, felt initial comfort in moving to Miami because the environment was so similar to that of the Dominican Republic in which he had grown up. Upon deciding to move, he felt that the environment in Miami suited his lifestyle and view of his life most closely, which helped him to justify the risk of leaving his native country.

Maritza's narrative is the one out of these five that fits most closely with the use of space and environment as one's "northstar." Maritza found herself in a position in which she had no choice but to trust that the environment into which she was bringing herself and her family would be both safer and more secure. During our interview, she told me constantly, no matter the most recent question, that this country is very safe, and that she feels relieved to be able to rely on the stability of the health care, the access to food and the security of her children as they grow older. For Maritza, in order to justify moving away from her extended family and uprooting her three sons from their communities, she trusted that here, she and her family would live in a safer, more secure environment in which she would not have to worry about danger due to violence or instability the way she had come to in Venezuela. Here, she trusted that the safe and stable community and care collectives would support and protect her family, and used this as the "northstar" which she followed in order to take the risk of migrating.

5.3 One's Plan

Another "northstar" pursued by the participants in this research is the idea of "one's plan." Though each migrant's plan looks entirely different from the next, we can draw similarities between the ways in which they used their migration in order to have the opportunities to move closer toward their personal goals.

For Valeria, her plan had always been to be a mother and to live with her husband; therefore, she pursued her own goal by moving to the United States and establishing a life here. Laura, on the other hand, has large career and personal goals that include economic prosperity, such as continued teaching, or even, opening her own business. Caterina's pursuit of her own plan for her life, on the other hand, manifested in her pursuit of access to education, unhindered

by her marriage or her other responsibilities within business and womanhood. Javier, too, had a plan for his life, which encompassed many different goals: marriage, career advancements, new opportunities for his son, and learning English.

Laura's story illuminates the trust in one's plan most specifically. She knew that she would not be able to continue teaching or open her own business if she stayed in Honduras, for she did not have access to a teaching job that paid her enough, and within the political climate, she did not have the option of upward social mobility. Thus, in order to follow her plan of economic prosperity and professional development, Laura decided to move to the United States with her young son Damián. In order for a mother to move her child across national borders into a foreign country, she must have overwhelming trust in her ability to achieve her goals and pursue her plan for the betterment of not only herself, but of her children as well. This is an example of a northstar that leads a migrant to new opportunities for self care; by pursuing one's own plan toward development and betterment, migrants pursue the ability to radically care for themselves and for their children.

5.4 Crecimiento (growth)

The final northstar that I outline in my theoretical framework is opportunity for crecimiento, or growth. Depending on the participant's core values and ideas of what a desirable life looks like, access to crecimiento could refer to an endless number of opportunities; each of the participant's ideas of true "growth" varies from the rest, yet they all, in one way or another, trust that here in the United States, they will be able to grow as a person.

When Laura, on the other hand, mentioned crecimiento, she detailed a careful move toward a successful career and prosperous economic position which she could transfer back to

Danlí when possible. In Caterina's case, crecimiento in her life meant growth toward a more realized, educated and liberated womanhood than that which she believed she could achieve in her previous lifestyle.

However, Javier's explanation of his migration and his constant mentions of "crecimiento" and a driving force in his migration show us most clearly how the trust in one's ability to grow as a person can motivate and justify one's migration. Though each and every participant in this research trusted that they would be able to grow in one way or another after moving to a new country, Javier's pursuit of personal growth is the "northstar" which kept him going throughout his process of migration and as he moves around the United States. In addition, Javier sees access to this growth as extending to his son upon his migration, as well. For Javier, growth refers to the ability to gain increased fluency in English, pursue a career that he is passionate about into old age, socialize with new, open-minded people, and have his own property (a house, a car, etc). Javier's trust that he will be able to grow as a person through migration also represents the pursuit of access to care, but is another form of the radical self care which allows one to tend to their own needs as well as the needs of those around them.

5.5 Crisis point

Each of the migrants that participated in this research endured a sort of crisis point after the loss of trust in their access to care, collective care or self care, which pushed them to rethink their futures outside of their native countries. However, the participants experienced differing degrees of crisis, and each crisis was caused by varying circumstances, whether governmental, familial, financial, and more. The fifth interview which has not been detailed as fitting as

specifically with one of the four “northstars” outlined here is Caterina’s, and through the lens of crisis, we can illuminate her trust and care motives for migration.

Caterina’s testimony, like the others, has motivations that fall under each of the northstars as detailed above, yet her pursuit of self-care differs slightly from the others. Just before leaving Mexico, Caterina experienced a sort of collapse, a word she used, in her personal, professional and family life. As a result, Caterina’s process of migration to the United States was one “of complete chaos to make a different decision, to be able to learn.” Caterina pursued people and community as she came here to join her mother, space and environment as she left to be able to continue her education as an independent woman, and crecimiento as she felt that she could no longer grow into the person she wishes to be in Mexico. However, her story cannot be characterized by trust in any of these northstars, because instead, Caterina left under circumstances of crisis, and with immense risks attached to her decision to live across the border. It was Caterina’s trust that she would be able to care for herself in the United States that prompted her migration after a period of immense chaos, panic, and collapse. Caterina came to a crisis point, and though her migration was not as strategic as some of the others, she pursued a future in which she trusted that she would regain the ability to care for herself and her daughter that she felt she had lost.

6. Conclusion

The testimonies and experiences of these five Latin American migrants illuminate the process of trust relocation and the fearless pursuit of access to care collectives and self care after moments of crisis and top-down infrastructural failure. As these migrants’ experiences show, the decision to leave one’s native country is not simple by any means, and the causes for doing so

vary between political, familial, social, financial, and much more. However, each of these migrants demonstrated an immense amount of trust in the idea that if they decide to migrate, they will have the agency to be able to ensure that everything will be okay: they will be okay, their children will be okay, and their families back at home will be okay. Whether their intentions are to remain in the United States permanently or to return to their native countries eventually, their communities remain entirely transnational and multiscalar. In order to take the leap and move to the United States, each migrant faced their crisis, relocated their trust elsewhere, whether toward new communities, new environments, new plans, or new opportunities for growth, and pursued the ability to care for one another and themselves. Only with these participants' vulnerability and willingness to share their stories with me, have I been able to write this paper and think more critically about the process of migration, trust relocation, and the pursuit of care. If nothing else, I hope I have done each of these narratives justice and brought attention to the transnationally trail blazing lives that each of these migrants has lived.

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Appendix A

Orignial Consent Form

Consent for Research Participation

Research Study Title: The Intersections of Care

Researcher(s): Lily Hardwig and Dr. Solange Muñoz, University of Tennessee Knoxville

Why am I being asked to be in this research study?

We are asking you to be in this research study because you have immigrated from Latin America to the United States and have become involved in a community organization. The purpose of this study is to learn about immigrant experiences within the landscape of care and care labor. This landscape includes infrastructures and organizations of care in both participants' native Latin American countries and in the United States, formal and informal care work, creation of new care systems in response to those that are failing, and communal caring specific to immigrant communities.

What is this research study about?

The purpose of the research study is to examine the involvement of Latin American immigrants in transnational care networks and infrastructures of care.

How long will I be in the research study?

If you agree to participate in this study, your participation will last for the length of one interview: approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour. After that, you will have the option to be in another individual interview or a focus group, which will also last an hour.

What will happen if I say "Yes, I want to be in this research study"?

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to:

- Make an appointment to meet Lily before or after an evening ESL class at Pellissippi State College, or at another time/date that is convenient for you and the researcher.
- During your interview you will be asked a series of semi-structured questions about your life, and you'll be given the opportunity to add any additional information that you deem relevant. You'll be asked questions about your experiences before, during and after immigration, and your day to day involvement in care networks within your community.

What happens if I say "No, I do not want to be in this research study"?

Being in this study is up to you. You can say no now or leave the study later. Your decision to participate in this study or decline to do so will not affect any of your relationships at Centro Hispano or with the researchers at the University of Tennessee.

What happens if I say "Yes" but change my mind later?

Even if you decide to be in the study now, you can change your mind and stop at any time.

If you decide to stop before the study is completed please let the researcher know. Any data collected will not be used for analysis or publication and will be destroyed.

Are there any possible risks to me?

It is possible that someone could find out you were in this study or see your study information, but we believe this risk is small because of the procedures we use to protect your information. These procedures are described later in this form.

Are there any benefits to being in this research study?

We do not expect you to benefit from being in this study. Your participation may help us to learn more about the effects and expressions of care throughout immigration.

Who can see or use the information collected for this research study?

The only people who will have access to your research data and interview recordings are the two researchers, Lily Hardwig and Dr. Solange Muñoz. All data will be password protected, and all names and identifying information will be disguised in the analysis stage. No reference will be made in oral or written reports which could link participants directly to the study. Once all data has been transcribed and connected to proper codes/pseudonyms, I will destroy the master list and work directly from the code identifiers.

What will happen to my information after this study is over?

We will keep your information to use for future research. Your name and other information that can directly identify you will be kept secure and stored separately from your research data collected as part of the study.

Will I be paid for being in this research study?

You will not be compensated for your involvement in this study.

Who can answer my questions about this research study?

If you have questions or concerns about this study, or have experienced a research related problem, contact the researchers, Lily Hardwig (**lhardwig@vols.utk.edu**) or Dr. Solange Muñoz (**imuñoz@utk.edu**).

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the chance to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have more questions, I have been told who to contact. Through verbal consent, I am agreeing to be in this study.

Appendix B

Translated Consent Form

Consentimiento para la participación en la investigación

Título del estudio de investigación: Las Intersecciones del Cuidado

Investigadoras: Lily Hardwig and Dr. Solange Muñoz, Universidad of Tennessee, Knoxville

¿Por qué me están preguntando por participar en este estudio?

Le pedimos que participe en este estudio de investigación porque ha inmigrado de América Latina a los Estados Unidos y se ha involucrado en una organización comunitaria. El propósito de este estudio es conocer las experiencias de los inmigrantes dentro del panorama del cuidado y la labor de cuidado. Este panorama incluye las infraestructuras y organizaciones de cuidado tanto en los países latinoamericanos de origen de los participantes como en los Estados Unidos, el trabajo de cuidado formal e informal, la creación de nuevos sistemas de cuidado en respuesta a los que están fallando, y el cuidado comunitario específico de las comunidades inmigrantes.

¿De qué trata este estudio de investigación?

El propósito del estudio de investigación es examinar la participación de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en las redes e infraestructuras transnacionales de cuidados.

¿Cuánto tiempo estaré en el estudio de investigación?

Si acepta participar en este estudio, su participación durará la duración de una entrevista: aproximadamente de 30 minutos a 1 hora. Después, tendrá la opción de participar en otra entrevista individual o en un grupo de discusión, las cuales durarán una hora.

¿Qué pasará si digo "Sí, quiero participar en este estudio de investigación"?

Si acepta participar en este estudio, le pediremos que:

· Haga una cita para reunirse con Lily antes o después de una clase nocturna de ESL en el Pellissippi State College, o en otra hora/fecha que sea conveniente para usted y el investigador.

· Durante la entrevista se le hará una serie de preguntas semiestructuradas sobre su vida, y se le dará la oportunidad de añadir cualquier información adicional que considere relevante. Se le harán preguntas sobre sus experiencias antes, durante y después de la

inmigración, y sobre su participación diaria en las redes de atención dentro de su comunidad.

¿Qué ocurre si digo "No, no quiero participar en este estudio de investigación"?

Estar en este estudio depende de ti. Puede decir que no ahora o abandonar el estudio más adelante. Su decisión de participar en este estudio o rechazarla no afectará a ninguna de sus relaciones en el Centro Hispano o con los investigadores de la Universidad de Tennessee.

¿Qué pasa si digo "Sí" pero luego cambio de opinión?

Aunque decida participar en el estudio ahora, puede cambiar de opinión y dejarlo en cualquier momento.

Si decide dejar de participar antes de que finalice el estudio, comuníquelo al investigador. Los datos recogidos no se utilizarán para el análisis o la publicación y se destruirán.

¿Hay algún riesgo para mí?

Es posible que alguien se entere de que ha participado en este estudio o vea su información, pero creemos que este riesgo es pequeño debido a los procedimientos que utilizamos para proteger su información. Estos procedimientos se describen más adelante en este formulario.

¿Tiene algún beneficio participar en este estudio de investigación?

No esperamos que se beneficie de su participación en este estudio. Su participación puede ayudarnos a aprender más sobre los efectos y las expresiones de la atención a lo largo de la inmigración.

¿Quién puede ver o utilizar la información recogida para este estudio de investigación?

Las únicas personas que tendrán acceso a los datos de su investigación y a las grabaciones de las entrevistas son las dos investigadoras, Lily Hardwig y la Dra. Solange Muñoz. Todos los datos estarán protegidos por una contraseña, y todos los nombres e información de identificación se ocultarán en la fase de análisis. En los informes orales o escritos no se hará ninguna referencia que pueda vincular a los participantes directamente con el estudio. Una vez que se hayan transcrito todos los datos y se hayan conectado a los códigos/pseudónimos adecuados, destruiré la lista maestra y trabajaré directamente a partir de los identificadores de los códigos.

¿Qué ocurrirá con mi información una vez finalizado el estudio?

Conservaremos su información para utilizarla en futuras investigaciones. Su nombre y otros datos que puedan identificarle directamente se mantendrán seguros y se almacenarán por separado de sus datos de investigación recogidos como parte del estudio.

¿Me pagarán por participar en este estudio de investigación?

No se le compensará por su participación en este estudio.

¿Quién puede responder a mis preguntas sobre este estudio de investigación?

Si tiene preguntas o dudas sobre este estudio, o ha tenido algún problema relacionado con la investigación, póngase en contacto con los investigadores, Lily Hardwig (**lhardwig@vols.utk.ed**u) o la Dra. Solange Muñoz (**imuñoz@utk.edu**).

DECLARACIÓN DE CONSENTIMIENTO

He leído este formulario y se me ha explicado el estudio de investigación. Se me ha dado la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y se ha respondido a mis preguntas. Si tengo más preguntas, se me ha dicho a quién debo dirigirme. Mediante el consentimiento verbal, acepto participar en este estudio.

Appendix C

Original Interview Questions

General Information

- How old are you?
- Where are you from?
- Who do you live with? Did you work? Doing what?
    - Did that allow you to provide for your family?
- (where) do you work?
- How long have you been involved in Centro?
- How long have you lived in the United States
- What do you do in your free time?

Native country

- What did you do in your native country?
- Who did you live with in your native country?
- How old were you when you left your native country?
- Did/do you have family in your native country? Friends? Community?
- Describe your day to day life in your native country
- Did you have access to care in your native country? Do you have access to care here?

Immigration

- Why did you leave your native country?
- Who did you immigrate with?
- Who did you leave behind?
- Were family/community members already here when you immigrated?
- Would you be comfortable describing your process of your immigration.
- How did you end up in Knoxville, TN?
- Do you plan to stay here?
- Do you plan to bring more family members here?
- What was most surprising to you about life in the USA?
- What was the most difficult part of your immigration? What helped you through this?
- What was the most confusing part of your immigration? What helped you through this?
- Did your lifestyle change during/as a result of immigration?
- How did immigration affect your community?
- Have you been able to do what you want to do in Knoxville?

Work

- How many jobs have you worked in the US? What were they?
- How did you find these jobs?

- When looking for work, what is your job search process?
- Are your job opportunities better where you live now compared to before? Why? Why not?
- If you could, what kind of work/job would you like to have?
- What types of jobs were available to you?
    - Did you feel like you had options?
- How is your work life compared to your home life? Are there similarities?
- When you come home from your job, what work do you have to do at home?
- Do you feel that your work pays you well?
- What parts of your job do you enjoy?
- What parts of your job do you dislike?
- If you feel taken advantage of at work, who do you tell? Do you ask for help?
- Do you feel required to care for others in your job? How so?

Family/community

- Who is in your family? Are they here? In your native country?
- Who is in your community? How did you form/find your community?
    - How do you define community?
- When in need of help, who do you reach out to?
- What is your support system?
- Do you support others? Who?
- What problems do you often help your family solve? Your community?
- How has immigration affected your family/community?
- How was your family/community different in your native country?
- Who do you care for in your community? Who cares for you?
- Describe the community at Centro.

Care questions

- Did immigrating help you take care of yourself and family?/ If so, how?
- Did it limit you from taking care of yourself and your family?/how?

Appendix D

Translated Interview Questions

Información general

- ¿Cuántos años tiene?
- ¿De dónde eres?
- ¿Con quién vives? ¿Trabajas? ¿En qué trabaja?
- ¿Te ha permitido mantener a tu familia?
- (¿Dónde) trabajas?
- ¿Desde cuándo participas en el Centro?
- ¿Cuánto tiempo has vivido en los Estados Unidos?
- ¿Qué hace en su tiempo libre?

País de origen

- ¿Qué hacías en tu país de origen?
- ¿Con quién vivías en tu país de origen?
- ¿Qué edad tenía cuando dejó su país de origen?
- ¿Tenías/tienes familia en tu país de origen? ¿Amigos? ¿Comunidad?
- Describa su vida cotidiana en su país de origen
- ¿Tenía acceso a la atención médica en su país de origen? ¿Tiene acceso a la atención médica aquí?

Inmigración

- ¿Por qué dejó su país de origen?
- ¿Con quién emigró?
- ¿A quién dejó atrás?
- ¿Había ya miembros de la familia/comunidad aquí cuando usted inmigró?
- ¿Se sentiría cómodo describiendo el proceso de su inmigración?
- ¿Cómo terminó en Knoxville, TN?
- ¿Piensa quedarse aquí?
- ¿Piensa traer a más miembros de su familia?
- ¿Qué fue lo que más le sorprendió de la vida en los Estados Unidos?
- ¿Qué fue lo más difícil de su inmigración? ¿Qué le ayudó a superarlo?
- ¿Cuál fue la parte más confusa de su inmigración? ¿Qué le ayudó a superarlo?
- ¿Cambió su estilo de vida durante o como resultado de la inmigración?
- ¿Cómo afectó la inmigración a tu comunidad?
- ¿Has podido hacer lo que querías en Knoxville?

- Trabajo
- ¿Cuántos trabajos has realizado en Estados Unidos? ¿Cuáles eran?

- ¿Cómo encontró estos trabajos?
- Cuando buscas trabajo, ¿cuál es tu proceso de búsqueda de empleo?
- ¿Las oportunidades de trabajo son mejores donde vives ahora que antes? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?
- Si pudieras, ¿qué tipo de trabajo/empleo te gustaría tener?
- ¿Qué tipo de trabajos tenía a su disposición?
- ¿Sientes que tienes opciones?
- ¿Cómo es tu vida laboral en comparación con tu vida familiar? ¿Hay similitudes?
- Cuando vuelves del trabajo, ¿qué trabajo tienes que hacer en casa?
- ¿Sientes que tu trabajo te paga bien?
- ¿Qué partes de tu trabajo te gustan?
- ¿Qué partes de tu trabajo no te gustan?
- Si te sientes aprovechado en el trabajo, ¿a quién se lo dices? ¿Pides ayuda?
- ¿Te sientes obligado a cuidar de los demás en tu trabajo? ¿De qué manera?

Familia/comunidad

- ¿Quiénes forman parte de tu familia? ¿Están aquí? ¿En tu país de origen?
- ¿Quiénes forman parte de tu comunidad? ¿Cómo formaste/encontraste tu comunidad?
- ¿Cómo defines la comunidad?
- Cuando necesitas ayuda, ¿a quién recurres?
- ¿Cuál es tu sistema de apoyo?
- ¿Apoyas a otros? ¿A quiénes?
- ¿Qué problemas sueles ayudar a resolver a tu familia? ¿A tu comunidad?
- ¿Cómo ha afectado la inmigración a tu familia/comunidad?
- ¿En qué se diferenciaba tu familia/comunidad en tu país de origen?
- ¿A quién cuidas en tu comunidad? ¿Quién te cuida a ti?
- Describe la comunidad en el Centro.

Cuidado

- ¿La inmigración le ayudó a cuidar de sí mismo y de su familia?/ Si es así, ¿cómo?
- ¿Te limitó cuidar de ti mismo y de tu familia?/¿Cómo?