Latino Immigration to Smalltown, North Carolina: Transformations in El Nuevo South

Antoine Luc Bailliard

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Approved by,

Virginia Dickie, Ph.D.

Altha Cravey, Ph.D.

Malcolm Cutchin, Ph.D.

Glenn Hinson, Ph.D.

Ruth Humphry, Ph.D.

Abstract

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This study employed ethnographic methods to explore changes in occupational

engagement for Latinos immigrating to *Smalltown,* North Carolina. Study participants noted

changes in the sensory experiences of engagement in occupations in *Smalltown.* These

experiences were contrasted to past experiences in immigrants' countries of origin. The

transformations of sensory experiences precipitated feelings of alienation, negative

wellbeing, and poor place integration. For instance, participants were alienated by the

"asceptic" smells they encountered while grocery shopping in *Smalltown* stores. Participants

were shocked by the silence in *Smalltown* and lamented the absence of familiar sounds.

Participants also experienced tactile transformations in occupation such as the loss of

physical contact during social engagements. When sensory expectations did not match

sensory experiences, individuals encountered an interruption in the flow of their engagement

in occupation.

In addition, Latino immigrants to *Smalltown* experienced poor social integration due

to different cultural expectations for interaction than their U.S. born counterparts. Study

participants noted important cultural differences between Latinos of different nationalities.

For instance, participants from Columbia expressed difficulty integrating with the Mexican

majority due to differences in customs for greeting, preferences in music, and meanings

attributed to words and idioms.

Due to anti-immigrant sentiment and public policies, Latino immigrants to *Smalltown*,

experienced fear, discrimination, and oppression during their occupational engagements.

The fear of deportation and intense work rhythms caused many participants to withdraw from occupations with detrimental effects on emotional wellbeing.

Study findings suggest individuals embody sensory habits through habituation during occupational engagements with the environment which may impede or facilitate integration with subsequent environments. Findings also demonstrate the impact of public policies on the daily engagement in occupations. Implications regarding clinical work in Occupational Therapy and research in Occupational Science are discussed.

Pour Kimberly et son soutien inconditionnel pendant ce projet. Ses encouragements,

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Introduction

Latino immigration to the United States is the civil rights issue of our time. Tales of the discrimination, exploitation, and abuse of Latino immigrants abound while anti-immigrant sentiment is fueled by a political rhetoric that increasingly links terrorism with immigration. Latinos are the largest minority in the U.S. and the Census Bureau projects that by 2050, approximately 1 in 4 Americans will be Latino. Issues related to the rapid escalation of the Latino population and its activities within the United States permeate media headlines, policy development, and popular culture. Though there is wide recognition of the dramatic influx of immigrant Latinos, there is a paucity of research inspecting the lived experience of immigration to North Carolina including the effect on individual and community occupations. Indeed, Dovidio and Esses (2001) argue the majority of research on Latinos focuses on collecting discrete demographic data framing issues in economic, political and resource management terms. Moreover, Brettell and Hollifield (2008) found the literature base has given parsimonious recognition to country of origin and foreign perspectives.

Though necessary and useful, focused quantitative work leaves a gap in our collective understanding of the qualitative changes immigrants experience as they adapt to a new life in the United States. This gap in knowledge masks the lived experience including the effects on wellbeing, family relationships, ties to country of

origin, and habits of occupational participation. This gap must be addressed to inform and bolster action in areas of national and international policy development to address Latino needs in economic, healthcare, and educational arenas.

This project is significant because Latinos are the fastest growing population in the U.S., and failing to address their needs will engender an unacceptable social and economic burden on our country (López, 2002). According to Gouveia and Saenz (2000), the Latino population represents a growing percentage of the workforce due to a young median age and high birth rate compared to the aging U.S. workforce.

To complement and expand the current research base, the overall goal of this study was to conduct a qualitative exploration of the lived experience for Latinos immigrating and adjusting to life in the United States. To attain this objective, I targeted two specific aims during a 12 month ethnographic project with the Latino community in Smalltown, North Carolina.

The first aim was to explore the experience of stress associated with immigration and adaptation to life in Smalltown, N.C. for Latino immigrants. Though often framed negatively, stress can be a positive experience and does not necessarily have a harmful impact on health. Indeed, according to Lovallo (2004), an individual's perception of whether an experience is positive or negative directly affects how it is experienced in psychological and physiological terms. To meet this aim, I analyzed data from participant observations and conversations during community and individual occupations and collected local media, documents, and cultural artifacts.

The second aim was to explore changes in habits and routines of participation in occupations as a result of immigration. The rationale for this aim was founded on the notion that an abrupt environmental change will precipitate changes in an individual's habits and routines with both costs and benefits to the individual. According to Dewey (1922/1998), habits and routines operate unconsciously until they do not foster a harmonious integration with the environment. A disruption is consciously addressed via reconfiguration of habits to once again successfully integrate with the environment. Transitioning from one country to another presents environmental changes in physical, cultural and social institutions that affect an individual's daily functioning. Though Dewey asserted that disruptions of habit configurations occur all the time, drastic changes in one's environment would likely require greater adaptation, learning and reconfiguration of habits than changes in a more stable environment. This study explored how participants experienced these changes and the effects on their wellbeing.   To address the second aim, I used semi-structured interviews discussing habits of occupational participation before and after immigration.

I adopted an emergent ethnographic design which, with the guidance of study participants, enabled me to develop and address the following additional questions during the research process:

1. How did the fear of deportation affect participation in occupation for study participants?

2. How did changes in transportation affect participant daily living via engagement in occupation?

3. How did changes in routine engagement in occupation affect participant wellbeing?

4. How did changes in the sensory experiences of occupation affect engagement in occupation and participant wellbeing?

5. How did changes in cultural expectations for engagement in social occupations affect participation?

6. How did different cultural norms across Latin America affect participation in occupation for Latino immigrants to Smalltown?

I address these questions in my findings, discussion and conclusion.

Meeting study aims and addressing the aforementioned six questions promised to elucidate lived experience of Latino immigration and its effect on participation in meaningful occupations. Attempting to address Latino needs in healthcare or education before adequate exploration of those needs risks the uncritical naïve assumption of uniform experiences across groups. Thus, a study concerning the qualitative dimension of the Latino immigrant experience was a useful and necessary endeavor.

Background

According to the Census 2000, between 1990 and 2000, the U.S. population of Latinos increased by 57.9% reaching 35.3 million individuals. The 2004 Census update projected this population to be 41.3 million individuals. Between 1990 and 2000, North Carolina experienced a 393.9% increase in its Latino population (U.S. Census 2000). Moreover, the ratio of Latinos to Caucasians will likely continue to rise dramatically since birth rates are 64.6 per 1000 for Caucasians and 95.1 per

1000 for Latinos (U.S. Census 2000). Although these figures seem staggering, Gouveia and Saenz (2000) demonstrated these statistics likely underestimate the Latino population suggesting the number could be far greater. According to Rodríguez (2000), the Census Bureau's methods for gathering data do not account for the masses of undocumented immigrants who avoid the Census or are not counted due to complex living arrangements such as residing in clandestine households.

The Latino immigrant experience.

Although representing an increasing proportion of the U.S. workforce, Vega and Rumbaut (1991) found that Latino immigrants must often adapt to a vocation of lower prestige than they held in their country of origin. In addition to experiencing widespread discrimination, Latinos are often unable to transfer credentials or degrees from their country of origin. Of those who find work, migrant Latino farmworkers arguably encounter the worst conditions. Hovey and Magaña (2002) found that farmworkers typically earned less than $6,000 per year while enduring substandard living conditions such as poor sanitation and/or lack of toilets and water. This perilous vocation records the highest incidence of U.S. workplace fatalities and often exposes workers to dangerous levels of illegal pesticides. As a result, the average life expectancy of Latino migrant farmworkers is only 49 years (Hovey & Magaña). Deplorable working conditions are not limited to farms however, and can be found in many industries employing immigrants. Representatives of meatpacking plants in North Carolina, for example, have testified to Congress admitting to abusive treatment of their Latino workers such as withholding wages,

not providing adequate safety, and actively colluding with the local sheriff's department to stifle union organizers (Smith-Nonini, 2003).

Many immigrants, regardless of education or skill level, cannot find steady employment. Many wait each morning at specific locations where local businesses know they can recruit workers for daily projects. Jakobsen (2004) found that difficulties finding employment cause Latino immigrants to experience devaluation of their personal capacities, lack of income, insufficient social company, and poor quality of life. According to Vega and Rumbaut (1991), Latinos must adapt to new societal expectations and face disappointment in vocational opportunities, which subjects them to role inconsistencies, stress, and ultimately depressive symptoms. Challenges in providing financial support for one's family directly challenge the traditional role of Latino men as breadwinners.

Accordingly, Grzywacz et al. (2006) argued the role of family in immigrant Latino life can be a source of multiple forms of ambivalence. When immigrating alone; Latinos in the study by Grzywacz et al. found it is difficult to reconcile the notion of abandoning one's family in order to provide them with better support.Those with family in the U.S., in turn, are vulnerable to other forms of familial ambivalence. For example, Magaña and Hovey (2003) found Latinos frequently experience uncustomary role reversals between family members that are beyond cultural expectations. Latino children attending U.S. schools are typically far more proficient in English than their parents and must serve as interpreters of critical health or financial information (Magaña & Hovey). With or without one's family, the

immigration process is potentially riddled with multiple challenges that merit exploration.

Lara, Gamboa, Kahramanian, Morales and Batista (2005) asserted that the effect of assimilating to mainstream U.S. culture for Latinos is complex and poorly understood. For example, there is mounting evidence demonstrating a correlation between increasing incidence of health problems for Latinos with their length of stay in the United States (Landale, Oropresa, Llanes & Gorman, 1999). This paradox includes worse health outcomes for second generation immigrants compared to the first generation (Lara et al.; Viruell-Fuentes, 2007).

Immigration and mental health.

Takeuchi and Kim (2005) found that immigration engenders feelings of detachment from one's environment that can precipitate a sense of alienation, demoralization and distress. According to Castillo (2006), immigrants with transient psychoses may experience exacerbation of their symptoms when subjected to rejection, social alienation, or loss of traditional extended kinships, thus increasing the likelihood of developing chronic psychosis. Furthermore, Lackey (2008) found that separation from loved ones due to immigration is a significant environmental stressor that often precipitates depression and anxiety. Hovey and Magaña (2002) determined that 30% of immigrants in their study demonstrated symptoms for anxiety compared to the norm of 16% for the U.S population. In another study, Magaña and Hovey (2003) found 40% of immigrants demonstrated symptoms for depression as compared to the norm of 20%. Though important for an epidemiological understanding of mental health illnesses with this cohort, such

studies do little to fill the gap in knowledge concerning the lived experience of Latino immigration to the United States.

Research on the health impact of immigration has predominately collected objective and demographic data often framing immigration issues in economic, political and resource management terms (Dovidio & Esses, 2001). But knowledge concerning the lived experience of immigration remains elusive and is noticeably absent from the literature base. Moreover, migration studies tend to gloss over Latino heterogeneity for the sake of generalizing results. To the contrary, the Latino population is diverse rendering generalized conclusions impossible and impractical (Hirschman & Snipp, 2001).

Latino: an overgeneralization.

Duke and Mateo (2008) argued that the literature pays scant attention to the diversity of Latino populations and has suffered as a result. Further, Gutmann (1999) argued that the term Latino is an oversimplification that obfuscates cultural diversity while erroneously asserting intragroup homogeneity. The lack of recognition of country of origin and foreign perspectives detracts from salient issues in migration studies (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008).

The term Latino encompasses people from multiple continents comprised of numerous countries each with a unique history, culture, dialect, idiomatic expressions, and socio-economic structure (Guarnaccia, Martinez, & Acosta, 2005). Each country has a different political and economic relationship with the U.S.; significantly affecting the individual context of immigration. Highlighting the ways that these different relationships frame the immigration experience, Guarnaccia et al.

point to the singular case posed by Cuba. Cubans emigrated as political refugees in

an era when the U.S. was preoccupied with combating communism and socialism.

As refugees, the Cubans enjoyed unprecedented political and financial support from

the U.S. government. They received active support to secure business loans and

were granted the legal transfer of professional degrees and credentials.

Governmental acceptance of this particular Latino cohort facilitated the immigration

of highly educated and affluent Cubans. Consequently, as a cohort, Cubans are the

most wealthy and successful Latino group in the U.S. On the other hand, as

Guarnaccia et al. pointed out, Puerto Ricans had the lowest socioeconomic status of

all Latino immigrants and have not benefited from overt governmental aid. Asserting

an identical experience between these two groups is simply impossible.

Furthermore, it is misleading to affirm a common experience within national

cohorts as the context of immigration also varies with time. Political and economic

relationships between the U.S. and other countries are constantly in flux,

encouraging the immigration of particular cohorts of the same nationality more than

others. Changes in administration or a shift in congressional majority can transform

the American political climate such that conditions can be more favorable for a

particular economic class of immigrants. For example, over a ten year span,

Guarnaccia et al. (2205) observed a significant change in the level of education and

socioeconomic class of Cuban and Dominican immigrants. Nevertheless the term

Latino, though vague, conceptually inappropriate, and impractical continues to

plague migration theories.

Early models of acculturation and assimilation.

According to Portes and Manning (2001), the first models of acculturation and assimilation were developed to represent the narrow experience of European immigrants whose high vocational skills dispersed them into the primary labor market. With subsequent migrations of non-European populations, scholars revised their models realizing these populations did not assimilate in the same way as their European predecessors. Taking into account the possibility of multiple outcomes, scholars developed a model of segmented assimilation (Lara et al., 2005). Though a tremendous improvement, Lara et al. argued the model continued to reify the migration experience to three variables: immigrant human capital, governmental policies of the host country, and resources of immigrant families and communities. Moreover the model continued to delimit the immigrant experience to a discrete set of outcomes.

Models of acculturation frequently narrow the human experience in accordance with positivist traditions of inquiry. For example, Alegria et al. (2007) found that many models use English-language proficiency to assess alignment to U.S. culture. If acculturation is defined as the adoption of a group's culture, measuring language proficiency as a proxy hardly captures one's cultural proficiency. According to Agar (2002), one can master a language's grammar and structure without grasping the cultural knowledge that facilitates navigating the structures of that culture. Alegria et al. also noted that variables of fluency are often measured with extreme values, such as all Spanish or all English. This hardly acknowledges diverse modes of expression including numerous dialects and vernaculars in English.

In the past, many theories on migration outlined unidirectional outcomes for all immigrants regardless of nationality, social class, or education. Since asserting a common experience for immigrant Latinos is riddled with misleading assumptions, proposing a general model of acculturation for Latinos is an impossibility. Indeed models that do not account for one's country of origin lose an essential component affecting the context of immigration (Heisler, 2008).

More importantly, these models assume a unidirectional outcome in which the immigrant becomes increasingly "American". This assumes that progressively acquiring elements of the dominant culture parallels increasing disengagement from the culture of origin (Alegria et al., 2007). Measuring acculturation with such polar dichotomies precludes any consideration of degree.

Studying migration evokes so many complex processes occurring at all levels of human function, that it requires an interdisciplinary approach (Favell, 2008). It is necessary to include different perspectives from all over the world in order to circumvent the propensity of developing canonical views that prioritize the viewpoint of the host country (Favell). Historically, migration research has been vulnerable to such ethnocentricism as it failed to account for the perspective of the country of origin, assumed a unidirectional adoption of U.S. culture, and failed to account for intragroup heterogeneity.

To illustrate the inadequacy of unidirectional models which ignore country of origin and group heterogeneity, I will briefly present an informal collaborative case study with a Latino immigrant at a local Latino Catholic Church. To protect his right to confidentiality, I will not disclose his country of origin and will dub him with the

pseudonym, Julian. Data were collected using participant observation of community events and interviews.

Case study: Julian.

Julian emigrated from a Central American nation in the mid 1990s in search of sound economic opportunity. Illustrating the theoretical pitfalls of previous migration research, his experience was markedly different than predicted by traditional models of acculturation and assimilation. Before crossing into the U.S., Julian passed through Mexico taking several days to reach the U.S. border. After crossing the latter by foot, he spent many more days traveling to North Carolina. His situation was already qualitatively different than many other immigrants. For example, Mexicans who settle in Texas presumably require less time and money to reach their destination.

During a set of recorded semi-structured interviews, Julian described how his life in North Carolina was progressively inundated by feelings of isolation and obsession with monetary gain. With the intention of returning to his wife and children in Central America, Julian sought to work at least 6 days a week for 12 hours a day. Stressed, overworked, and paranoid of facing deportation, Julian said he began to feel overly preoccupied with work and money. Returning from work late at night, he spent his time longing for his family and life back in Central America. With little time to pursue leisurely interests, it was difficult for Julian to form social networks to create a sense of belonging. Suffering from mounting preoccupations, Julian said he found himself inconsolably worried about material possessions such as a car, a house, and earning more money. His perception was increasingly tainted with

incessant thoughts focused on what others had that he did not. Julian recalled telling his wife that everyone around him seemed happy and able to purchase whatever they pleased. In contrast, he felt poor, isolated, and overworked. His thoughts continued to persecute him until he realized he was plummeting into poor mental health.

To combat the overwhelming sense of isolation, Julian joined a local Latino church though he had not been religiously active in Central America. Perhaps, he thought, the church could address his need for community membership. Julian frequently cited biblical references as cognitive scaffolds to challenge his newfound capitalist obsession and downward spiraling mental health. Relying on the church's teachings, Julian increased his attendance to at least four times a week. As a part of this community, Julian was exposed to an extensive network of social, financial, emotional, and spiritual support. He successfully combated his sense of isolation while attenuating his obsessive thoughts.

Julian's story referred to numerous occupational transformations that engendered palpable changes in his well being such as the abandonment of former leisure occupations and the adoption of new religious occupations. These transformations cannot be unpacked using the lens of traditional migration theories that would identify him at a low level of acculturation citing poor English skills and infrequent participation in "American" activities. Yet Julian's story demonstrates a successful adaptation to life in the United States. Fortunately, new trends in migration studies show greater promise in explaining cases like Julian.

New theories in migration studies.

New migration theories eschew unidirectional pathways to acculturation while taking into account the complex world created by globalization. According to Vertovec (2001), the advent and general access to modes of high speed communication and world travel have spawned populations that are no longer tied to a single nation-state. Rather, de la Luz Ibarra (2002) argued, the concept of transnational identity is beginning to take hold in scholarly dialogues. Romero (2000) found that multidimensional models of acculturation are increasingly accepted recognizing the importance of the context of immigration. A more accurate representation of real life, acknowledging the complexity of such processes, renders research ever more difficult. For example, Vertovec noted that transnational identities cannot be uniform as varying orientations to cultures engender a bifocality of cultural dispositions and practices that differ even within the same family.

Though still the subject of intense debate, transnational models present the most comprehensive portrait of the immigration experience to date: through a process of affiliation and positioning, the individual develops attachments and allegiances to people, places, and traditions that transcend traditional nation-state boundaries (Vertovec, 2001). In a similar vein, Núñez-Madrazo (2007) described Latino immigrants as "translocal," living neither here nor there. Rather, immigrant experiences are dynamic and dialectic between the country of origin and the host country (Núñez-Madrazo). Living between both cultures, individuals remain active in both worlds such that they do not align with one culture over the other. The appreciation of a multiplicity of cultural and national affiliations has engendered dynamic models that are far more complex than their predecessors.

According to Levitt and Jaworsky (2007), translocal or transnational immigrants function in fluid social spaces that are constantly recreated through their actions within more than one society or culture. These social spaces transcend nation-state borders connecting the host country to the home; equally transforming the lives of nonmigrants (Levitt & Jaworsky). Indeed, Vertovec (2004) argued that individual level changes engender incremental societal changes that cumulatively transform community practices in both societies. In other words, simultaneous participation in both cultures changes the social reproduction of identity, narratives, relations, discourse and the subjectivity of life in each culture (Núñez-Madrazo, 2007).

Transnational and translocal theories mark an important epistemological shift in the conceptualization of immigration. There is increasing acceptance that individual and environment are interdependent such that changes occurring at either level engender changes at the other. After all, people are culture in that they reproduce, reinforce, and create cultural practices. However, transnational and translocal theories continue to assert a problematic dualism, albeit to a lesser degree than their predecessors, between humans and environments. As a result, I applied a transactional perspective (Dickie, Cutchin, & Humphry, 2006) to the Smalltown study which proposed a deeper appreciation of the complex marriage of person and environment. Moreover, the transactional perspective focuses on the dynamics of lived experience itself via action while translocal or transnational theories highlight the abstract entities that constitute experience. Focusing on the lived experience and the relationships joining its constitutive parts promised a

holistic portrayal of the situation. A holistic portrayal of the situation also minimized the risk of overlooking important dynamics that may not be evident when entering the field with a narrow focus. The transactional perspective is not only compatible with new trends in migration studies, but has the potential of making a significant contribution to the literature base on migration theory.

Document Overview

In Chapter Two I explicate elements of the transactional perspective in occupational science (Dickie et al., 2006) setting forth the theoretical basis and rationale for the study questions, aims, data collection, analyses, and conclusion. Chapter Three provides an outline of the study's ethnographic methods over a 12 month period with a North Carolinian community that experienced unprecedented growth with its immigrant Latino population. In order to protect participant confidentiality, per the University of North Carolina's Institutional Review Board standards, I use pseudonyms for individual names and locations in the study. Henceforth I will refer to the study locale as *Smalltown,* North Carolina and situate the community in *Farmhouse County.* In Chapter Four, I situate the study in historical and political contexts to frame my understanding of the Latino experience in Smalltown. In the vein of the transactional perspective, the chapter eschews the container metaphor of individual *in* context (Dickie et al.) and promotes a broader view of the situation wherein individuals and the multilayered environments through which they act are interdependent and inextricable.

Chapters Five and Six present study findings according to broad themes I developed through coding with Atlas.ti software (Muhr, 2011). Chapter Five

discusses changes in participation in occupation as a result of the fear, discrimination, and oppression Latino immigrants encountered in Smalltown. The chapter highlights the role of legislation and Smalltown institutions in affecting changes in occupational engagement including associated effects on wellbeing. Chapter Six discusses the embodied experiences of immigration via sensory transformations in the engagement of customary occupations. I illustrate how these transformations affected participant wellbeing in social, leisure, and daily occupations.

Chapters Seven and Eight discuss the findings from the analytical perspective of theories in occupational science, philosophy, and political science. Chapter Seven applies theories of occupational justice and social justice to the findings of Chapter Five, focusing on issues of fear, discrimination, and oppression. The chapter presents a critique of occupational justice in order to determine it is sufficiently distinct from theories of social justice. The rationale for juxtaposing these theories in the analysis is to provide a scholarly appraisal for employing occupational justice versus social justice. Such critique is essential to the continued development of sound theory in occupational science as those theories are increasingly applied in practice. Chapter Eight applies a Deweyan perspective of habits on the embodied experience of immigration presented in Chapter Six. Throughout the discussion, I attempt to explicate the role of habits of sensing in occupational engagement.

I interweave discussions from Chapters Seven and Eight in the Conclusion to offer conclusions for both occupational therapists and occupational scientists. The

final chapter also offers potential avenues for further inquiry to extend and deepen the study's findings.

Language Considerations

To emphasize transparency in methods and analysis, I provide all quotations in the language in which they were spoken. I follow Spanish quotations with an English translation in brackets. The rationale for displaying the original phrase is to grant readers an opportunity to critique the translations on which I base my findings, discussions, and conclusions. Flawless translation is exceedingly difficult, and arguably impossible, due to variations in Spanish across Latin American countries. Words have divergent meanings depending on where they are spoken and interpreters translate according to personal and regional understandings of the language. Personal communications with different professional interpreters in public health services and an Ecuadorian Spanish graduate student confirmed varied interpretations of identical statements. The importance of this phenomenon becomes tellingly apparent when realizing that banal or mundane words in one country are sometimes extremely vulgar in another. Although such instances are extreme cases, less significant variations in meaning are quite commonplace. The variability in meanings attributed to Spanish words problematizes translations, particularly those that do not divulge the original utterance or the individuals' national origin.

Conclusion

The goal of this study was to employ ethnographic methods to 1) explore the experience of stress for Latino immigrants to Smalltown, North Carolina, and 2) explore changes in habits and routines of participation in occupations as a result of

immigration. The study aimed to fill a gap in the literature concerning the lived

experience of Latino immigrants and the dynamics that constitute their situation. As

an occupational scientist, I am interested in the occupations of immigrants or what

they actually *do* in their situation. This project is important to occupational science

since it highlights the role of occupation in facilitating or impeding integration with

new environments. The study also illustrates a practical application of the

transactional perspective to a study situation while demonstrating its theoretical

strengths. This study follows and extends a trend in the discipline to explore and

eliminate social inequities via occupation (Molke, Laliberte-Rudman, & Polatajko

(2004). The next chapter outlines the theoretical perspective that informed my

methods, analysis, and discussions.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework – A Transactional Perspective

At its inception, Yerxa et al. (1990) proposed occupational science as a basic science focusing on universal issues regarding human occupation. Clark et al. defined occupation as "chunks of culturally and personally meaningful activity in which humans engage that can be named in the lexicon of the culture" (1991, p.301). Initially, Yerxa et al. proposed that engagement in occupation was highly individual and thus, the study of occupation should be via individual experience. However, in 2000, Hocking called for occupational scientists to shift their view from studying individuals to the study of occupation itself. Occupation, according to Hocking, was the vehicle through which people organize their time and interact with their environments. In 2005, Humphry extended Hocking's claims and proposed the Model of Processes Transforming Occupations, which conceptualized occupation as a co-constructed endeavor shaped by social and cultural forces.

The trend shifting occupational science away from an individual focus culminated with the transactional perspective proposed by Dickie et al. in 2006. Their perspective offered a holistic view wherein occupation joins individuals and the various environments through which they act. Thus, the study of occupation could be used to understand complex relationships or social processes at a community level. Indeed, as the discipline matures, occupational scientists increasingly promote social reform to combat social inequities (Molke et al., 2004). Such social

inequalities are certainly prevalent among migrating populations particularly those immigrating to foreign countries in search of a better life situation. Studying migration through the lens of occupational science suggests looking at occupation, or at what immigrants actually *do* in their new situation.

Research in the area of Latino immigration has predominately collected objective and demographic data often framing immigration issues in terms of economic, political and resource management (Dovidio & Esses, 2001). Studies exploring the qualitative experience of immigration are sparse and only a few occupational scientists focus on immigrants and their occupations. Studying the occupations of immigrants promises to elucidate the mechanisms individuals employ to integrate with new cultural, social, and geographical environments. This potential is recognized by occupational scientists who demonstrate increasing interest in studying the occupations of international immigrant populations (e.g. Boerema, Russell, & Aguilar, 2010, Horghagen, & Josephsson, 2010; Huot & Rudman, 2010; Nayar, 2010; Peralta-Catipon, 2009; Snyder, Clark, Masunaka-Noriega, & Noriega, 1998).

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the perspective that informed my study of Latino immigration to Smalltown. I begin with an overview of transactionalism and follow this exposition with an outline of its foundation in Dewey's perspective on habits. Since issues of power are an integral aspect of the immigrant situation, I integrate Bourdieu's writings on social postionality and power relations. Although Bourdieu's ideas are not part of the transactional perspective,

they are conceptually congruent with Dewey (Cutchin, Aldrich, Bailliard, & Coppola, 2008) and can be employed concurrently without epistemological contradiction.

Philosophical Perspective

At the outset of this study, I sought a philosophical stance that was culturally appropriate to a population that did not embrace the individualistic values of the West. The literature on Latino cultures highlights the importance of community and social wellbeing over individual needs. This community oriented worldview encourages individuals to put community needs ahead of their own. Indeed, this cultural tendency is often cited as one of the potential barriers impeding Latinos from seeking healthcare when needed (Kopelwicz et al., 2002; López, 2005). Adopting a perspective that incorporates the collective rather than one rooted in individualism or the separation of the individual from context reflects the community oriented worldview of study participants.

Furthermore, Latino populations are heterogeneous: studies asserting a unifrom experience suffer from generalizations that gloss over numerous cultural, economic, historical, political and social differences between Latin American countries and their eclectic constituent populations. These differences considerably affect the situation and lived experience of immigrants to the United States. Studying the experience of immigration to Smalltown called for a holistic approach that avoided circumscribing those experiences to a single set of variables.

To avoid overlooking important factors in the Smalltown situation, particularly those I had yet to consider, I sought a perspective that acknowledged the complex transactions of factors constituting such a situation. For example, it is impossible to

consider the immigrant situation without an appreciation of the historical and political underpinnings shaping the situation. These factors are the impetus for political decisions that affect immigration law and the situation of Smalltown immigrants. Since the political context of immigration constantly fluctuates through time, it was also necessary to seek a perspective that nested action in the flow of time.

Current perspectives on migration.

As discussed in the introduction, early migration theories offered unidirectional pathways to acculturation wherein individuals progressively adopt modes of living inherent to their new environments. Based on the narrow experience of early immigration from Europe, these theories failed to account for variation in the outcomes of assimilation or acculturation. Moreover, early migration theories did not sufficiently consider the effect of one's culture of origin on those outcomes (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008).

Transnational theories eschew unidirectional pathways, proposing instead that individuals enact complex processes of affiliation and positioning, wherein they develop attachments and allegiances to people, places, and traditions that transcend traditional nation-state boundaries (Vertovec, 2001).Translocal migration theories argue that immigrants inhabit fluid social spaces between cultures living neither here nor there (Núñez-Madrazo, 2007). Both translocal and transnational models present the most comprehensive portrait of the immigration experience to date by acknowledging the multiplicity of cultural and national affiliations. In addition, these theories propose that individuals and environments are interdependent and co-constitutive. Through participation in both cultures, individuals prompt changes in

the social reproduction of identity, narratives, relations, discourse and the subjectivity of life in each culture (Núñez-Madrazo).

Although transnational and translocal theories acknowledge that immigrants change the communities, societies, and cultures to which they migrate, they continue to assume a duality between person and context asserting that the person operates within context rather than through it. According to Dickie et al. (2006), dualisms tend to emphasize one entity over the other when the object of study should be the relationship between those entities. Moreover, these theories continue to focus on outcomes of adaptation to new environments in lieu of the actual experience of immigration. As an occupational scientist, I am interested in what immigrants actually *do* and how this affects the *lived experience* of immigration.

According to Cutchin (2004), the pragmatist approach focuses on human experience including the active dynamics that join and qualify that experience. The transactional perspective proposed by Dickie et al. (2006) applied a pragmatist approach to the study of occupation and encouraged a holistic appreciation of the study situation. It highlighted occupation as the vehicle for understanding the complex relationships joining humans and the multiple environments through which they act.

The Transactional Perspective

The transactional perspective provides a more nuanced view of experience than theories of transnationalism and translocality through an explicit focus on the lived experience. Transactionalism is a relational theory that highlights occupation as a functional relationship joining the individual and environment (Cutchin & Dickie, in

press). Focus on a singular aspect of a situation masks the complex whole including the richness, multiplicity, and complexity of influential factors shaping action or occupation (Dickie et al., 2006). Dickie et al. concluded that occupation is the means through which humans *functionally coordinate* with the environment. Occupational transactions enable the individual to functionally integrate with the environment to achieve harmony and balance (Dickie et al.). Thus, occupation is an important mechanism for fostering or impeding the successful integration of humans and their environments.

Occupation as a functional relationship.

Studying the functional relationships that constitute the Smalltown situation offered a deeper understanding of the dynamics that facilitate and impede integration with new environments. This understanding is more informative and nuanced than many traditional measurements of integration, such as assessing English fluency as a proxy for cultural assimilation. To their detriment, studies based on transnational and translocal theories tend to employ positivist variables, such as money remittances and linguistic fluency, to explain complex processes related to assimilation and integration (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). The transactional perspective offers a profound appreciation of the situation by considering the complex interplays between the political, economic, historical, and geographical dimensions of a situation. It acknowledges the interdependence of all entities in a given situation, wherein each entity affects the situation and is itself affected by the complex whole (Dickie et al., 2006). Thus, changes occurring with an entity may engender changes with other situational entities by means of the functional

relationships that join them. Since these relationships are multilayered, intertwined, and embedded in many contexts that are not readily apparent, predicting the situational effects of a change of a single entity is impossible.

   Garrison (2001) suggested transactionalism explicitly avoids fallacious dichotomies that separate reality into abstractions. Situational entities operate in functional relationships that are lost through artificial abstractions of those entities (Garrison). Perspectives that center inquiry on an abstract dissection of a situation risk masking essential relationships that bridge across those abstractions to constitute the whole situation. The transactional perspective avoids this problem by shifting the study focus to functional relationships, of which occupations are an example. Indeed, occupation is the *relational glue* that unites individuals and the multiple environments through which they act (Cutchin et al., 2008). Accordingly, the transactional perspective eschews Western tendencies that prioritize individuals over their communities or natural environments. Contrarily, individuals, communities, and the environments through which they function are part and parcel of each other such that they should not be studied in isolation from the situational whole.

   Time and situational change.

   A holistic understanding of a situation demands an appreciation of its place in the flow of history. The historical, political, geographical, cultural, and social factors that constitute a situation fluctuate with time such that one would be hard pressed to find absolutes. Since situational entities are interdependent and change over time, it follows that their functional relationships are also in flux (Dewey, 1925/1998). This

understanding is particularly important to the study of immigration since the immigrant situation consists of varying factors that shape the circumstances of immigration and, by association, the experience of individuals living through those situations. For instance, individuals who immigrated in the 1990's faced a markedly different experience with different challenges than their counterparts who immigrated after September 11th, 2001. Though the attacks of September 11th were unrelated to Latino immigration, they engendered a political rhetoric that linked immigration to terrorism. Moreover, as time passes, the immigrant situation continues to evolve such that the experience of newly arrived immigrants is different than the experience of immigrants who arrived five years before. The experiences of *recién llegados* (recently arrived immigrants) are distinct in that they immigrate to a situation with a higher concentration of Latinos than those who preceded them. These changes are complex, unpredictable, and interdependent and thus are neither unidirectional nor measureable.

In order to clarify the intricacies of the transactional perspective, I will delve into its foundational principles: habits and functional coordination. After exploring Dewey's explication of habits and their configurations, I expand my perspective by applying Bourdieu's writings on habitus. Bourdieu's ideas are theoretically complementary to Dewey and emphasize the significance of power in fields in action (Cutchin et al., 2008). I integrate Bourdieu's ideas to inform my understanding of power issues which are an integral aspect of immigrant situations. Though Deweyan philosophy appreciates the importance of power, it is Bourdieu's explicit discussion

of the latter that is of particular interest. I now turn to Dewey's conceptualization of the role of habits in action.

A Deweyan perspective on habits.

Dewey (1922/1998) proposed that human action is founded on habits acquired through past transactions with the environment. Individuals function through sophisticated configurations of habits that emerge as behavior, desire, moral judgment, and analytical thought. Indeed, "our purposes and commands regarding action (whether physical or moral) come to us through the refracting medium of bodily and moral habits" (p.30). As individuals co-develop with their environments, they progressively adopt habits of thought and action that facilitate successful transaction and integration with the various systems of activities constituting those environments. Successful transactions with the environment are progressively embodied as predispositions of thought and action with those environments. Thus, habits are formed "under conditions set by prior customs" (Dewey, 1922/1998, p.38), ultimately guiding our thoughts, values, and behaviors. As Garrison argued, "culture has us before we have it" (2002, p.11S).

Dewey believed the environment "penetrates thoughts, beliefs, and desires; channels impulses and funds our aims and satisfactions" (Fesmire, 2003, p.11). Through continuous transactions with multiple environments, we accumulate various habits that incorporate those environments in future actions (Dewey 1922/1998). Thus, habits of thought and action are shaped through participation in the traditions and institutions that constitute environments (Fesmire). Exposure to distinct environments requires different behaviors or habit configurations such that

individuals "are likely to adopt different habits reflecting different behaviors, psychological functions and manners of living" (Cutchin et al., 2008, p. 160).

According to Dewey, humans experience continuity and meaning in experience through the use of past experiences to construct new experiences in the future (Campbell, 1995). Thus, significance and meaning do not emerge in a vacuum, but are the products of a pattern of associations with predictable consequences (Dewey, 1925/1998). Through consistent patterns of engagement with particular environments, individuals adopt meanings and associations that incorporate present and past experiences to shape the future self (Garrison, 2002).

When applied to immigration studies, transactionalism refutes previous assumptions that immigrants progressively discard their Latino ways of living and replace them with U.S. ways of living. Contrarily, each newly acquired habit is incorporated, and modified, into existing habits configurations which carry and reflect past experiences and transactions.

The function of habit configurations in transaction.

Dewey argued that habits operate in a "complex interpenetration, affecting each other, and constituting a person's character" (Cutchin et al, 2008, p. 159). Human action is a transaction of complex habit patterns, or configurations, with the environment "wherein each habit contributes to the total configuration, and the configuration affects the functioning of any particular habit" (Kestenbaum, 1977, p.22). Dewey maintained that the only true motivation behind action is to harmoniously transact with the environment (Garrison, 2001). However, since habit configurations rarely foster immediate balance with the environment, individuals are

incessantly reconfiguring their habits to achieve a functional balance (Campbell, 1995).

In occupational science, Dickie et al. (2006), proposed occupation (meaningful activity experienced in practice) as an important means through which humans *functionally coordinate* with the environment. Occupational transactions enable the individual to integrate with place, potentially achieving harmony and wellbeing (Dickie et al.). Though founded on habit, occupation is an ever-changing transaction characterized by the interpenetration of humans and the world, which co-constitute, co-develop, and affect each other. Humans must continuously "*functionally coordinate* [emphasis in original] relations to keep the transactional unit whole and operational" (p.90).

The impetus for functional coordination.

In order to sustain harmonious transactions through diverse and fluctuating environments, Dewey proposed that individuals functionally coordinate their habit configurations to foster successful integration with environments (Kestenbaum, 1977). Successful and harmonious transactions with the environment are the unconscious work of functional habit configurations. According to Dewey (1934), humans are most alive and well in moments when their actions foster the fullest intercourse or integration with the environment. When a particular habit configuration no longer fosters functional transaction, it creates a problematic tension that is brought to the individual's consciousness (Kestenbaum). This consciousness persists until the individual reconfigures the discordant habit configuration to reintegrate with the environment via balanced transaction. Thus, consciousness

emerges from the persistent interruption, reorganization, and adaptation of habit

configurations with fluctuating situations (Kestenbaum).

Creativity and imagination.

Adjustment of habit configurations occurs when "the functioning structures of

the human organism are reorganized or reconstructed in such a manner that their

operation is rendered more integrated or harmonious" (Kestenbaum, 1977, p.13).

Tension emerges from the uncertainty of how transactions will play out. Through

this process, the person is able to determine the best coordination of functional

relations with the environment (Fesmire, 2003; Mousavi & Garrison, 2003). Dewey

described this process as a dramatic rehearsal wherein the individual deliberates

over potential courses of action using imagination (Fesmire; Mousavi & Garrison).

The conscious choice taken at the end of deliberation is a creative construction

reflecting the functional coordination of conduct into an efficacious habit

configuration (Fesmire; Mousavi & Garrison). The artistic or creative manipulation of

habits into new configurations is accomplished through imagination and deliberation

(Mousavi & Garrison, 2003).

Though the transactional perspective offers a nuanced view of occupation

embedded in the various contexts through which individuals act, it does not

emphasize the role of power and social positionality in a situation. Bourdieu's

sociological work on fields of action and habitus are complementary to Dewey's

conceptualization of habits and emphasize the importance of social power in action

and occupation (Cutchin et al., 2008). Although Dewey did not highlight power as did

Bourdieu, ideas of each correspond sufficiently to warrant their concurrent

application without creating a discordant philosophical stance. I thus extended my transactional perspective with Bourdieu's ideas of power in social fields of action.

Bourdieu, habitus, and power.

Bourdieu, a sociologist, focused his work on issues of power and deference in habitual action. Basing his theory on a sociological inquiry into traditional and modern societies, Bourdieu emphasized the role of one's social position in shaping lifestyle, moral disposition, aspirations, and expectations. Bourdieu conceptualized his vision of the acquisition and function of habits as the *habitus*. He defined *habitus* as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.53). Habitus is a construct emerging "from early socialization experiences in which external structures are internalized" (Swartz, 1997, p.103). Bourdieu proposed that as people act through their various environments, they are exposed to social structures inherent to those fields. This exposure "structures the perception of that world as well as action in that world" (Bourdieu, 1998, p.81). The progressive acquisition of perceptions, dispositions, and lifestyles inherent to social fields are embodied as the *habitus* and shape subsequent thought and tendencies for modes of action (Bourdieu, 1998). *Habitus* is the embodied "active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.56). It is an unconscious construct reflecting the objective social structures from which it was created (Bourdieu, 1998).

Habitus provides an acquired practical sense for appropriate responses to situations (Bourdieu, 1998). It is the "basis for the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.54). Operating as a dynamic unity of

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orientations, *habitus* predisposes the individual to "a style or a manner of living that reflects the sense of capacity to carry out particular kinds of actions in particular settings but not others" (Swartz, 2002, p.67S). As a generalizable construct that can be applied to many fields (Dalton 2004), *habitus* "tends to generate all the 'reasonable', 'common-sense'. behaviours (and only these) which are possible within the limits" of the objective regularities of the environment (Bourdieu, 1990, p.55).

Thus *habitus* is a "system of generative schemes" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.55) predisposing individuals to what is possible or unlikely for people sharing a similar situation (Swartz, 2002). It is a "deep-structuring cultural matrix that generates self-fulfilling prophecies according to different class opportunities" (p.104). Actors enact internalized dispositions determined by and reproducing their place in the social order. This effect is further compounded by the state as it inculcates common forms of practice and categories of perception and appreciation within individuals sharing similar circumstances (Bourdieu, 1998). The state "thereby creates the conditions for a kind of immediate orchestration of habitus" (p.54). Though seemingly deterministic, Bourdieu viewed the dispositions of *habitus* as rarely harmonious with the environment (Swartz). Through action, *habitus* must be continuously adjusted to novel situations or conditions. Change is most likely to occur when dispositions do not mesh with the situation's opportunities and constraints (Swartz).

Strategic improvisations.

Practice, or human action, grows from the interrelationship between field and habitus (Swartz, 1997). When one's habitus is discordant with the demands of a field, individuals will act as "strategic improvisers who respond dispositionally to the

opportunities and constraints offered by various situations" (p.100). Actors are guided by their dispositions but strategically navigate their environments to fulfill aspirations. The "dispositions of habitus function like an underlying grammar that both structures language use and permits virtually unlimited forms of innovative expression" (Swartz, 2002, p.63S). *Habitus*, then, provides a background through which individuals can be innovative and creative.

According to Dewey, human creativity is the means through which individuals reconfigure disrupted habit configurations to reintegrate with their environments (Cutchin et al., 2008). Dewey and Bourdieu's perspectives on action are similarly based on acquired habits and dispositions and their role in fostering or impeding successful integration with environments (Cutchin et al.). Thus applying Bourdieu's ideas along with the transactional perspective is a congruent and logical philosophical stance. The rationale for incorporating Bourdieu's perspective is to highlight the importance of power relations in the study situation. Though Dewey would likely have agreed with Bourdieu, he did not highlight the importance of power in social fields of action as Bourdieu did.

Fields and power.

According to Bourdieu, power is at the center of all social life, constituting the most important field of action (Swartz, 1997). Fields are "structured spaces that are organized around specific types of capital or combinations of capital" (p.117). In the vein of transactionalism and Deweyan philosophy, fields are "'tightly coupled' relational configurations" (p.124) wherein change in one entity can engender additional changes via those relations. The field of power is a meta-field that is

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ubiquitous to all other fields of action. Through one's position in a field, "people internalize both the position of their social group *and their inter- and intra-group positionality* [emphasis in original] from which arise their aspirations and expectations for action" (Cutchin et al., 2008). Thus, fields of power are always a part of past, present, and future actions. With their habitus, individuals "enter the various fields of taste with dispositions that predispose them to make lifestyle choices characteristic of their class habitus" (Swartz, 1997, p. 163). These choices perpetuate social positionality by their discordance with choices made through a habitus of greater social power. Indeed, Bourdieu found that lifestyle choices were likely the most important barriers between classes (Swartz). Our preferences in everyday action "are organized around primary forms of conceptual classifications such as high/low, brilliant/dull, unique/ordinary, and important/trivial" (p.185). These preferences reflect one's habitus and positionality in the social order and "fulfill the social closure functions of inclusion and exclusion" (p.185). In other words, one's tastes and preferences can determine where one is positioned by others in the stratification of society and are concurrently acquired by experiences in social positions.

A strong indicator of one's social position is the use of language (Bourdieu, 1977). Our articulations reflect acquired speech patterns reflecting our past experiences and preferences for communication. In addition, we weigh the articulations of our conversation partners via acquired expectations of how they should speak according to their position in society. In this manner, the use of particular words and idioms can exercise power among interlocutors. Thus, the use

of language in occupation affects the experience of power in occupation. Accordingly, language barriers are an integral aspect of the immigrant experience to Smalltown with major impacts on the ability to participate in occupation. In the next section, I explore how Bourdieu and Dewey conceived the role of language in action.

Habits of language.

According to Garrison, "existence is like the event of natural grapes on the vine. Linguistic meanings are like the press that wrings juice from the grapes. Logical essence, the product of inquiry, is like distilled wine" (2001, p.279). Garrison's metaphor illustrates the power of language in shaping subjective experience through distinct social and cultural meanings attributed to particular words, phrases, and expressions. Thus, encountering language changes that challenge one's habitual language, as is the case for immigrant populations, can affect the experience of meaning in occupation. The impact of language barriers on participation in occupation and one's sense of self should not be underestimated.

To Dewey, "habits of character take their distinctive forms through sociocultural interactions" (Fesmire, 2003, p.22). "We do not start as selves-we *become* [emphasis in original] selves in the process of social living" (Campbell, 1995, p.40). Language, as a vehicle for sociocultural interaction, is thus a powerful force shaping the self, "not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate" (Davies & Harré, 1990, p.46). For this study, the continuous reconstruction of the self via sociocultural interactions suggests immigrants

experience a major challenge to the continuity of self due to language barriers in those interactions.

Bourdieu (1977) argued that individuals acquire a linguistic habitus expressing their position in a given social structure. Habits of language are "one of the mediations which shape the practical representation of one's social person, the self-image which governs the behaviours of sociability ('timidity', 'poise', 'self-assurance', etc.) and, more generally, one's whole manner of conducting oneself in the social world" (p.660). These social behaviors shape how others perceive the interlocutor based on personally acquired cultural and social understandings. If one's habit of language does not reflect the dominant expectation of appropriate communication, then he or she will be positioned accordingly. As individuals are positioned and subjected to positive or negative reinforcements to their participation in discourses with particular environments, they internalize durable linguistic dispositions shaping strategies for expression and participation within that environment (Bourdieu). Thus, linguistic *habitus* expresses social positionality in terms of deference or imposition of thought and action (Bourdieu).

Configuration of habits via language deliberation.

However, language is not merely instrumental; it shapes thought processes and interpretations through inherent metaphors. Indeed, language guides thoughts to conclusions and interpretations "as a pipe conducts water" (Dewey, 1925/1998, p.51). Cultural metaphors mediate "how we understand situations, how we relate to others, and what we see as possible courses of action" (Fesmire, 2003, p.86). Transactions with the environment are mediated by the linguistic *habitus*, affecting

the perception of possible and impossible actions. These linguistic dispositions, Bourdieu asserted, practically shape an individual's relationship to the world.

Language affects deliberative processes through institutionalized meaning-symbols (Dewey, 1938/1998). It shapes analysis and inquiry such that it influences how individuals reconfigure habit constellations in response to environments. Thus, an individual's linguistic *habitus* will contribute to the consistency of a habit configuration when transacting with a particular environment. It will shape the individual's thoughts, values, and position with that environment. Regular successful transactions reinforce the efficacy of a particular habit configuration. Continuous reinforcement likely causes the configuration to become further embodied. Occurring at the unconscious level, such habit configurations guide action with feelings that the action is right or it ought to be enacted (Fesmire, 2003). Thus, moral values and beliefs are meaningful to the individual as a regular pattern of dispositions or configuration of habits of thought (Dewey, 1922/1998).

Habits of language inevitably play a role in the integration of immigrants. As communicative of status, they position immigrants in the social fabric of their new milieus. As a vehicle for maintaining continuity of self, they may facilitate or impede wellbeing depending on whether they foster balanced transaction with the environment. Finally, as the conduit of thought and analysis, habits of language can also present discordant understandings of meaning between interlocutors with significantly different origins.

Conclusion

Translocal and transnational theories impose a problematic dualism between individuals and their environments and tend to reduce lived experience to quantitative measurements. The transactional perspective offers a more nuanced and holistic appreciation of immigrant situations by focusing on the lived experience and the active dynamics that affect experience. Transactionalism breaks down artificial barriers between humans and environments while offering a deep appreciation for the role of habits in past, present, and future action. Although the perspective proposes human action as predominantly habitual, it suggests that individuals creatively adjust disrupted habit configurations in order to reintegrate with environments. Bourdieu's notion of habitus is congruent with the transactional perspective and adds an understanding of power which is critical to the immigrant situation. The next chapter begins with a discussion of how the transactional perspective guided my selection of methods and is followed by a description of the tools I used in the study.

Chapter 3

Methods – Collaborative Ethnography

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an description of the methods I used in the Smalltown study. I begin with an exposition of my motivation to undertake this study based on my experience as an immigrant and as a therapist working with Latino immigrants. I discuss why I adopted a collaborative approach to ethnography and outline the following study tools: 1) participant observations, 2) semi-structured interviews, 3) document reviews, and 4) the Self-Discovery Tapestry (Meltzer, 2006). The chapter ends with a description of analytic procedures.

Pre-understandings to Studying Latino Immigrants

The impetus to undertake ethnographic work with the Latino community of Smalltown, N.C. was twofold. My primary inspiration germinated from clinical work with immigrants at an in-patient psychiatric hospital. Secondly, my personal history as an immigrant grappling with cultural and social adaptation encouraged compassion for people sharing similar experiences. Although I immigrated into the dominant class with financial and social support, adaptation to my new milieu was nonetheless difficult. Thus, I have great compassion for immigrants, and particularly for those without the social and financial supports I enjoyed.

During my work as an occupational therapist at the hospital, I became aware that Latino patients had a different experience with mental illness from their U.S. born counterparts. The confluence of language barriers, cultural misunderstandings,

and value differences that accompany immigration to a foreign country complicated therapeutic assessments and interventions. Clinical decisions were not attuned to cultural needs and group therapy assignments were made out of convenience rather than for best practice. For example, patients were blindly assigned to therapy groups based on language needs rather than therapeutic needs. Not only was this unjust from a clinical and personal standpoint, but it also extended patients' length of stay in the hospital as their symptoms did not abate in response to misaligned interventions.

Although I was eager to remedy this issue by designing culturally sensitive treatments, I was wisely counseled to first explore and understand the immigrant situation. Indeed, I could not pretend to know how to address a qualitatively different experience with mental health care before understanding how individuals experienced the major cultural, social, geographical, and personal transitions associated with migrating from one country to another.

Without understanding the totality of the Latino situation, it was impossible to grasp the complexity and multiplicity of factors bearing on engagement in occupation. My understanding of the immigrant situation was informed by personal experiences from multiple migrations between the United States and France. These understandings, however, were founded on an experience that was uniquely my own. They were powerful experiences which forced me to grapple with immigration issues throughout my life. As a result, I began this study with potent pre-understandings, both conscious and unconscious, of the immigrant experience. The

uncritical tacit imputation of these understandings was conceptually problematic and could mask the lived experiences I aimed to explore.

The impossibility of removing my influence on the study suggested that I embrace a view that acknowledged and integrated the latter as part of the study process. With this in mind, I sought a holistic method that allowed me to integrate my experiences and their influence on the study while simultaneously opening my perspective to exploring issues that I could not anticipate. As a singular occurrence, I could not rely on my experience with immigration to inform my understanding of the Smalltown situation. Therefore, it was necessary to rely on study participants to guide me through their experiences to expose issues I did not encounter through mine.

Path to Ethnography.

Embracing a transactional perspective suggested I adopt a method that focused on the lived experience and the dynamics that constitute the study situation. The relationships joining the entities, human and non-human, of any given situation are multilayered, multifaceted, and intertwined creating a complex web of influential forces. The impossibility of unraveling this web is not a deterrent, however, since the web itself is the object of study and not the individual strands that comprise it.

I sought an emergent methodological design to remain open to unanticipated discoveries. The very act of delimiting one's scope of inquiry is a powerful assertion of what merits study and what is unimportant (Wolcott, 1995). Since I could not know the Latino immigration situation with sufficient intimacy, I was ill-equipped to narrow my scope without relying on naïve pre-understandings. Adopting an emergent

design with a wide scope suggested I employ a variety of tools aimed at different aspects of the situation.

To achieve a holistic perspective of the situation, I could not rely solely on interview data since "an understanding of individual experience is a necessary but *insufficient* [emphasis in original] condition" for what occurs in complex environments (Dickie et al., 2006, p.83). Moreover, interviews are distinctive speech events which often occur out of an interviewee's natural context of action (Briggs, 1986), potentially affecting what is discussed and how it is conveyed.

Interviews are insufficient.

Interviews are unique social interactions that are infused with expectations related to the social position of interlocutors. The relationship between interviewer and interviewee is laden with power differentials that are heavily weighted towards the interviewer. The interviewer typically poses questions and directs the flow of topics according to a predetermined structure founded on situational preunderstandings. The interviewee's orientation toward the interview interaction significantly affects the nature and depth of what is revealed. Since these are unnatural events for most interviewees, one cannot expect a person to exhibit typical behaviors that would occur in a more comfortable or ordinary situation. Accordingly, the researcher should interact in a variety of conversational situations to increase the likelihood of discussing relevant themes (Briggs).

For example, in his ethnographic research with the Songhay of Niger, Stoller (1989) found that he had been lied to by most of the 180 interviewees he had questioned. A consultant instructed him to *sit with* and *do with* the people he aimed

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to understand. It was only after lengthy periods of *hanging out* that Stoller developed sufficient intimacy with the situation and his consultants to make important discoveries that defined his study.

Learning by doing.

Stoller's experience is a powerful testimony to the importance of *doing with* research participants. From a Deweyan perspective (1929/2005), and in the vein of the transactional perspective, knowledge emerges through experience and transactions with environments. Thus, a holistic perspective of a situation is gained through multiple forms of active engagement with the situation. Accordingly, studies aiming to provide a holistic representation of a situation should employ methods that emphasize participation and co-engagement through a variety of contexts.

When planning this study, I recognized that my naïve understandings of immigration and the Latino situation in Smalltown curtailed my ability to predict what would be revealed in study situations. As an outsider with no experience with the Smalltown situation, I was also unable to predict when such revelations would occur. Thus, *hanging out* was an important tool to increase the likelihood of emergent understandings for unpredictable discoveries. This could only be achieved by selecting a method that prioritized *hanging out* as a key vehicle for data collection.

Why ethnography?

Participant observation ethnographic techniques are well suited to documenting the lives of those living on the margins of society (Bourgois, 2003). In his study of crack dealers in East Harlem, Bourgois argued that ethnographic methods were the most appropriate means to develop the trust and rapport to ask

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personally provocative questions. Bourgois' experience was particularly relevant to my study since he struggled with being an outsider from the dominant class and ethnicity in his study of an ethnic minority engaged in illegal activities. As in my situation, trust and rapport were central to the success of his study.

Ethnographic methods are complementary to my transactional perspective and my reluctance to delimit the scope of inquiry to a predetermined focus. My own experience with immigration was distinct since I emigrated from a Western country into the dominant ethnic class of a situation with different historical, political, social, and cultural contexts than my consultants. Though different, my experience would play an inevitable role in my understanding and analysis of the situation. It was imperative to select a method that acknowledged my role in the co-creation of study findings.

Ethnographic methods are eclectic and reflect many different traditions of thought. A common vein uniting those methods is an emphasis on collecting multiple forms of data in lieu of giving primacy to one source of data collection. Analogous to the transactional view, ethnographies employ multiple sources of data to provide a holistic representation of a situation. These include, but are not limited to, participant observations, interviews, document reviews, and mapping.

Through prolonged active engagement in the customary occupations that constitute a study situation, an ethnographer experiences the situation alongside participants to provide a nuanced and holistic understanding. These experiences become the substance of study findings and can fundamentally change the direction of inquiry. Indeed, serendipitous revelations can foreground new themes or issues

that necessitate further inquiry. In order to allow for important methodological changes, a researcher must design a broad research plan that affords flexible adaptations (Whyte, 1984).

Collaborative Ethnography

My particular vision of ethnography was influenced by the writings of Lassiter (2005) on collaborative ethnography. Lassiter urged researchers to embrace and encourage their participants' active engagement in the study process. He argued that some participants are better called *consultants* due to their powerful contributions in shaping the research process. Thus, this form of ethnography emphasizes collaborations during which *consultants* and the researcher co-create study findings.

The skilled ethnographer acknowledges consultants' expertise and invites them to actively participate in the course of study to co-create a more holistic representation of the situation than is possible via the researcher alone (Lassiter, 2005). Through engagement in unfamiliar occupations with participants, the researcher relies on community members for guidance through foreign social and cultural terrains. Culture is an awareness that happens when people encounter differences during the flow of interaction (Agar, 2002). Thus, active engagement and interaction with study participants is a powerful medium to produce moments of cultural difference. In these moments, culture happens to both the researcher and the participant (Agar) such that it is a co-created moment subject to co-interpretation if it is explicitly discussed. Findings gleaned from such interactions are thus co-constructed and undeniably collaborative. As cultural experts with implicit

understandings of their situation, consultants can exercise tremendous power on the course of inquiry by drawing attention to themes and issues they find salient.

Latino immigrants are at the margin of society as a poverty stricken ethnic minority often portrayed as illegal and a drain on the nation. My position as an ethnic and foreign outsider was a significant barrier to my research. Mounting anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. was producing anti-immigrant policies and, as a result, a great deal of fear in Latino communities. Nurturing rapport and trust was critical to overcoming the pervasive fear of any outsiders. My lack of familiarity with the Latino situation in Smalltown suggested that a collaborative research effort was warranted. With the aforementioned ideas in mind, I adopted an emergent study design that was flexible for unexpected circumstances and necessary changes in the direction of inquiry (Schwandt, 2001). Following Lassiter's conceptualization, I was carefully attuned to the guidance of both participants and consultants.

Finding Smalltown

To determine the study location, I sought the advice of a Latino consultant from a previous ethnographic project. This person was a powerful community leader who had been helpful in my recruitment efforts during the previous study. My consultant recommended I study the Smalltown situation since it had a large Latino population that was continuously growing. To facilitate my entrée into the Smalltown Latino community, my consultant provided the names and phone numbers of several of her acquaintances in the area. These contacts, she explained, were community leaders in Smalltown and would help me find opportunities for participant observations and introduce me to potential interviewees. Since I was attempting to

explore the lived experience of Latino immigration to North Carolina, Smalltown was a convenient and appropriate choice.

Study Consultants and Participants

Study participants were adults living in Smalltown, North Carolina. Though the majority of participants were Latino immigrants, non-Latino community members were also interviewed to depict the context in which immigrants arrived. Their reception of the Latino influx undoubtedly affected the experience of immigration.

All methods, data, and analyses were conducted with protection for participant confidentiality through measures approved by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Institutional Review Board (IRB). Respecting participant privacy was imperative since many would be considered illegal according to government definitions and thus would be subject to detention and deportation. Accordingly, I gave each participant and the study site a pseudonym. Per IRB instruction, I deleted all participant identifiers to prevent deductive disclosure of participants' identities or the study site.

Inclusion criteria.

No participants were excluded from methods related to participant observation. I did not, however, interview children and adolescents under the age of eighteen, since their experience with immigration is unique and merits focused study. Children face distinct issues related to social integration in schools and developing in a multicultural environment such that their experience is significantly dissimilar to their parents'. However, the role of children in adult Latino life is often a critical piece of the immigration situation. For example, children of immigrants are

often obliged to translate sensitive financial and health information for their parents. Such issues were considered through the lens of the adult experience.

Recruitment.

Recruitment was the most difficult aspect of my study. The Latino community was understandably cautious of outsiders; and my appearance, demeanor, and language unmistakably positioned me as one. The political climate surrounding immigration had encouraged fear and suspicion of anyone that could be an immigration official. I was preoccupied with the possibility of alienating the very population I sought to understand by asking sensitive questions or participating in community events. This fear was not unfounded, as I was later told that I was obviously "the only gringo present" at a Mexican religious function. My position as an outsider at the event was obvious and noted by participants in the event.

Recruitment was also complicated by difficulties in finding time to spend with participants. Most of the Latino community worked extended hours throughout the week with limited opportunities for leisure or family events. This was the very time I was attempting to seize for the purposes of my study. Participants' intense work rhythms led to many canceled meetings and frustrations in scheduling interviews. In addition, most Latinos in the Smalltown community used prepaid phone cards as their only source of communication. When a person failed to recharge a phone card, he or she was required to change phone numbers when activating a new account. As a result, I often encountered disconnected numbers and vanishing participants. These challenges were the substance of some study findings, as they illustrated difficulties faced by Latinos in Smalltown on a daily basis.

As suggested by Rubin and Rubin (1995), I first sought informants who were cultural gatekeepers to the Smalltown community such as religious leaders or business owners. These individuals were well versed in community activities and provided broad information regarding the community as a whole. Furthermore, community leaders are able to refer researchers to participants along the lines of social networks (Rubin & Rubin; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). The challenge was where and how to find those individuals.

Community-based organizations.

The initial phase of research in Smalltown was an open exploration of the study milieu to become familiar with possible avenues for data collection (Whyte, 1984). Accordingly, I began my study by searching for community organizations and resources via the official Smalltown website. My aim was to identify major organizations that I could subsequently contact and visit. This allowed me to meet additional community leaders beyond the religious networks I had followed.

After identifying important Smalltown organizations, I sent emails to the official contacts for each organization explaining the purpose and aims of the study. Through this method, I communicated with two local newspaper editors, the director of a community healthcare center, the director of social services, the captain of the police department, and the president of an interpreter organization focused on Latino advocacy. Each person agreed to participate in the study with different levels of commitment.

Rutherford, a local newspaper editor, was eager to meet and agreed to be personally interviewed. The interview took place in a conference room at his office

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where he kindly offered his space as a home base for my research activities. More importantly, he referred me to a key site, a flea market, which would become the locale for numerous participant observations. In addition, Rutherford introduced me to one of his reporters, suggesting we collaborate to the extent my study would allow. Throughout my year of fieldwork, I repeatedly met with his reporter who soon became a valuable consultant regarding issues affecting the Latino community from the perspective of the traditional Smalltown population. For example, he notified me of any local news related to my study and recommended additional opportunities for participant observations. In return, I provided him with leads for potential stories, always taking great care to protect the confidentiality of participants.

The director of the community health center gave a detailed tour of his facility which focused on providing healthcare to impoverished Latinos in the area. The director, himself a second generation immigrant, provided important information regarding the population's needs in general. He also introduced me to three employees who were first generation immigrants and were willing to participate in interviews to offer their experiences with immigration to Smalltown.

The director of Smalltown social services was also exceptionally accommodating, and set up separate meetings with two of her employees who were first generation immigrants. As with the immigrant workers at the health center, both participants from Smalltown social services provided dual perspectives as immigrants and as workers helping immigrants. Their contributions delved deeper and wider than firsthand accounts to include anecdotes from many of their Latino clients. Due to their time as community workers, these study participants offered

salient information regarding the challenges, tribulations, and successes of Latino community members with whom they interacted on a day-to-day basis.

Although the captain of the police department was receptive to my initial request and referred me to a lieutenant who was familiar with the local Latino community, I was unable to organize a meeting with either individual. The lieutenant and I had numerous communications attempting to organize an encounter, but we were never able to confirm a time and place to meet. The Smalltown police department had been publicly marred by recent negative publicity for discrimination of Latino residents.

According to the president of a Smalltown based interpreter organization, this should not have been a surprise. Her role as an interpreter positioned her as the mediator between Latino immigrants and the institutional forces they were required to navigate in order to live in Smalltown. She frequently spoke with immigrants in moments of exceptional need and crisis. Since she often translated for clients in legal and medical contexts, she was intimately familiar with common issues that affected the Smalltown Latino population.

Navigating social networks.

Although one could argue that most participants are consultants by means of their indelible contributions to the research process, some can have far more impact than others. Marco, the coordinator of Hispanic ministries at a Smalltown church, was such a consultant. I was referred to Marco by a previous consultant for a project I had completed during a graduate course in ethnographic methods. I had already established rapport and trust with that individual, so I was referred to Marco as a

trustworthy friend of the Latino community. My former consultant suggested I also

contact Forbin, a notably active religious advocate for Latino rights in the area.

Forbin was well known throughout the community, particularly for his efforts in

traveling to Latin America to meet with the families of individuals he aimed to serve.

Forbin provided detailed accounts of the challenges his parishioners faced when

adjusting to Smalltown. His insight to the institutional differences between U.S. and

Latin churches was a useful complement to Marco's perspective on the same issue.

Both Marco and Forbin were eager to help me and provided names of

potential contacts for interview participants. Their leadership roles in the Smalltown

community were fruitful springboards for establishing contacts and finding

opportunities for participant observations. Though I only met one person directly

through Forbin (several potential contacts never responded), his reputation in the

area was so powerful that community members and I frequently spoke of him in

admiration. Sharing our admiration for his dedication and selfless work became a

vehicle for participants and I to share common ground and a similar appreciation for

specific values. Thus, Forbin's image became a tool for establishing rapport and

trust.

Marco's role in the study was far more intense and influential. I visited him at

least once a week during 12 months of fieldwork to chat for a while regarding any

issues I had encountered during participant observations or interviews. Since he was

intimately familiar with the study aims, procedures, and population; Marco was

particularly well poised to act as an influential consultant in the study. Our weekly

meetings became an important avenue for continuous analyses of my experiences

with the community, including whether my perceptions were well-founded or artificially construed. Marco also regularly suggested valuable opportunities for participant observations. His contributions to the study were so significant that the term *consultant* is perhaps an insufficient recognition of his role. Indeed Marco's expertise and insight guided me through the Smalltown cultural terrain in a manner more akin to a *mentor* than a *consultant*.

Through Marco' referrals and introductions, I met five individuals during participant observations who were willing to share their experiences with me in recorded conversations. Marco also provided a list of contacts for the Self-Discovery Tapestry. His role as the coordinator of Hispanic ministries gave me instant credibility when I contacted interviewees. Though Marco did not speak with his parishioners about participating in the study, they were immediately receptive when I mentioned he was my contact. I was dependent on Marco since there was a great deal of mistrust of outsiders in the Latino community due to mounting anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States.

Recruitment flyers.

During the initial phase of the study, I drove around Smalltown and stopped by any store that was Latino owned. This helped me develop a general appreciation of the geographical layout of Smalltown while providing many locales for me to post IRB-approved recruitment flyers (Appendix E & Appendix F). I always obtained owner approval before posting flyers at their stores and was rejected only once out of over twenty requests. Maria, a second-generation immigrant, mocked this recruitment method, stating I would never receive a call from immigrants because

they were too scared. Though I believed her claim, I continued to post the flyers across town because I feared failing to recruit enough participants; further, it was a useful method for becoming familiar with Smalltown's physical layout. To my amazement, I was soon contacted by two participants who agreed to participate in a joint interview at a public location.

I obtained informed consent prior to any interaction beyond recruitment using forms that explained the project, including what should be expected from participation. Consent forms were approved by the IRB (Appendix B) and were translated to Spanish (Appendix A). Since many of my participants would likely have an illegal status, it was imperative to ensure the utmost protection for participant confidentiality. Table 1 provides an overview of the general demographics of interview participants.

Study Procedures

Researcher position.

My fluency with Spanish and position as a first-generation immigrant was critical in nurturing trust and rapport with the Smalltown Latino community. I attempted to emphasize our similarities as outsiders, though I always acknowledged how our stories differed. Sharing my life was a means to build an amicable relationship with participants. This loosened the structure of interviews, rendering them more similar to meaningful conversations between equal parties than formal interviews wherein the interviewer extracts information from the interviewee. I attempted to make conversations as natural as possible while avoiding the ambience of formal interviews as seen in popular media. Interviews often took place

Table 1. Interview Participant Demographics.

Total Interview Participants	19	
National Origin	Columbia	3
	Costa Rica	1
	El Salvador	2
	Honduras	1
	Mexico	8
	Puerto Rico	2
	USA	2
Education **(Highest Level Attained)**	No High School	4
	High School Degree	7
	2-year Associate's Degree	2
	Bachelor's Degree	2
	Masters Degree	4
Vocation	Clerical Construction Worker Healthcare Professional Housewife Human Services Interpreter Mechanic Newspaper Editor Priest Shop Keeper Unemployed	
Age Range	Early 20's ⇔ Late 50's	
Total Years in the U.S.	2 ⇔ 40+	
Documentation	U.S. Born (Puerto Rican)	4 (2 Puerto Rican)
	Naturalized	6 (3 Illegal Entry)
	Visa	3
	Undocumented	6

in restaurants and cafes in a manner that likened the interchange to a shared meal or coffee break. I found that sharing in an occupation during the interview was an excellent means to demystify the interview and enhance participant comfort.

Participant observations.

Participant observations, a crucial tool in my study, were also an essential vehicle through which I nourished rapport with the Latino community. This was especially evident in my relationship with Marco, which matured through prolonged interactions and happenstance encounters at community events. Repeated meetings at events strengthened our relationship while concurrently demonstrating that I was truly engaged and interested in the project. By the end of the study, Marco was sharing deeper and more sensitive information than during our initial conversation. For instance, he discussed significant disputes between the Anglo and Latino congregations, including conflicts between Latinos themselves. These revelations were not evoked during our initial meetings, but only after nearly 10 months of prolonged engagement with the community through participation in cultural and social events. The sensitive nature of these intra-congregational tensions persuaded him to close the door to his office and whisper as we discussed them.

Participant observations first occurred at large public community events to capitalize on their mass appeal and meet as many community members as possible. Though important for any ethnographic work, nurturing rapport with the Latino community was of utmost importance given cultural emphases on *la confianza, la simpatía,* and *el respeto* (trust, friendliness, respect) (Atkinson, 2004). I attempted to

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adhere to those cultural norms and kept them in mind before and during every interaction. As soon as possible, I networked along social connections to meet new informants and add additional avenues for participant observations.

During and after participant observations, I wrote field notes guided by Spradley's (1980) Descriptive Question Matrix. This template offers the following nine dimensions to structure data collection: space, object, act, activity, event, time, actor, goal, and feeling. The matrix pairs the dimensions to cover different facets of the event. For example, at the intersection between time and object, Spradley poses "how are objects used at different times" (p.83).

Following each community encounter, I engaged in a threefold reflective process. I recorded notes on the objective characteristics of the environment to compensate for missed opportunities for data collection while participating in the event. I also recorded notes describing the occupations I noticed during the event. Since I was focused on active participation, most of my field notes were taken following participant observations. I also recorded personal reflections and reactions to gather introspective data regarding my role in the research process. For example, I questioned *why* I noted certain characteristics or occupations: was an observation made out of bias or convenience? Data from participant observations provided a rich description of community and individual patterns of engagement in activities.

For a full calendar year, I traveled to Smalltown several times a week. Each week, I shopped for groceries at small Latino-owned shops and larger Latino supermarkets. I attended numerous church events such as La Fiesta de la Guadalupana, los Kermeses, and quinceañeras. La Fiesta de la Guadalupana is a

yearly Mexican celebration of *la morena* who appeared to Juan Diego in Mexico. *La morena* is a mix of indigenous traditions and Catholic traditions related to the Virgin Mary. Los Kermeses are regularly occurring fundraising events where individuals prepare and sell authentic foods from their countries of origin. Quinceañeras are elaborate and formal events during which a Latina celebrates her coming of age as a fifteen-year-old. I washed my laundry at Latino-owned Laundromats, ate at Mexican grills, attended cultural events, and hung out at flea markets.

After six months in the field, I began eating at the same grill at least once a week. I took great pleasure eating there since the food was excellent and the cook did not hesitate to chat. Our relationship strengthened to the point that he divulged the secret ingredient to his homemade spicy sauce after seeing I always asked for it with my meals. He was proud of his cooking and frequently recommended I try dishes and beverages to experience traditional Latino foods. As with many Latino immigrants to Smalltown, he operated his grill with the help of his wife and children who served as cooks, aids, and cashiers. During the summer months, I enjoyed watching his children pass the time while their father and mother cooked and sold goods to customers. I also seized the unique opportunity to watch a few of Mexico's World Cup matches with him at his grill. Having left the Smalltown study, I must admit that those were most enjoyable experiences that I now miss dearly.

Every weekend in Smalltown, many Latinos congregate at a local flea market in such numbers that parts of the market bear great similarity to Latin America. For example, in large sections of the market, one could not find any written or spoken English. Food vendors wrote their menus in Spanish and non-Latino customers were

rarely visible. One could find authentic foods and goods imported from Latin America. Vendors sold music, videos, clothing, and other goods that could not be found in regular U.S. stores. This, too, was an enjoyable experience that I repeated on numerous occasions. In addition to offering a rich and regular source of data for participant observations, I personally enjoyed how these experiences made me feel as though I was traveling to a foreign country.

During participant observations, I seized opportunities to interact with established acquaintances with study participants whenever possible. During such conversations, I did not aspire to extract information from participants, but attempted to participate in their life experience at that moment. As a result, our conversations drifted to numerous topics that did not necessarily target specific research questions. However, these conversational tangents were important as they were the substance of the lived engagements in a situation I aimed to understand. Through repeated encounters at participant observations, I found that study participants were increasingly friendly and willing to introduce me to acquaintances. At the Kermeses, for example, Esquandolas introduced me to his family and several friends who subsequently expressed interest in the study. Through such happenstance meetings, I was able to deepen my relationships with a number of consultants and their acquaintances. These encounters were always more pleasant and less somber than previous interactions during which we discussed difficult topics related to immigration. Although we sometimes discussed immigration during these encounters, our interactions were more attuned to the festive event in which they occurred and thus were always more enjoyable. During participant observations, I

spoke Spanish whenever possible to encourage Latino community members to interact with me. Study participants were frequently surprised by my Spanish and appeared to enjoy the ability to interact in their native language with an outsider. My use of Spanish was critical to the study, since participants who were fluent in English expressed difficulty in expressing complex ideas or feelings.

Semi-structured interviews.

The second proposed aim was to identify changes in habits of engagement in occupations for Latino immigrants. This aim was met through semi-structured interviews with 19 community members and informal discussions during participant observations. With participant consent, interviews were recorded. Interviews were conducted in Spanish to optimize participant comfort and level of disclosure. The interviews were transcribed but not translated to avoid losing meanings that were not immediately apparent. Translating the information would not increase my understanding but would augment the risk of shaping data with unconscious biases or premature interpretations of meaning.

To bolster my skill and sensitivity to participants during interviews, I referred to Briggs' (1986) sociolinguistic perspective on interviews in social science research. According to Briggs, interviews are unique social situations comprised of a major power differential between the interviewee and the interviewer. The latter, by means of posing predetermined questions, seizes the rights for topical selection and enters the interview situation in a position of power (Briggs). The interviewer's power is further galvanized by determining whether a response sufficiently addresses a question or whether it should be reiterated (Briggs). Semi-structured interviews aim

to empower interviewees with determining what issues were salient and merited discussion. However, the power is merely shifted to a different part of the speech event where the interviewer exercises power by asking for elaboration or clarification of themes he determines are worthwhile. Although equalizing this power differential is impossible due to the immutable hierarchy between interviewer and interviewee, I purposefully kept this in mind throughout the research process. Constantly reminding myself of this power, I avoided posing leading or closed-ended questions. I also attempted to acknowledge, validate, and encourage any attempts to change the flow of the conversation by participants. These techniques ensured I remained sensitive to my power but would not equalize the differential. Since I was not relying solely on interviews for data collection, the issue of the power I wielded during interviews was less significant to the overall study than it could have been.

To bolster participant comfort and level of disclosure, interviews were conducted in naturalistic settings using informal dialogue (Green & Hart, 2001). The interview venue and time was always determined by the participant. Interviews followed a set of core questions (Appendix G) to address the experience of immigration and changes in patterns of participation in activities. The questions were translated by a native Spanish speaker (Appendix H) and were intended to serve as a guide for the interview. Interviewees were empowered with directing the flow of topics and encouraged to pursue their priorities on their terms. Since I could not presume to know all the salient issues affecting this population, interviews were flexible and amendable to change. When appropriate, I shared my experiences with

immigration to make conversations more natural and to encourage the disclosure of personal information by means of disclosing my own.

Document reviews.

Since immigration does not occur in a vacuum, I also considered the broad context of immigration, including the historical, political, economic, social and cultural factors impacting the situation. I collected public media such as newspapers, government documents, and any documents provided by local organizations that were aimed at the local Latino population. I collected weekly editions of the following Smalltown Latino periodicals: QuePasa, La Conexión, and El Norte. I also collected the weekly bulletins at Marco's church to compare differences between the English and Latino versions. I accessed political documents referring to immigration law through governmental websites at both the local and federal level. This was necessary to understand the rhetoric and impact of laws affecting the Latino population such as Proposition 287g in 1996 and the Homeland Security Presidential Directive 2 (HSPD 2) of 2002.

Self-Discovery Tapestry.

The second study aim was to explore the changes in habits and routines of Latino immigrants to Smalltown. Though I planned on addressing the issue during semi-structured interviews, I needed a tool that emphasized the temporal aspect of these changes. Moreover, my discomfort with the tacit power embedded in interview situations persuaded me to adopt a tool that could be administered without my presence. The Self-Discovery Tapestry (Meltzer, 2006) was precisely the type of tool I sought to complement other forms of data collection. The Self-Discovery Tapestry

is a self-administered life-review instrument. It requires individuals to record patterns of activity participation before and after major life transitions such as immigration. Based on Continuity Theory and Critical Events Theory, this tool is used to identify changes in behavior and engagement in activities as a result of those life transitions (Meltzer). Following the Tapestry's protocol, participants were also asked to reflect on their tapestry to evoke maladaptive or adaptive coping strategies in response to past transitions (Meltzer).

The initial study design intended to ask interviewees to fill out a Tapestry (Meltzer, 2006) to complement what was discussed during the interviews. I collaborated with Dr. Meltzer to develop a Latino version of the Tapestry that I could use during my study. Though the translation was finished prior to the beginning of my study, the published forms were not available until I had been in the field for months. With Dr. Meltzer's permission, I attempted to distribute an unpublished version of my translation with addressed and postmarked envelopes. The form presented a visually overwhelming grid which was far more difficult to follow than the published version. Though interviewees always agreed to complete and return this version of the Tapestry, in every case they failed to do so. I initially presumed this was because the unpublished version lacked the visual structure of its published counterpart.

To increase the likelihood of participation, I submitted a methodological change to the UNC-IRB. With approval, I decided to administer the Tapestry in my presence in order to answer any questions regarding how to fill out the form. Since interviewees were not returning the Tapestry, I decided to cease linking it to

interviews. As soon as I had the published version in hand, I asked Marco to help me find individuals who would be willing to fill out the form. He provided me with a list of fifteen names to contact. Ultimately, I was only able to recruit 5 participants for the Tapestry.

Since I had helped develop the Latino version of this tool, I also asked participants for feedback regarding its utility and ease of administration. Each participant expressed frustration with the Tapestry, claiming it was an unnatural way of looking at their lives. The directions were too elaborate and categories, such as "confusion", were difficult to understand. It became evident that cultural differences in perceiving time and categorizing emotions or facets of life were barriers to completing the Tapestry. According to one of the participants, the Tapestry reflected an Anglo worldview steeped in an engineering perspective. This, he explained, led to categorizing and counting one's life in a manner that was unnatural and foreign to Latinos.

Challenges in Recruitment

As expected, most individuals were initially hesitant to speak with me particularly if they had immigrated without legal papers. The Latino population in Smalltown had encountered such hardship and discrimination that they were not accustomed to interacting with individuals who intended to help their community. Quite to the contrary, public and anecdotal stories circulating throughout the community were predominantly negative recounting tragedies of deportation and mistreatment which wrenched families apart and attacked the very essence of one's dignity. This was a persistent challenge throughout the process as individuals did not

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return calls, failed to show up for scheduled meetings, and questioned my motives. For instance, during my interview with Esquandolas, he admitted that his wife had begged him not to come, even though we were meeting at a time and place he chose. She called him several times during our conversation to ensure he was safe and had not been arrested by immigration officers. This was a powerful testimony to the importance of networking through gatekeepers to interact with a marginalized community. Esquandolas would likely not have agreed to meet with me had I not been referred by Forbin, an important community religious leader. Esquandolas's trust in Forbin emboldened him to risk meeting a stranger to speak about his experiences with illegal immigration.

Analysis

Informal analyses began as soon as I entered the field and continued throughout the writing process. I immediately began synthesizing themes from what I witnessed during participant observations and semi-structured interviews. The very act of identifying something as important and recording it in field notes was a preliminary, albeit immature, form of analysis. By personally transcribing each interview during my fieldwork I revisited interview data and attached notes to my transcripts highlighting salient ideas. Through this process, I became intimately familiar with the interview data and increasingly sensitive of the potential pitfalls of providing translations. Although I entered the field expecting to encounter regional dialects, I was amazed by the extent to which the eclecticism of spoken Spanish problematized communication. For instance, as I mulled over the meaning of a Salvadorian expression from my interview data, I sought help from an Ecuadorian

teaching assistant in the Department of Romance Languages at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He was unfamiliar with the phrase and could merely speculate, as I had, about the metaphorical significance of the utterance as contextualized in the flow of the interview transcript. These variations were the impetus for displaying both the original utterance and my translation throughout this manuscript. I offer both versions to invite readers to critique my understandings and subsequent analyses.

The process of transcription was an unanticipated analytical tool and an excellent means for deepening my familiarity with interview data. After a year collecting data in Smalltown, I exited the field and began a formal analysis using Atlas.ti software (Muhr, 2011). I generated seventy-four codes (Appendix I) through open coding of the study's primary documents. I did not translate transcripts for analysis in order to avoid shaping the data before analysis. Thus, I conducted a bilingual analysis, coding Spanish and English interview transcripts with bilingual codes. I generated Spanish codes from reading Spanish transcripts but did not translate them when using those codes for English transcripts. For the reader's convenience, I have translated Spanish codes in Appendix I.

In the ninth month of fieldwork, I noticed recurring themes related to the significance of sensory changes in habitual occupations. After discussing this idea with my adviser, I combed through my transcripts in search of quotes related to sensation. I compiled the quotes and separated them according to which sense was mentioned (taste, smell, sight, touch, sound). This analytical view provided enough substance to devote a chapter to the sensory changes in the embodied experience

of occupation. It also encouraged me to revisit transcripts and field notes to unearth data related to sensation. To inform my analysis and understanding of sensory issues, I concurrently engaged in a literature review of the role of the senses in place integration, occupation, and habits.

Through discussions with committee members and study consultants, and careful personal reflection, I grouped codes into eight thematic families. Table 2 lists each family and their constituent codes. To further synthesize the data into coherent findings, I collapsed the families into three meta-families: fear, discrimination, and oppression; sensory; and transformation of occupation. These meta-themes became the substance of my findings chapters and their subsequent discussions.

To continue synthesizing the data I printed query outputs of each meta theme using Atlas.ti software. These query outputs provided a list of quotes and notes linked to each code constituting the themes. I subsequently read through each output to further synthesize my understanding and familiarity with themes. Since some quotations and notes were linked to multiple codes, they appeared in multiple outputs of different meta themes. As a result, I was able to view these quotes and notes through different thematic lenses, which provided an understanding of the multiple meanings I attributed to the data.

Before presenting study findings, I discuss the situation in Smalltown from a historical, cultural, political, and social perspective. It is important to emphasize that this chapter does not delineate a fixed representation of the Smalltown context as a container of action by Latino immigrants. Contrarily, as discussed in my theoretical

perspective, I present the chapter as a situation through which Latinos experience

immigration and adaptation.

Table 2. Analysis: Families of Codes

Family	Codes	
Fear, Discrimination, Oppression – Cultural and Social	African American Dinero Discriminación Estrés Explotación	Fear Preparación escolar Racism Recession Stereotyping
Fear, Discrimination, Oppression – General	9/11 Deportation Discriminación Estrés EtOH Explotación Fear Identidad	Illegal Immigration Law Licencia Living Conditions Policía Racism Roadblock
Fear, Discrimination, Oppression – Institutional	Credit & Materialism Healthcare Policía	Religión Transportation
Fear, Discrimination, Oppression – Political	9/11 Immigration Law Licencia	Necesita Manejar Obtener Papeles
Sensory	Cambio de ambiente Senses – sight Senses – smell Senses – taste	Senses – touch Senses – sound Senses – personal contact Senses - temperature
Transformation of Occupation – Institutional change	Cambio de ambiente Conocer el sistema Healthcare Illegal	Immigration law Institutional change Preparación escolar Religión
Transformation of Occupation – Preservation of culture	Alimentación Aprender ingles Cambios culturales Differences among Latinos Flea market Idioma	Preservar la cultura Quinceañera Religion Strict parents Mescla de culturas Valores culturales
Transformation of Occupation – Stress, Loss, and change	Cambios culturales Control sobre la inmigración Credit & materialism Estrés EtOH Hijos	Identidad Isolación Social Ritmo de vida Temporary immigration Vicios

Chapter 4

The Situation in Smalltown, North Carolina

The situation of Latino immigrants in Smalltown, North Carolina, has historical roots in the early conquest of U.S. territories and subsequent legislation in immigration laws. Indeed, Latino immigration to the United States has a long and tumultuous history that deeply affects the attitudes and experiences of all parties involved. Naïve misunderstandings of this rich history engender conflicting views on the *rights* of immigrants including the extent to which citizens should accommodate Latino needs.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the situation of Latino immigrants in Smalltown to frame their experiences and those of native Smalltown residents. The chapter begins with a summary of important historical events in Latino immigration to the United States and ensuing changes in legislation. After discussing the historical background at international and national levels, the discussion shifts to North Carolina with a focus on Smalltown.

Exploring the history of Smalltown is a worthy endeavor since the culture and attitudes of its current residents are rooted in events that shaped its culture, economy, politics, demographics, geography, religion, and education system. Though Latino immigration to Smalltown is a recent phenomenon, immigrants' experiences are framed by centuries of Smalltown events This history is the backdrop of their everyday transactions with Smalltown residents and institutions.

History of U.S. Latino Immigration

      Spanish colonialists.

Latinos have a long history in the Americas which can be traced to the original indigenous settlers of lands that now constitute the United States (Garcia & Sanchez, 2008). In the 1500s, Spanish colonial powers began an extensive exploration and settlement of lands in North, Central, and South America. Spanish colonialists soon blended with the Aztecs, Mayans, Olmecs, Toltecs, and the Incas to create what is now known as Latin America. In the U.S., the term *Latino* is used to encompass the diverse array of peoples bound with common roots in Spanish culture but concurrently distinct through the diverse cultures of their ancient indigenous roots (Garcia & Sanchez). To this day, Latinos are an eclectic group of peoples with diverse characteristics blending ancient indigenous culture with Spanish influence.

      Latinos in early U.S. history.

For centuries, Latinos have served a consistent role, albeit often overlooked, in the formation of the U.S. and its military efforts. Latinos have served in every U.S. war since its independence and are one of the most decorated ethnic groups, with individuals earning Congressional Medals of Honor for their honorable service as early as the Civil War (Leonard & Lago-Lago, 2010). Although a ubiquitous part of U.S. history, Latinos were a small proportion of the overall population until the expansionist policies of Manifest Destiny pushed the U.S. southeastern border into Mexican territories during the U.S. - Mexico War between 1846 and 1848 (Leonard & Lugo-Lugo).

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the war and required Mexico to cede fifty- five percent of its prewar territory in exchange for fifteen million dollars and the protection of Mexican citizens' property rights in what was to become California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, Utah and parts of Wyoming (Leonard & Lugo-Lugo, 2010). Thousands of Mexicans living in these lands were told to move south or accept U.S. citizenship. Many stayed and accepted citizenship rather abandoning their lives to begin anew in Mexico.

The expansionist paradigm continued during the brief U.S. - Spanish War (April-December, 1898), when U.S. forces seized Spanish colonies now known as Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines, and Guam. Puerto Ricans were granted citizenship by the Jones Act of 1917, but the island remained a U.S. colony until 1952, when it became a commonwealth. Cuba was granted independence in 1902, however it was ruled by U.S. friendly dictators until Fidel Castro overthrew the right winged U.S. controlled government in 1959 (Leonard & Lugo-Lugo). As a result of early U.S. expansion, thousands of Latin Americans and their territories were forcibly annexed with little other option.

Early Latino immigration.

According to Novas (2008), Mexicans have been going *al Norte* since Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821. Mexico's early history was tumultuous as it suffered many upheavals, including the Mexican Revolution of 1910. These periods of uncertainty and instability persuaded waves of refugees to flee to the North (Novas).

World War I forced the U.S. to become increasingly involved in world affairs. U.S. power and prosperity attracted thousands of immigrants from all over the world. To address the influx of foreign nationals seeking to improve their lives, the U.S. passed laws in 1924 that established country-based quotas for immigration (Novas, 2008). Northern Europeans were favored and Asians were almost entirely excluded from entree. At the turn of the century, Chinese and Japanese workers had been the principal source of cheap labor for U.S. employers. However, they were soon supplanted by Mexican workers as no quotas were established for immigrants from the Western Hemisphere. The restriction of Asian immigration coupled with unchecked migration from south of the border positioned Mexico as the primary supplier of cheap labor for the U.S. economy (Novas).

For more than a century, the U.S. economy has relied on Mexican labor to maintain growth and prosperity. Mexican immigration in the early 20th Century allowed farms in California and the U.S. Southwest to flourish (Novas, 2008). The early influx spread to the Midwest where Mexican Americans were hired as cheap labor in construction, steel factories, meatpacking, and trucking. The Southwestern U.S. economy was increasingly dependent on Latino labor such that, according to a 1929 government report, 70-90 percent of railroad workers were of Mexican origin (Novas).

The Great Depression and Mexican repatriation.

In 1929, the Great Depression hit all employment sectors in the United States and Mexican Americans in particular. Recognizing their need and importance, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 provided

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financial assistance to Mexican American workers (Novas, 2008). Other programs, such as the Works Progress Administration of May 1935 put Mexican Americans to work in carpentry, masonry, and construction giving workers great pride through the public recognition of their skills as master builders (Novas).

Despite this recognition and the persistent demand for cheap Mexican labor, the Great Depression spurred support for a repatriation movement aimed at freeing jobs for unemployed U.S. citizens. The movement caused the indiscriminate deportation of half a million undocumented immigrants and legal citizens with centuries of residence in the United States (Novas, 2008). The magnitude of deportation was so great that Lázaro Cardenas, the Mexican president, set up resettlement camps in Guerrero, Michoacán, Oaxaca, and Chiapas to accommodate thousands of deported individuals. However, labor shortages during World War II reversed this trend and many of those deported found their way back to the United States (Novas).

The Bracero Programs.

World War II drew an unprecedented number of workers to war fronts across the world engendering a massive labor shortage. To bolster a sputtering economy, the U.S. government signed an executive agreement, known as the Bracero Program, with the government of Mexico (Zavella, 2001).The Bracero Program (1942-1947) allowed nearly 250,000 of Mexicans to find seasonal employment contracts for one year in U.S. agriculture (Novas, 2008). At the end of World War II, the government sought to eliminate the program, however, intense pressure from U.S. farmers seeking to sustain their access to cheap labor forced the second

Bracero Program (1948-1964). Under this program, more than 4.5 million Mexican

nationals migrated seasonally for work in farms, accounting for twenty-five percent of

all farm workers in the United States (Novas). The Bracero Programs granted

Mexican workers a minimum wage and the right to sue employers for abusive

practices, although stories of deplorable work and living conditions abound from that

period. After officially ending at the dawn of the Vietnam War, the program continued

underground as U.S. farmers and migrants directly negotiated contracts between

each other (Novas).

Despite the persistent reliance on Mexican workers to support U.S.

agriculture, abusive practices and exploitation were common. In 1948, the Mexican

government, reacting to the poor treatment of its workers, attempted to prevent

migrants from entering the U.S. with a blockade of tanks at the U.S. border (Novas,

2008). Texas farmers, fearing their crops would rot, appealed to the U.S.

Immigration Services to open the border and allow unconstrained free passage to

those Mexicans willing to face their government's tanks (Novas). Immigration

Services acquiesced, subsequently disempowering the Mexican government from

affecting a change.

Economic crises in the post WW II era.

In 1953, the U.S. economy entered another recession causing Mexicans to be

viewed as a threat to Americans seeking employment (Leonard & Lugo-Lugo, 2010).

Under public pressure to create jobs and ease the financial burden of its citizens, the

U.S. government launched Operation Wetback in June of 1954. Under the auspices

of Operation Wetback, federal immigration agents conducted military style sweeps

across the nation resulting in the deportation of almost four million undocumented

Mexican immigrants often without formal deportation hearings and frequently

separating families (Leonard & Lugo-Lugo).

By 1980, the INS was apprehending approximately one million undocumented

workers annually (Leonard & Lugo-Lugo, 2010). However, Californian agriculture

suffered a crisis in the early 1980's which spurred another wave of Latino migration.

Export markets dissolved, farm prices dropped, and land values plummeted causing

Californian farmers to shift their production to high-value fruits and vegetables

specialized for high income markets (Zavella, 2001). This type of agriculture was

more labor intensive and required a rapid expansion of farm worker jobs (Zavella).

Concurrently, Mexico also experienced an economic crisis with eroding wages,

rising unemployment and inflation of the Peso. Worsening economic conditions in

Mexico coupled with demand to meet the agricultural needs of California

encouraged a dramatic sustained migration that continues to this day.

Immigration reform.

To address the escalating presence of undocumented workers, the

government passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986. The IRCA

provided amnesty for immigrants living in the United States since 1982. It aimed to

slow the arrival of additional undocumented workers by subjecting employers to

penalties for hiring undocumented workers (Novas, 2008). The IRCA also created

the H-2A and H-2B Visa programs which allowed temporary workers to legally enter

and work in the United States. Despite providing legal measures for Mexican

workers to fill the needs of U.S. farmers and penalties for employing undocumented

workers, U.S. employers largely ignored the IRCA and continued to recruit undocumented workers in mass. Indeed, approximately 450,000 undocumented workers immigrated annually between 1991 and 1994. This number rose to 600,000 annually between 2000 and 2004 and is projected to average 400,000 until 2015 (Novas).

H-2A and H-2B Visas

The H-2A and H-2B Visas allowed temporary workers to migrate to counter U.S. labor shortages. Employers choosing to import workers through these programs applied to the U.S. Department of Labor to justify their need for foreign workers by proving there were not enough U.S. workers available and that the importation would not affect the wages of U.S. workers in similar employment (Bruno, 2007). The H-2A visa allows for the temporary admission of agricultural workers for no more than 3 consecutive years (Bruno). In addition to guaranteeing workers fair wages, the H-2A also required employers to provide housing, transportation and various worker benefits. The number of H-2A visas rose from 6,445 in 1992 to 31,774 in 2004 (Bruno).

The H-2B visa allows for the temporary legal immigration of non-agricultural workers except for foreign medical graduates. Under this program, employers do not have to provide the same benefits, transportation and housing as their H-2A counterparts (Bruno, 2007). In 2004, H-2B visa holders worked predominantly in landscaping, forestry, housekeeping, construction and stables (Bruno). The number of H-2B visas issued rose from 12,552 in 1992 to 76,169 in 2004.

Immigration reforms of 1996.

In 1996, the government passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) which stipulated that legal immigrants were no longer entitled to Medicaid, food stamps, cash assistance, and other federal public benefits (Piven, 2001). Although this was aimed at deterring legal immigration, 1996 saw almost a million legal immigrants enter the U.S., the most since 1914 (Piven).

The same year, immigration enforcement received a powerful boost when Congress amended the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) with Section 287(g) (Idilbi, 2008). The 287(g) program allowed U.S. Immigration officials to enter in Memoranda of Agreements (MOAs) with local agencies to deputize local law enforcement officers with the powers of federal immigration agents. The program was relatively unused until Florida signed an agreement in 2002 (Idilbi).

According to Griggs and Schaeffer (2009), the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 began a troublesome trend of merging the rhetoric of terrorism with immigration. The act expanded definitions of who could be targeted under the INA and made detention the primary method of immigration enforcement. The IIRIRA expanded the list of crimes resulting in deportation, reduced judicial review, and expedited removal procedures (Siskin, Bruno, Nunez-Neto, Seghetti, & Wasem, 2007). The IIRIRA was passed in the pre-9/11 era suggesting lawmakers could not have predicted the long term ramifications on future populations without ties to terrorist activities. The attacks on 9/11 highlighted the threat of terrorism and conflated its link to immigration when investigations discovered several of the attackers had expired visas.

September 11th, 2001.

In early 2000, President George W. Bush and his Mexican counterpart,

President Vicente Fox began talks to redesign guest worker programs in an effort to

address the issue of undocumented immigration (Novas, 2008). The attacks of

September 11th ended the talks and shifted the Bush administration's focus to border

security. Ironically, this encouraged sojourning immigrants, those planning to work

temporarily in the U.S., to remain in the country fearing they would be unable to

return (Novas). The attacks also prompted the sudden creation of the Uniting and

Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and

Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001 (USA Patriot Act) which strengthened the rhetoric

linking terrorism to immigration issues (Siskin et al., 2007).

PATRIOT Act & Homeland Security Presidential Directive 2 (HSPD 2).

The PATRIOT Act targeted terrorists and imposed stringent restrictions on

immigration (Griggs & Schaeffer, 2009). It allotted $50 million to bolster the Northern

U.S. border and allowed the detention of immigrants for seven days without an

indictment. The conflation of 1996 immigration reform and the Bush administration's

reaction to the attacks of 9/11 marked an important ideological shift merging political

rhetoric on immigration with that of terrorism (Griggs & Schaeffer).

Days after signing the PATRIOT Act into law, President Bush issued the

Homeland Security Presidential Directive 2 (HSPD 2). The directive, subtitled

"SUBJECT: Combating Terrorism Through Immigration Policies," drew an overt link

between immigration and terrorism (Griggs & Schaeffer, 2009). The HSPD 2

explicitly identified tightening immigration enforcement as a primary mechanism to

combat terrorism. Since the fateful attacks of 9/11, the U.S. has engaged in a War on Terror which, due to political rhetoric, was increasingly associated with a War on Immigration (Griggs & Schaeffer; Siskin et al., 2007).

Homeland Security Act 2002.

The Bush Administration continued to push an agenda of border security with the Homeland Security Act 2002. The HSA abolished the INS and founded the Department of Homeland Security and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) (Siskin et al., 2007). ICE was charged with enforcing immigration laws by targeting criminal networks and terrorism. As the conflation of illegal immigration with terrorism continued to escalate, immigration enforcement increasingly violated human rights.

For example, ICE agents have violated numerous human rights such as the denial of Miranda rights, detention without water or nutrition, denial of bathroom use for extended periods, denial of due process, unsanitary conditions, overcrowding, insufficient healthcare, indefinite detention, and detention without probably cause (Griggs & Schaeffer, 2009). ICE officers employ paramilitary operations and worksite raids to maximize fear often leading to the abuse of U.S. citizens who are unconstitutionally detained solely due to suspicion of illegal status (Griggs & Schaeffer). Children are often left home alone for extended periods while their parents are unlawfully detained. ICE has also maximized fear by transporting shackled detainees to faraway detention centers without disclosing their whereabouts to the individuals' families. ICE has become the second largest law

enforcement agency in the United States with appropriations growing from $3.1 billion in 2006 to $4.99 billion in 2009 (Griggs & Schaeffer).

Section 287(g) after September 11th, 2001.

After the attacks of September 11th, the Attorney General encouraged states to adopt 287(g) agreements to bolster counterterrorism efforts (Idibli, 2008). Few agreements were signed by 2005, however mounting anti-immigrant sentiment encouraged additional support for the program such that 26 agreements were signed in 2007 and numerous others are currently in development (Idibli).

Numerous tales of human rights abuse through 287(g) have created an oppressive climate of fear. For example, a woman was arrested and detained in Tennessee for driving without a license. During her detention, she went into labor and was sent to a local hospital under the surveillance of local law enforcement acting as immigration officials under Section 287(g). She was shackled during labor and a subsequent shower, prevented from contacting her husband, stripped of her baby at birth, and denied medical equipment recommended by hospital staff (Griggs & Schaeffer, 2009). Tales of such abuse abound and circulate throughout Latino communities.

REAL ID Act of 2005.

The REAL ID Act further expanded grounds for deportation and bolstered border infrastructure. Most importantly, it required states to verify an applicant's legal status before issuing a driver's license (Siskin et al., 2007). As a result, undocumented immigrants in North Carolina could no longer renew or obtain drivers' licenses without proof of legal residence. The REAL ID Act became the impetus for

local law enforcement to check an individual's immigration status if he or she does not have a valid drivers' license. Under the auspices of Section 287(g) of the 1996 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), undocumented immigrants suddenly risked deportation for committing minor traffic violations such as driving with a broken taillight.

Section 287(g) in North Carolina.

Nationally, the 287(g) program consisted of sixty-seven partnerships between local and federal agencies by 2009 (Nguyen & Gill, 2010). As of February 2010, North Carolina led the United States with implementing 287(g) with a total of eight local jurisdictions signing agreements with the federal government. Though the program was initially designed to target violent crime offenders, North Carolinian agencies have indiscriminately extended it to target petty crimes (Griggs & Schaeffer, 2009). According to Idibli (2008), the 287(g) program is misused in North Carolina to enforce civil crimes, such as illegal presence in the United States despite being designed for criminal acts. Griggs and Schaeffer found that the implementation of 287(g) in Alamance County, North Carolina has caused the erosion of trust between immigration communities and law enforcement such that crimes are increasingly unreported. Indeed, North Carolinian immigrants have been deported after calling the police to report a crime (Griggs & Schaeffer).

Idibli (2008) argued that 287(g) and the REAL ID Act created a situation in which Latino drivers were subject to arrest for an offense that is typically punished by citation. There is little to no consequence to deter officers from indiscriminately stopping drivers regardless of legal precedent (Idibli). During a study of the effect

287(g) on Latino immigrants to a North Carolinian community, 23 out of 25 participants stated they would hesitate to report crimes to local law enforcement due to personal stories of acquaintances being deported after seeking aid (Nguyen & Gill, 2009). This fear also plagued legal permanent residents as explained by one immigrant: "I am afraid to report crime because I am afraid of police. I don't know what they will do to me or my family" (Confidential Interviewee as cited in Nguyen & Gill, p.44). Though 287(g) was said to be designed to focus on deporting violent crime offenders, Nguyen and Gill found that 86.7% of individuals processed through the program in the five North Carolinian counties in their study were charged with misdemeanors, primarily minor driving infractions.

Reports demonstrate that the ubiquitous fear of deportation and the violent practices justified by 287(g) have caused children of immigrants, most of whom are U.S. citizens, to experience difficulty in school due to preoccupation with their parents' safety (Griggs & Schaeffer, 2009). Moreover, landlords and employers use this fear as leverage to exploit immigrant workers or tenants.

Latino Immigration to North Carolina

North Carolina has experienced a large influx of Latino immigrants in recent years. According to Idibli (2008), North Carolina has not seen such a large portion of its population originate from outside the country since the days of British rule. According to the Census 2000, between 1990 and 2000, the U.S. population of Latinos increased by 57.9% reaching 35.3 million individuals. The 2004 Census update projected the population rose to 41.3 million individuals. Between 1990 and 2000, North Carolina experienced an astounding 393.9% increase in its Latino

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population (U.S. Census 2000). Moreover, the proportion of Latinos to Caucasians will continue to rise since fertility rates are 64.6 per 1000 for Caucasians and 95.1 per 1000 for Latinos (U.S. Census 2000). Gouveia and Saenz (2000) proved the statistics actually underestimate the Latino population suggesting the number could be far greater. According to Rodríguez (2000), the Bureau's methods for gathering data do not account for the masses of undocumented immigrants who avoid the Census or are not counted due to complex living arrangements such as residing in clandestine households.

The Latino influx received considerable media coverage and opposition in North Carolina. NC Listen, an organization focused on immigration, stated that "out of-control immigration affects homeland security, the unemployment rate, our education system, health care, government budgets…the environment, crime and countless other areas of American life" (NC Listen as cited in Idibli, 2008). Anti immigrant sentiment in N.C. was further galvanized by a report from Kasarda and Johnson (2006) which stated that Hispanics contributed $756 million to North Carolina taxes yet the state spent $817 million to provide healthcare, education, and correctional facilities for its Hispanic population. This $61 million deficit was used to claim the state spends $102 per Hispanic resident. According to Nguyen and Gill (2009), such issues were highly politicized and integrated into political platforms during the 2006 elections permeating all levels of government from city councils to national elections. However, Kasarda and Johnson cautioned against the misuse of their statistics citing unmeasured aggregate contributions to the statewide economy. Latinos contributed $9 billion to the state economy in 2006 (Idibli, 2008). Johnson

and Kasarda argued that Latinos contribute tremendously to the economic output of North Carolina boosting the cost-effectiveness of major industries. Moreover, increasing exports to Latin America have created 70,000 jobs and $231 million in state and local taxes (Johnson & Kasarda).

Changing Immigrant Population

Due to geographical proximity, Mexico and the United States are inseparably bound by deep historical and political ties. As a result of this long standing link and guest worker programs spanning over nearly a century, the proportion of Mexicans in the U.S. Latino population is 63.4 percent (Garcia & Sanchez, 2008). However, the 21st Century has seen a change in the nationality of Latino immigrants. For diverse reasons, predominantly economic and political, a new wave of migration occurred from Central and South American countries, primarily Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Colombia (Novas, 2008). Immigrants from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have a low graduation rate and, as a result, the majority of Central American immigrants work in low paying jobs and live in poverty (Novas).

Smalltown, North Carolina

Beyond understanding international, national and statewide contexts of Latino immigration, it is also necessary to delve into Smalltown's history. The characteristics of Smalltown and Farmhouse County add additional layers of complexity to understanding the experience of Latino immigrants. Undoubtedly, events specific to the Smalltown situation affect how national and international events were perceived, understood and integrated into the local culture.

The rise of Smalltown.

In 1777, the first General Assembly of the newly independent State of North Carolina convened and established Smalltown on the lands of John Smith (Lassiter & Lassiter, 1996). Smith's entrepreneurial spirit and active participation in North Carolinian colonial legislature secured an act to receive, inspect, and store tobacco on his lands. Situated on a river, his Smith's lots soon became a significant node in North Carolinian tobacco trade and exports to Virginia (Johnson & Barbour, 1997).

Throughout the 19th century, Smalltown was an agricultural economy focused on local subsistence through production of corn, wool, cotton, oats, and pork (Johnson & Barbour, 1997). The cost and difficulty of exporting those goods discouraged farmers from producing surpluses which would have brought greater wealth to the area (Johnson & Barbour). In order to work their fields, Farmhouse County farmers relied on slave labor accounting for almost a third of the total county population before the Civil War (Lassiter & Lassiter, 1996). The reliance of slave labor encouraged North Carolina to secede from the union to join the confederacy (Lassiter & Lassiter).

Surging racial animosity.

The Civil War, one of the bloodiest wars in U.S. history, drained community resources, particularly those at early stages of development such as Smalltown. Nearly 1,500 Farmhouse County residents enlisted and almost a third died in battle (Johnson & Barbour, 1997). In the wake of the war, economic decline and the exodus of freed slaves drastically changed the demographic composition of

Smalltown. By 1870, 202 of Smalltown's 415 inhabitants were African American (Johnson & Barbour).

Racial tensions persisted and were soon embodied in the Ku Klux Klan (Lassiter & Lassiter, 1996). The Klan enjoyed popular support in Farmhouse County and was most active in counties with a Republican majority to counter the recruitment of African Americans and advocacy for their voting rights (Lassiter & Lassiter). Despite Republican efforts, African Americans in the area experienced restricted civil rights, an oppressive mortgage system, low wages, and an increasingly Conservative political majority (Lassiter & Lassiter). Concerns with restoring White supremacy dominated Smalltown politics at the beginning of the 20th century (Lassiter & Lassiter).

The rise of Smalltown tobacco.

Farmhouse County experienced an economic surge when the North Carolina Railroad built a station near Smalltown in 1867, which enabled the county to shift from subsistence agriculture to a market-driven agriculture (Johnson & Barbour, 1997). The rail station drew traders as far as 40 miles away and, by 1886, the town was handling approximately 12,000 bales of cotton per year and the population had risen to 1000 (Lassiter & Lassiter, 1996). Throughout this period, Smalltown experienced unprecedented economic and population growth due to the profitable export of cotton and tobacco (Johnson & Barbour). However, in 1893, cotton prices plummeted causing farmers to shift their focus to the production of tobacco and prompted the establishment of the Smalltown Tobacco Market (Lassiter & Lassiter).

The tobacco trade fueled Smalltown growth into the 20th century until the World

Wars and the Great Depression stunted further growth.

Smalltown during WWII.

Nearly 7,000 Farmhouse County residents joined the war effort with 140

dying in combat (Johnson & Barbour, 1997). The war drained community resources

and drew Smalltown workers away from their homes. Perhaps the most significant

effect of the war was the slow erosion of racial prejudice due to heroic efforts of

African American Smalltown residents. On August 15, 1945, the Smalltown

Chamber of Commerce scheduled a "Farmer's Day" celebration to mark the opening

of sales at the Smalltown Tobacco Market. When the Japanese surrendered on

August 14th, "Farmer's Day" became a massive celebration that is known as the

most celebrated day in Farmhouse County history such that the Smalltown Post

likened the event to "a miniature Times Square celebration" (Lassiter & Lassiter,

1996, p.159).

Smalltown industrialization.

Economic stagnation that plagued Smalltown throughout the Great

Depression and the World Wars came to an end and, by 1950, Farmhouse County

boasted 8,097 operating farms valued at more than $21 million (Lassiter & Lassiter,

1996). In 1953, mechanized agriculture revolutionized the tobacco industry and

eliminated the need for many farm workers in the Smalltown area. As a result, the

number of Farmhouse County residents working in farms dropped from 12,531 in

1950 to 8,543 in 1959 (Lassiter & Lassiter).

In order to counteract its diminishing population and foster additional growth, a Smalltown entrepreneur established economic incentives to attract new businesses and industries to the area inducing a rapid shift from an agricultural economy to one based on manufacturing (Lassiter & Lassiter, 1996). The abundance of employment opportunities encouraged the Farmhouse County population to grow almost 20,000 between 1970 and 1990. The population surge spurred additional economic growth during a housing boom that converted much of rural Farmhouse to suburbia (Lassiter & Lassiter).

Present-day Smalltown.

According to Lassiter and Lassiter (1996), present day Smalltown culture is "significantly influenced by keepers of plantations that were centers of wisdom and civility, as well as estates producing agricultural commodities" (p.71). By the end of the 20th century, many Smalltown farm workers were of Latino origin. Indeed, North Carolina witnessed a 400 percent increase in its Latino population between 1990 and 2000 (U.S. Census, 2000). According to Rutherford, a Smalltown resident, the nature of farm work encouraged cyclical migrations of Latino farm workers who moved in relation to seasonal harvests. The erosion of tobacco prices coupled with industrial and housing booms encouraged migrant workers to settle in Smalltown for steady employment in factories and construction.

The sudden influx of permanent Latino residents caused a significant change in the demographic and geographic layout of Smalltown. Residents saw many Latino owned businesses appear while established businesses posted Spanish advertisements. According to the American Community Survey (U.S. Census, 2009)

15.7% of Smalltown's population is of Latino origin. However, as noted by Gouveia

and Saenz (2000), Census statistics may underestimate Latino statistics as many

live in clandestine housing intentionally avoiding any government entities.

The Latino presence in Smalltown is increasingly visible through its growing

population and their cultural activities. For instance, a local flea market exemplifies

Smalltown's historical, social, and cultural transformations. The building housing the

market was once the site for lively tobacco auctions during Smalltown's heyday as a

node for the N.C. tobacco trade. As the need for tobacco auctions waned, Smalltown

converted the building to a community flea market. The Latino community actively

participates in the flea market selling and purchasing Latino goods that cannot be

found elsewhere. Some Smalltown Latinos refer to the market as "little Mexico"

while other Smalltown residents visit the market for an authentic Latino experience.

Indeed, my experience walking through parts of the Smalltown market was akin to

personal experiences walking through outdoor markets in Nicaragua in regard to

language, foods, decorations, music, and goods. The absence of English menus or

labels suggests market vendors target Latino consumers. This micro transformation

is an appropriate metaphor for macro changes occurring across Smalltown itself.

Many Latino owned businesses do not display prices or labels in English and sell

goods imported directly from Latin America. Certain neighborhoods and strip malls in

Smalltown are increasingly dominated by a Latino majority.

Persistent racial tension.

The escalation of the Latino presence in Smalltown has spurred racial

intolerance and is conflated by prejudices plaguing the U.S. media. According to

Atkinson (2004), the media plays a significant role in the discrimination of Latino immigrants by portraying them as underpaid, lazy, uneducated, and immoral people who work as maids, janitors, drug lords, and gang members. These views are echoed by some Smalltown residents including officers responsible for Smalltown law enforcement who described Mexicans as "trashy" in Smalltown media.

Racial tensions are a constant backdrop of everyday living in Smalltown. For example, in 2006, Latino students at Smalltown High (pseudonym) walked out of classes to protest stringent immigration law (Bailey, Cole, McKnight, Seman & Weaver, 2006). Onlookers shouted "go back to Mexico" and students were suspended from school upon their return. Such tensions evoke memories of an active Ku Klux Klan history in Farmhouse County. For instance, the welcome signs to Farmhouse County and Smalltown itself once advertised K.K.K. membership with logos exclaiming "help fight communism and integration!" Though the signs are no longer displayed, their message seems to permeate present day Smalltown happenings.

Certainly, study findings confirm the salience of fear, discrimination and oppression on participation in occupation for Latino immigrants in Smalltown. The following chapter explores these effects including the impact on experiences of wellbeing and the ability to participate in occupation.

Beyond Smalltown.

Although Smalltown presents a unique situation for its immigrant population; it shares similar regional, national, and international contexts with other U.S. communities. Latino immigration is a nationwide phenomenon and the recent wave

of immigrants has affected other communities in the Southeast. Since many contextual factors that shape every-day happenings in Smalltown are shared by other communities, their effect on the experience of immigration to those communities is likely similar. Though this project presents findings gleaned from Smalltown, it reflects experiences that are likely shared by many immigrants to communities beyond Smalltown.

Findings – Fear, Discrimination, and Oppression

Latino immigrants to Smalltown endured fear, discrimination, and oppression through their daily engagement in occupations. Participants withdrew participation in leisure occupations fearing oppression by the police and governmental institutions. Participants viewed engagement in leisure occupations as an unnecessary peril wherein individuals risked detention and persecution. Participation in other occupations was plagued by frequent discrimination with deleterious effects on participant wellbeing in the form of stress and depressive symptoms. In this chapter, I explore findings that demonstrate the effect of fear, discrimination, and oppression on participation in occupation for Latinos in Smalltown. I present a salient participant quotation at the beginning of each thematic section as an illustrative introduction of its content. I offer Spanish quotations in their original language in order to allow critique of translations that follow them.

Fear, Discrimination, and Oppression represents a family of codes created during analysis using Atlas.ti (Muhr, 2011). A query for output related to the family of codes titled *Fear, Discrimination, and Oppression* generated 465 separate quotations from interviews and field notes, demonstrating the extent to which the experiences of Latino immigrants in Smalltown, North Carolina, were affected. Certainly, research participants often used our conversations as a platform to voice their frustrations and discontent with the oppressive nature of their situation. In

particular, participants lamented the oppressive powers granted to local police officers through 287(g) and the REAL ID Act of 2005.

287(g) & the REAL ID Act of 2005

The REAL ID Act of 2005 coupled with a Memoranda of Agreement (MOA) with local law enforcement provided the legal basis for police to check immigration status to detain individuals without proof of legal residence. Though Farmhouse County has not signed an MOA with the federal government, several of its neighboring counties had done so and misused its powers with impunity. Most study participants, including those without documents, braved the roads passing through those counties to commute to work, attend church, and visit friends or family. Other study participants resided in 287(g) counties but commuted to Smalltown for church and/or work. Regardless of their status, study participants voiced fears of detention and frequently cited withdrawal from everyday occupations in response to their fears.

Fear, Trust and Substance Abuse

"Everybody's afraid. They have lost their trust"

The escalating anti-immigrant sentiment was palpable for study participants who cited fear as a constant backdrop to participation in occupation. In many cases, fear not only altered the manner in which participants chose to engage in occupation, but prevented engagement altogether.

For Rico, a Latino substance abuse counselor, the lack of driving licensure was a major issue that was particularly deleterious to providing services to undocumented clients. "Everybody's afraid" he claimed, "they have lost their trust."

Rico argued that many clients in need were either too frightened to seek help from an institution, or would provide the wrong information to avoid disclosing their undocumented status. Rico explained that this was a vicious circle in which the fear of driving without licensure engendered stress and social isolation conflating the chances of onset or exacerbation of substance abuse. According to Rico, and other study participants, residing in the U.S. without legal documentation is such a stressful endeavor that it pushes immigrants to drink and use drugs.

Moreover, Latino immigrants must often cope with the social isolation of abandoning friends and family to immigrate. Individuals who immigrate alone are obligated to live in overcrowded living situations in order to afford rent and utilities. Rico explained: "pride, on us Latinos, is very very strong. We are macho kind of guys…we don't want my friend to know that I'm weak or that somebody else is wearing the pants in the house." This cultural tendency coupled with living conditions wherein 10-15 young adults share a small residence, engenders a situation in which peer pressure and macho behavior is the norm. Rico explained that many individuals resort to "self medication" through drugs and alcohol and are pressured by roommates to drink heavily on a regular basis.

As an illustration of the link between alcohol consumption and stress associated with immigration, Marco, the director of Hispanic ministries at a Smalltown church, noted a drastic increase in drinking among congregation members during the spring of 2010 when Arizona debated Senate Bill 1070. The bill criminalized illegal immigration and granted law enforcement the power to check the immigration status of any individual they suspect is unlawfully present in the country.

Though Smalltown residents were not subjected to Arizona SB 1070, it spurred a significant reaction among Marco's congregation. Many of Marco's Mexican parishioners drove to their consulates to obtain Mexican citizenship for their U.S. born children in anticipation of eventual deportation. Parents feared separation from their children and wanted to ensure they would not be held up by Mexican immigration if their fears were realized. This situation demonstrates a link between Arizona law and the occupations of Smalltown residents in North Carolina. Arizona Senate Bill 1070 would likely fall out of the study's purview had I circumscribed the context to North Carolina only.

Fear of deportation was ubiquitous among undocumented immigrants. Esquandolas, an undocumented Mexican citizen, agreed to meet with me for an interview at a local fast food restaurant. Although he trusted me since I was referred to him by a close acquaintance, his wife was far more hesitant. During our conversation, she called him several times to ensure that he had not been entrapped by immigration officials. Esquandolas laughed at her reaction and trivialized her fear; however he soon echoed similar anxieties:

> My worst fear is at work, one of these days, INS is going to bust up in there and lock me up. What will my family do? That's part of the so called American dream. You always gotta be worried about something. And that's my biggest fear that one day I'll be separated from my family.

Esquandolas' anxiety was not unfounded as tales of sudden deportation and subsequent abuses abound throughout the community. In every instance when I discussed deportation with participants, they cited personal anecdotes of friends and family who were detained and separated from their families. Moreover, their fear was exacerbated by the violent paramilitary tactics used by ICE officials (Griggs &

Schaeffer, 2009) often occurring in the middle of the night to maximize confusion

and disorientation. Smalltown residents were exposed to media coverage which

galvanized their fears. For instance, Diaz (2000) captured the following photograph

of the aggressive detention and deportation of Elian Gonzalez:

Dalrymple (2001),holding Elian in the far right of the photograph, explained that in

the early morning hours, federal INS agents dressed in SWAT riot gear burst into the

room brandishing MP-5 automatic weapons shouting "Give me the f------------ kid!

Give me the f---------- kid!" (p.9). Although Elian was at the center of a custody battle

between his father in Cuba and family in Miami, Florida; the aggressive tactics of

federal INS agents in the photograph illustrate what Smalltown immigrants

experience and fear. Such paramilitary tactics are employed by ICE officials in North

Carolina and exacerbated the fear of local Latino immigrants (Griggs & Schaeffer).

Stories of wrongful detention and deportation also circulate in the media and

local communities. For example, Mark Lyttle, a U.S. born North Carolinian resident,

was arrested and imprisoned by ICE agents at covert detention center in Cary, North

Carolina (Stevens, 2010). Although Mr. Lyttle had a mental illness, did not speak

Spanish, and did not have relatives or contacts in Mexico, he was deported to Mexico in 2008 after seventy-three days in detention. According to Stevens, Mr. Lyttle's trail went cold after he was transferred to ICE custody and his family did not know he had been sent to Mexico. Mr. Lyttle's story demonstrates the potential indiscriminate deportation of individuals by ICE agents.

Fear was pervasive throughout the Smalltown Latino community regardless of one's immigration status. Carmina, a legal immigrant from Costa Rica, was overwhelmed by fear of oppression although she had a legal basis for residing and working in the United States. Despite her legal status, Carmina avoided the Raleigh-Durham International (RDU) airport when traveling back to Costa Rica. To ease her stress and avoid the security at RDU, Carmina used a smaller airport in Eastern North Carolina as her point of departure. A close friend of Carmina echoed her fear, citing it as a major source of stress:

> Te sientes solo. Sobre todo cuando te sentiste enjaulado, tienes que vivir bajo…dejaste en casa porque tú sentiste perseguida….te estresa el trabajo, las condiciones en las que trabajas…yo me siento eternalmente molesta. [You feel alone. Above all, when you feel imprisoned, you must live low…you stay in your house because you feel persecuted…your job stresses you, the conditions in which you work…I feel eternally troubled]

Breakdown of trust.

Tales of discrimination and abuse circulate throughout the Smalltown Latino community precipitating a decline in trust with any U.S. institution regardless of its affiliation with the federal government or immigration enforcement. As Rico stated, this was a significant problem for healthcare workers and counselors who aimed to help Latinos overcome problems with health and substance abuse. Deteriorating trust in law enforcement has caused study participants to think twice about

contacting the police to report a crime or to obtain assistance. This perception is reinforced by personal anecdotes such as Esquandolas' experience with reporting a robbery.

While living a Smalltown trailer park, Esquandolas and his brother were robbed at gun point by three criminals. They immediately called the police but law enforcement never arrived to investigate the robbery. Later that day, Esquandolas' brother saw the police stop a car that fit the description of their criminals' auto. Seeking justice, they approached the police officer and explained their situation. In response, they were all taken to the police station for questioning. The captured robber claimed he had approached Esquandolas to purchase drugs. Esquandolas was appalled at the accusation and invited the officers to search his house for any contraband. The detectives refused and, to Esquandolas' dismay, the robber, although on probation, was allowed to leave before he and his brother were released.

> That was the worst disappointment of the American justice system. For now on, I will never trust the law no more. Because we were the victims and the way they treated us, it was like we were doing the crime. And they let them go before us! After that, they said we'll investigate and you'll hear from us. It's been over ten years and I've never even got a phone call about it. They just dismissed it. Way to go…American justice.

Esquandolas' story is not unique and illustrates a problematic trend wherein Latinos, regardless of their legal status, are increasingly hesitant to report crimes (Idibli, 2008; Nguyen & Gill, 2009).

Illustrating her distrust of law enforcement, Teresa, a naturalized U.S. citizen from Mexico, recounted a story in which she was unlawfully stopped by police to check her immigration status. After providing her license and registration, thus

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asserting her legal status, she was given a ticket for speeding in a school zone. Teresa was outraged because school zone hours had passed and concluded, "no tienen que pararme por nada [they couldn't stop me for nothing]." As with most Smalltown immigrants, Teresa felt powerless and did not challenge the officer. Teresa's reaction is not unwarranted in light of the Smalltown Sheriff's racist remarks which were highly publicized in the media. Study participants were aware of the sheriff's comments and unlikely to trust his department.

Although fear of deportation fuels distrust in law enforcement, study participants also cite numerous instances where social institutions overtly discriminate against Latino immigrants. Teresa described situations in which she witnessed discrimination toward immigrants when she worked for Smalltown social services. She recalled that clients with little English fluency were not properly advised regarding possible services. She claimed individuals were told they did not qualify for services even though they qualified for certain forms of emergency aid. With little to no knowledge of English and Social Services, these individuals were unable to critique the misinformation of their counselors. Teresa is one of many Smalltown immigrants who do not trust institutions due to personal experiences with their discriminatory practices:

> Todas esas oficinas discriminan la gente 1) porque no sabes la ley 2) porque no sabes el idioma y 3) porque no saben todas las reglas…no conocen el sistema. [All these offices discriminate people 1) because they don't know the law 2) because they don't know the language and 3) because they don't know all the rules…they don't know the system]

Study participants lament that institutions purportedly aiding those in need were overtly discriminating against Latino immigrants. Quique, a legal Colombian immigrant with a graduate degree, described a troublesome instance during which

he felt discriminated against by local firefighters. Quique recounted his panic when a small kitchen fire emerged in his home. Though he immediately called 911 for help, the operator hung up on him without warning. Quique recalled mounting panic as the operator hung up on him 4 to 5 times with no indication that help was on the way. To Quique's relief, the fire department arrived and extinguished the fire with minimal damage to his home. Subsequently, one of the firefighters asked Quique for his Social Security Number though there was no basis for such a request. Reporting that he was panicked by the life threatening experience, he acquiesced to the fireman's unfounded request. Afterwards, Quique felt violated and degraded by the firefighter's assumptions regarding his legal status. This was also accompanied by shame as he believed "for people in the neighborhood there was this feeling, 'oh, the Mexican burned his chest.'"

Stories of abuse and exploitation by Smalltown institutions are common and discourage the immigrant community from trusting many of the institutions that could provide assistance. This caused Smalltown immigrants to withdraw from occupational engagements wherein they seek social assistance from Smalltown institutions. Sandra, a worker in Smalltown Social Services, explained

> The main problem is that probably half the community here is not legal so they're gonna be scared to speak up. They're not gonna say anything because they're afraid they'll get arrested and then deported. So whenever anybody hurts them, anybody says something, they'll just shut up and let it go.

Driving and Licensure

"Son muchas puertas que se cierran sin la licencia"

[There are many doors that close without a license]

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Although the threat of deportation has plagued undocumented immigrants for decades, the REAL ID Act of 2005 heightened the threat by expanding law enforcements' ability to indiscriminately check one's immigration status for minor traffic violations. Driving, an essential occupation for everyday occupational engagement in Smalltown, became a dangerous endeavor instilling persistent states of fear. To many study participants, these laws damaged their ability to participate in occupations.

In Latin America, individuals were accustomed to easy transportation and access to work sites and shops providing essential goods. Extensive and affordable public transportation services are abundant and accessible in the form of non regulated bus and taxi services. Moreover, the towns and cities from which study participants came presented a geographical layout that did not require residents to own or drive an automobile. Participants recalled walking to work and to shop. Upon their arrival to the United States, they lamented the sudden loss of easy transportation. Indeed, Latino immigrants to Smalltown are faced a different geography and a lack of public transportation that required access to transportation.

The lack of transportation was difficult to anticipate and was problematic for both documented and undocumented immigrants alike. Isabella, a legal immigrant without a work visa found:

> El cambio drástico estuvo en el tener que ir recorrer distancias largas entre la tienda y donde vivíamos para comprar vives…el hecho de no ver tanta gente en la calle…el hecho de escuchar tanto silencio. Eso fue el primer choque muy grande. [The drastic change was in the need to travel large distances between the store and were we live to purchase goods…the fact of not seeing as many people in the street. That was the first really big shock.]

Isabella's experience illustrates the importance of access to transportation in Smalltown. However, she was not overwhelmed by fear as her undocumented counterparts. In their case, the threat of deportation due to minor traffic violations had exacerbated feelings of social isolation that accompanied moving to a foreign social environment. Isabella, on the other hand, felt constrained by her dependence on her husband's vehicle; however she was not subjected to fear. Isabella's isolation was engendered by the demands of Smalltown geography.

In contrast, Esquandolas recalled the devastating effect of learning he and his wife would not be able to renew their licenses due to new requirements by the REAL ID Act. "That was a huge stress for her. She was depressed for two weeks. She said 'I feel like nobody now.'" However, as Esquandolas and many study participants echoed, driving is a necessity in Smalltown to work and obtain basic goods. Thus, he explained, despite the threat of roadblocks, detention, and deportation, individuals continued to brave the roads in order to survive. However, engagement in the occupation of driving was couched in necessity. Voicing his frustration, Esquandolas lamented: "now you gotta be stuck at home! Or you only take a chance if it's an emergency. If you want to drive, it better be real real urgent where you gotta go soon! If not, you gotta stay home." To illustrate the stress of driving, Esquandolas stated, "she [his wife] prays every time she gets in that car."

Smalltown immigrants refrain from driving as much as possible and thus experience isolation and a decrease in opportunities for engagement in occupation. Izio, a driver who is now unemployed because of losing his license explained:

> Son muchas puertas que se cierran sin la licencia. Ahora uno hay que
> retirarse de las actividades que uno tienen: de los amigos...le limita todo, la

iglesia, la vida, fiestas…[There are many doors that close without a license. Now one has to withdraw from the activities one has: from friends...it limits everything, church, life, celebrations…]

Driving is a necessity and it provoked great anxiety in those who have no choice but to continue driving. Izio lost his job due to licensure, but continued to drive his sister to the Smalltown hospital three times a week for dialysis treatment. When asked how the fear of detention has affected the occupation of driving, Izio, including other study participants, stated that one must drive as carefully as possible to avoid giving law enforcement a reason to stop him. However, mindful driving was not sufficient to eliminate the risk deportation.

The threat of roadblocks.

Even with cautious driving, undocumented Latino immigrants were subjected to the possibility of having their license, and thus immigration status, checked at a police roadblock. According to study participants, Smalltown police was notorious for setting up roadblocks in or near predominantly Latino neighborhoods. In response, individuals carefully selected their travel routes in order to avoid small curving roads which were conducive to roadblocks. Miguel, an undocumented construction worker, explained he drove on highways with two yellow lines whenever possible because they were difficult to block and thus safer to navigate. However, even those methods did not absolve participants from fear as the Smalltown police once set up a roadblock on a highway in front of a local Wal-Mart, a site known to be frequented by Latino immigrants.To Miguel, roadblocks were a substantial and pervasive threat:

 Mejor estarse en casa. O si va salir uno ir de compras; compra todo lo que sea necesario. A veces es mejor quedarse en casa por no tener problemas. Por no ser detenido. O si se sale uno tiene que rodearlo bastante por donde

ver que no hay esto reten. Si hay muchos, muchos de nosotros que esperando pidiendo a dios que no hay ningún reten por las avenidas…es un temor a ver un reten. [It's better to stay in the house. Or if one is to go shopping; buy everything that is necessary. Sometimes it's better to stay at home to avoid problems. To not be detained. Or if one goes out, you must go around enough to see if there is a roadblock. There are many, many of us who are waiting asking God that there not be a roadblock in the streets…it's scary to see a roadblock.]

Miguel's fear was common and had devastating effects in the Smalltown immigrant community. Fear caused the separation of families through deportation or decreased travel. For instance, a study participant claimed his brother was no longer living with his family because his employment was too far from home and he did not want to risk deportation on a daily basis during his commute. Although his family lived nearby at an acceptable commuting distance for most U.S. citizens, the fear of deportation prevented him from visiting his wife and children on a regular basis. This also prevented him from engaging in daily occupations with his family. Expressing his intense frustration with such occurrences, Miguel exclaimed: "Pero, ¿qué hicimos? ¡No estamos haciendo nada sino simplemente estamos trabajando y nos agarran como ratones! [But, what have we done? We are not doing anything but simply working and they grab us like rats!]"

Exploitation

"Es la esclavitud psicológica porque te dice: 'si tu no lo

Quieres, viene otro que sí lo quiere'…te sometes.

[It's psychological slavery because they tell you: 'if you don't

want it, another will come who does'…you submit]

According to all study participants, exploitation by employers was common among undocumented immigrants. Individuals working at farm camps near

Smalltown were likely the most vulnerable to exploitation. Farm camps are located

far enough from townships that workers typically stay at onsite housing. Employers

charge workers for rent, food, and various basic goods. According to Forbin, a

powerful religious advocate for Latino rights, these situations amount to a form of

indentured servitude wherein the worker is unable to save enough to get ahead.

Forbin said farm owners will sell alcohol, drugs and prostitutes to their workers.

Camp workers have restricted opportunities for engagement in occupation due to

their geographic isolation. Thus, the employer, has a virtual monopoly on

opportunities for engagement in occupation, and can provide expensive leisure

pursuits which are detrimental to worker wellbeing. Before too long, according to

Forbin, the farm worker will have given his meager paycheck back to the employer in

exchange for food, housing, drugs, alcohol and prostitutes. The intense work rhythm

and isolation is a troublesome barrier that grants few opportunities for engaging in

meaningful occupation, accessing resources, or advocating for one's rights. To cope

with stress and boredom, camp workers increasingly engage in deleterious

occupations which the farm owner offers.

     Although farm camps are reputed to have poor living conditions and

exploitative practices, workers in factories and other forms of employment were also

subjected to appalling work conditions. Suria claimed she did not receive a single

hour of overtime even though she worked 80 hours a week. She was employed full

time and her employer offered overtime to legal employees. After working 40 hours,

Suria explained, they would write her a check for the time and start the clock anew.

Thus, in order to avoid paying overtime, Suria's employer paid her every 40 hours.

Although frustrating, Suria was thankful that she was consistently paid unlike other individuals she knew.

Frequently, undocumented Smalltown workers are exploited by employers who know they have no legal recourse. According to Ignacio, an undocumented mechanic, "a lot of people don't get paid, get paid really late, or when they do get paid they realize they give you half the check." Employees often bargain with undocumented workers to hire whoever is willing to work for the least amount of pay. Desperation encouraged undocumented workers to compete over limited opportunities such that they effectively lower each other's wages. According to Suria, this also occurred among Latino contractors who exploited naïve newcomers. Miguel explained that encouraging competition for meager pay "es otra cosa como que se aprovechan de la nobleza de uno [is another way in which they take advantage of one's nobility]." Latino employers were particularly successful at manipulating and preying on new immigrants who were more likely to trust a Latino than an Anglo employer.

Another instance that particularly bothered Suria occurred when she was employed at a Smalltown factory. One day, her coworker sustained a deep laceration to her elbow requiring stitches and a trip to the hospital. Under her supervisor's instructions, Suria's coworker returned to work immediately after receiving treatment. Although she was not able to perform the same duties, her presence at work absolved her employer from paying worker's compensation. This injustice went unchallenged due to fear of deportation. Suria, wanted to intervene and advocate for her coworker, but hesitated due to a previous situation in which

she was harshly reprimanded for translating for another coworker who was questioning her pay. In that instance, Suria had thought she was helping both the employer and employee by translating, but was scolded and instructed to return to her duties since she was not being paid to translate. Both Suria and the coworker believed the employer was exploiting the coworker and Suria's fluency was hindering the employer's efforts.

Exploitative practices were also pervasive among community resources which targeted Latinos in order to bolster business. Many Smalltown businesses have recognized the Latino influx as an opportunity to increase profits. According to Maria, a community based interpreter, some businesses were achieving record profits by tailoring their services to Latinos only. For instance, she described a lawyer who hired Spanish speaking clerks and advertised Spanish speaking services across Farmhouse County. His business boomed and had since grown to include additional advertisements. However, according to Maria, the individual was a terrible lawyer and she had yet to see him win a case. Despite his poor record, his business had flourished by targeting a niche community. This trend had exploded as numerous entrepreneurs were providing Spanish services to attract Latino customers. Nowadays, driving through Smalltown, one would be hard pressed to miss the plethora of signs stating "se habla español" or "hablamos español."

Forbin argued that such occurrences were not rare and recounted a situation in which a family he knew was exploited by a lawyer. Though they paid him $17,000 for legal assistance regarding immigration, he failed to check whether there was a deportation order for anyone in the family. The father was soon detained and

deported under the auspices of a long standing deportation order. Forbin, in disgust, explained that the lawyer did not return any of the money and the family was forced to return to Mexico.

According to Miguel, Latinos were also exploited in political arenas. He believed that politicians advocating for Latinos were only doing so to expand their base of support. Once elected, he argued, campaign promises for Latino advocacy were abandoned. Miguel's frustration demonstrated a deep seated distrust in all institutions even those purportedly aimed to help the Latino community.

> Nos usan, nada más…mucha blah, blah, blah…pero en si, ellos no trabajan para el inmigrante, sino que trabajan para ellos mismos. [They use us, nothing more…a lot of blah, blah, blah…but in that, they are not working for immigrants, but for themselves]

The lack of trust, fear of deportation, and absence of effective advocacy has engendered a situation in which study participants felt hopeless, oppressed, and isolated. "Me siento perseguida," explained Suria, "cómo que no soy un ser humano que tengo valores [I feel persecuted, as if I'm not a human being with values]."

Oppression, Helplessness and Desperation

"Hay muchísimo dolor en la gente, hay muchísima

soledad, impotencia, de no poder hacer nada

[There is much pain in the people, much solitude,

impotence, of not being able to do anything]

Miguel and Izio echoed intense feelings of helplessness regarding their situations. Both recognized the injustices they endured including the inability to contest those injustices. They lamented their situation but felt compelled to submit, stay low, and endure their situations. Despite their cynicism, they continued to be

actively involved in church activities such as running youth groups, raising money, and participating in community events. Traveling to and from those events was difficult and stressful, but church activities were deemed important enough to warrant the risk. I recall running into Miguel at a fundraiser and being shocked at the contrast between his overt jovial behavior and our somber discussion of his fears, desperation, and anxiety:

> Siempre estás espinita con el temor. Siempre con espinita de ver ese momento del rechazo, del miedo, cuando se enfrentan las cosas. ¿Qué voy a hacer? Te quedas pánico. ¿Qué hago? ¿Qué hago? [You are always uneasy with worry. Always uneasy to see that moment of rejection, of fear, when you have to face things. What will I do? You become panicked. What do I do? What do I do?]

According to Suria, the persistent exploitation and degradation she endured at work made her feel eternally persecuted as if she were less than human: "Eso te produce una molestia. Y esa molestia que hace, te da enfermedades [That produces pain. And the pain it causes, makes you sick]."

Avoidance.

Miguel argued, "es mejor que se queda uno callado [it's best to keep quiet]." At times, he suggested, "es mejor que se queda en casa [it's best to stay at home]." Miguel's tactic of avoidance was common throughout the Latino Smalltown community. Study participants scoffed at phrases like "land of the free" and expressed disenchantment with the American dream. In order to survive, they felt pressured to submit and stay out of sight. Patterns of avoidance coupled with fear of leaving one's house were tremendous barriers for engagement in occupation, particularly social occupations.

Submission.

Avoidance may help prevent conflict or harmful situations; however study participants cited numerous instances in which they needed to submit to oppression. According to Miguel, "solo de vernos, ellos no más a miraraban se voletan por otro lado hacian sus gestos [only by seeing us, no sooner than seeing you they turn around making gestures]." As a result, Miguel found that it was best to turn away upon encountering Smalltown natives in order to avoid causing further trouble. Miguel's eyes teared as he vented his frustrations and distress with interacting with Smalltown natives.

Izio had come to accept his secondary status including his need to submit. Izio acknowledged he ceded authority to U.S. citizens in order to avoid trouble:

> Lo que la persona dice, eso es. Incluso cuando no estoy de acuerdo pero no puede oponerse a negociar con ellos. Voy a tener que darle la prioridad al americano porque me convienen. Porque no quiero meterme en problemas con el porqué a mi me puede hacer más daño. [What that person says, is so. Including when I do not agree but one cannot oppose and negotiate with them. I must give him the American priority because it is convenient. Because I do not want to get into trouble with him because he can cause me more harm].

Desperation.

"Aquí, esperamos el momento que ellos te insultan, que te golpean"

[Here, we wait for the moment that they insult you, that they hit you]

Ubiquitous fear and oppression engendered a state of desperation in the Smalltown Latino community. Participants expressed this feeling through comments like, "Farmhouse County is number one for discrimination," "they look at us as if we were cockroaches," and "they make us feel like trash."

According to Forbin, the situation for Latino immigrants in Smalltown caused individuals to commit acts they would not have done in their countries of origin. For

example, Forbin recounted the story of a congregation member who had led a virtuous life, cared and loved for his family, and actively helped his community through church events. With the recession and exploitative pay by his employers, the man "got himself in over his head financially" and "didn't know how to get out." As a result, he began smuggling drugs from Florida on a monthly basis in order to provide for his family. According to Forbin, this individual would never have considered committing such acts in Mexico, yet he found himself in such desperation that he took an unreasonable risk. The man was stopped, detained, and deported back to Mexico.

Forbin stressed that many other individuals were wrongfully deported for minor traffic violations. For instance, he explained, he knew a man who had not committed a criminal offense but was present in the country illegally. The man was stopped for a broken license plate light and the police found a deportation order when they entered his name into their system. He was immediately deported and had no contact with this wife and children until four months later. Such stories circulated throughout the community and fueled the desperation and fear that had come to define Smalltown life for Latino immigrants.

The hopelessness and desperation experienced by Smalltown immigrants pervaded all areas of life. According to Rico, some of his clients only shop at night in order to avoid language barriers with English speaking cashiers which they found embarrassing and demeaning. Others, Rico explained, would do so to avoid standing out and drawing suspicion when they revealed their language difficulties. Each undocumented study participant expressed dissatisfaction with his or her

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situation as a result of the fear, oppression, and discrimination they endured. For example, Miguel expressed his disappointment after suffering through despicable conditions during his immigration only to encounter a situation in which he was overtly castigated for his ethnicity and struggled to make ends meet:

> No hay una manera de que usted encuentre un trabajo que le va a pagar decentemente; no hay manera de que usted entre a una casa bien [There is no way to find a job that pays decently; there is no way to get into a good house]

Conclusion

Latino immigrants to Smalltown altered their engagement in occupation in response to fear, discrimination, and oppression. Immigration law forced undocumented immigrants to refrain from driving due to fear of deportation. Study participants drove only when necessary and withdrew from many habitual occupations. Some were unable to continue working because of having lost their license due to the REAL ID Act. In most cases, withdrawal from vocational and leisure occupations precipitated feelings of social isolation, depressive symptoms, or substance abuse. Perceived discrimination and breakdown in trust in institutional entities prevented participants from seeking help when needed. For instance, individuals did not seek treatment for substance abuse or neglected to call the police to report crimes. Widespread exploitation and discrimination caused many participants to experience stress and poor wellbeing through their limited engagement in vocational and social occupations.

The aforementioned stories are merely a snapshot of the persistent oppression, exploitation, and degradation Latinos experience in Smalltown. In the discussion, I analyze this situation through the lenses of both social justice and

occupational justice. These analytical tools promise to elucidate and structure the aforementioned findings to further understand injustices of the Latino situation in Smalltown.

I also use the discussion to explore whether concepts of occupational justice are unique from social justice in their explanatory power. This is a useful endeavor for occupational science which is burgeoning with theoretical developments that must be tested through application to real world situations. In particular, occupational justice is a concept that has gained considerable support but necessitates further scholarly critique of its application to real world situations. As a clear demonstration of injustices affecting engagement in occupation, the Latino situation in Smalltown presents a useful ground for examining those concepts and their merit.

Chapter 6

Findings – Embodied Experience of Immigration

"Enfrentar un cambio en todo los sentidos"

[To face a change in every sense]

Marco's words "enfrentar un cambio en todo los sentidos" encapsulates the magnitude of change endured by immigrants from Latin America. Although Marco employed a generic meaning of *sense,* referring to changes in every aspect of living, he would agree his statement equally applies to *sensory changes.* Marco was the first consultant to explicitly highlight sensory changes as a significant transformation in his engagement in occupation. After his revelation, I combed through my data to date and found sensory changes were often addressed by study participants, albeit more subtly than Marco. As a result, I began to incorporate discussions of sensory changes in interviews and informal conversations during participant observations.

Adhering to my original research plan, I recorded field notes on the sensory qualities of participant observations, however, after Marco's revelation; I began to consider those qualities with greater attention. Nearly every participant observation was infused with rich sensory experiences in the form of lively music, lavish decorations, fresh foods, personal connections, and intense smells.

The repeated occurrence of sensory issues in the data encouraged me to create the following codes during analysis: *sight, smell, taste, touch, sound, temperature, personal contact,* and *cambio de ambiente* (change in environment).

Using Atlas.ti, I grouped these codes in a family titled: *sensory.* Sensory transformations interrupted the flow of occupational engagement and were noted by participants as a breach of sensory expectations. The sensory features of participants' new environments affected engagement in occupation via: 1) the embodied experience of place, 2) social integration, 3) cultural preservation, 4) daily rhythm of engagement, and 5) emotional wellbeing.

Embodied Experience of Place

One of the first shocks encountered by Latino immigrants to Smalltown was a void of sounds. In Columbia, Marco exclaimed, "estamos acostumbrados a un nivel de ruido impresionante [we are accustomed to an incredible level of noise]." Every week, from Thursday through Sunday, one would hear music playing loudly through speakers beginning at 5 pm until 3 am. "Entonces, venir aquí y encontraste con eso…de alguna manera impresiona [so to come here and encounter that [silence]…in a way is shocking]." Similarly, Isabella found "eso fue el primer choque muy grande…es el ruido…mucho silencio aquí [that was the first really big shock…it was the noise…a lot of silence here]." Isabella was accustomed to starting her morning routine accompanied by sounds of people walking, biking, and greeting each other in the streets. In constrast, her mornings in Smalltown were characterized by the absence of sounds which, through past experiences, were embodied in her experience of home and place in Columbia. Isabella experienced the absence of embodied auditory expectations as a marker that she was no longer in her Colombian hometown. Thus, Isabella began her daily routines in Smalltown

with reminders of her foreign status, and this reminder was evoked by the loss of sensation.

Since both Marco and Isabella lived in small towns, the decrease in auditory stimulation cannot be attributed to moving from a big city to a small town. Indeed, other participants explicitly pointed out that the decrease in exposure to auditory stimuli and personal contact was common whether individuals came from large or small Latin American communities. The sounds emanating from Latin streets evoked notions of *place ballet* wherein habitual individual occupations come together to create an unconscious whole through routine engagements in shared spaces by multiple individuals (Rowles, 1991; Seamon, 2002). Although unconscious, these complex community ballets are embodied expectations of place such that their disruption is experienced as a stressful deviation from spatiotemporal consistency (Rowles; Seamon). For Marco, the noisy streets of Columbia made him feel as though:

> Había como más vida…mas vida…el cambio drástico estuvo en el hecho de no ver tanta gente en la calle, el hecho de escuchar tanto silencio.   [There was more life…more life…the drastic change was in not seeing as many people in the street, in hearing so much silence.]

Esmeralda was also nostalgic for sounds she enjoyed when living in San Salvador. She recalled a constant festive atmosphere with music traversing all parts of the city. Esmeralda chuckled when she admitted to grieving over no longer hearing the sound of roosters in the middle of the city: "it's a happy natural sound" she explained, "that's a sound that I enjoy when I go back home, you always hear roosters." To Esmeralda, the sound of roosters was embodied in her experience of home in San Salvador. As with Isabella, the absence of those sounds was

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experienced as a marker of her distance from home and her presence in a foreign environment.

Esmeralda also associated former auditory experiences with her appreciation for indigenous peoples selling goods in San Salvador's street markets. "They were always bilingual," she explained, "which was fun and a really rich cultural experience" because they spoke in dialects and had different accents. Overall, Esmeralda explained, people in El Salvador "are more boisterous and expressive…they have arguments and they laugh loudly." For instance, she recalled feeling embarrassed by her Salvadorian friends during occupational engagements in the U.S. because of how loud they laughed and talked in public arenas. Despite this embarrassment, she stressed that her Salvadorian origin "was a much richer sensory experience" than what she encountered in Smalltown. Salvadorian music was "such a warm memory, because my mom likes to dance." Music evoked specific memories of former engagements in meaningful occupation. Although she missed the music, Esmeralda was most nostalgic of the meaningful occupations it evoked. Participants often cited the absence of specific sensory experiences when discussing former meaningful occupational engagements. The latter was most evident through participant descriptions of shopping in Latin American street markets.

Embodied market sensations.

Grocery shopping in Smalltown presented a distinct and displeasing tactile experience for study participants. Discussions pertaining to differences in the lived experience of grocery shopping always cited sensory transformations. "Todo está

empacado [everything is packaged]" explained Marco, "el arroz, el grano, el frijol, la lenteja, todo eso [the rice, grains, beans, lentils, all that]." Marco was accustomed to plunging his hands into open bags in street markets to purchase whatever quantity he pleased. "Trae, esta, el contacto con el alimento [this brings contact with the food]." His observation was shared by many of his Mexican parishioners. For example, a Mexican participant joked, "you can tell the difference between a Latino grocery cart and an Anglo one: theirs is full of boxes!"

In addition to packages affecting the tactile experience of shopping, Esmeralda argued this also affected one's control over how much to purchase. "Here everything is prepackaged. And there you can buy half a pound of beans or just a bag of cereal, whatever size you want." Thus, Esmeralda experienced less control and loss of embodied expectations of touch when engaged in the occupation of grocery shopping in Smalltown.

Participants and consultants invariably described market fruits and vegetables as more aromatic and richer in taste than those in U.S. supermarkets, purportedly due to methods of harvest and subsequent transportation. The smell of foods altered participant experiences in occupations such as grocery shopping, cooking, and eating. For Marco, the difference in odor between Smalltown supermarkets and Latin American markets was alienating. He was repulsed by the "asceptic" smells of Smalltown grocery stores. According to Esmeralda, walking through Salvadorian street markets to purchase fresh produce from local indigenous farmers was an occupation rich with sensory stimulation. In addition, fresh produce was used by street vendors who cooked and sold traditional dishes which offered various enticing

aromas as one walked through markets. According to Esmeralda, such smells were ubiquitous in homes, markets, streets, and small shops. Her observation was echoed by many participants who lamented the loss of rich olfactory experiences in their occupational engagements in Smalltown.

Cultural olfactory hues.

Olfactory transformations were not limited to foods and cooking alone, but were commonplace in other areas of occupation. Marco suggested,

> Estamos más relacionados con la tierra. Con el olor de la tierra, lo que la tierra produce. Y aquí, todo es muy aséptico. Extremamente muy limpio…seems like Alice in the Wonderland. [We are more related to the earth. With the smell of the earth, what the earth produces. And here, everything is very aseptic. Extremely very clean…seems like Alice and Wonderland.]

Marco's comments raise an important cultural dissonance between the United States and Latin America. Cleanliness and sterility is highly valued in U.S. culture in contrast to its Latin American neighbors. Marco attributed these values to having a different relationship with the earth than he recognized in Anglos. Smells that one would classify as *dirty* in the U.S. might evoke a very different reaction in Latin America. According to Marco, this caused tensions between the Anglo and Hispanic congregations at his church. Anglo parishioners complained extensively about the state in which their Latino counterparts left church bathrooms. They also expressed disgust at Latino parishioners who wore dirty clothing or had a strong body odor during church events. This tension was overtly displayed by numerous bilingual flyers in church bathrooms pleading with patrons to keep the area clean. Tensions were experienced as a transgression of expected social norms and values regarding hygiene. Marco argued that his parishioners were not being disrespectful, but

treated the locale as they would their own domicile. For Marco, it was evidence of a different cultural appreciation of hygiene and cleanliness.

Marco's reaction to the aseptic smells of U.S. supermarkets was a powerful illustration of cultural differences in habits of sensing. Although many U.S. citizens would consider an aseptic smell as a welcoming sign of cleanliness, Marco likened it to Alice and Wonderland; a strange and foreign environment. Conversely, what many Latin Americans welcome as a typical olfactory experience at a street market could be experienced as a lack of cleanliness or a sign of poor sanitation by their U.S. counterparts. I recall a personal experience in which I walked through a street market in Nicaragua and my U.S. born acquaintances were revolted by the intense smells we encountered. Their immediate reaction was to exclaim how dirty, unsanitary and potentially dangerous the market appeared. The smells were so intense, I was urged to exit the market sooner than I desired. My friends' negative assessment of the Nicaraguan market was informed by cultural expectations of hygiene. I will further explore the significance of habits of sensing in the discussion.

Geography and occupation.

Transformations in the embodied expectation of sensation were not limited to man-made environments. According to Esmeralda, her immigration experience required a major geographical change that subjected her to a different climate and, as a result, different occupations. Referring to El Salvador, she recalled:

> And just the beauty, everything is green all year round. There are flowers year round. It's been an adjustment to think about perennials versus annuals versus everything blooming all year round…Visually, it's really rich. The mountains are really green and we're so close to the ocean.

El Salvador's proximity to the equator engendered consistent weather patterns that diminished the impact of changing seasons. As a gardener in her home country, she was not required to accommodate her gardening to the different seasons. In her new Smalltown environment, Esmeralda amended her engagement in gardening by adjusting what she planted, when she planted, and how she procured the materials for gardening. Each aspect of gardening entailed additional occupational transformations, including associated sensory experiences, such as the type of stores she visited, how she traveled to stores, and what she purchased in those stores. Although we did not discuss differences in the soil she used; I wonder how the clay filled soil of North Carolina affected the lived experience of gardening for immigrants accustomed to different soils such as the volcanic earth I encountered in Nicaragua.

Social Integration

Although Esmeralda longed for sensory aspects of her Salvadorian environment, she expressed greater grief in social transformations as she shopped in Smalltown stores versus Salvadorian markets:

> You would talk to people, it's so different. Here you go to the market and you don't need to talk to anybody until you get to the register. Versus there, you would stop for tomatoes and talk to them and look at their babies. And then you would stop at the next stand and get beans and talk to the person that you already have a relationship with who sells the dry foods; because you go there all the time.

To Esmeralda, shopping for fresh foods was far more than the means to maximize the tastiness of a dish. The occupation of shopping was a social endeavor rich with sensory experiences and opportunities for social interaction. Marco explained, "no hay un precio fijo…el vendedor da el precio y usted puede regatear...entonces se

convierte en una relación [there is no fixed price…the vendor gives a price and you can bargain…so it becomes a relationship]." In contrast, Marco experienced shopping in Smalltown as a solitary occupation with few opportunities for interaction.

"Es difícil el impacto que causa el no ver a nadie en la calle [The impact of not seeing anyone in the streets was difficult]," Marco explained. As a result, he and many of his parishioners go to a local Latino flea market to reproduce past experiences as closely as possible. Indeed, upon visiting this Smalltown flea market, I encountered a situation which felt more like shopping at a market in Latin America than in Smalltown. Menus and prices were written in Spanish, Latino music emanated from most stands, and rare Latin American goods were available. The vast majority of consumers and vendors appeared to be of Latino origin and walking through the market felt like traveling to a foreign country. The Smalltown market was very similar to those I have encountered traveling through Chile and Nicaragua.

Regardless of their specific Latin American origin, Smalltown immigrants frequently expressed discontent at the lack of contact with people in comparison to their countries of origin. Field notes from informal conversations with study participants and interview transcripts revealed a tendency to blame the morphology of U.S. cities for fewer social encounters due to obligatory transportation in autos. As a result, participants claimed they lost opportunities for regular social interactions and happenstance encounters. According to Isabella, people in Latin America

> tiene que trabajar mucho pero no es así…de la casa hasta el trabajo, el trabajo hasta la casa y esta como en dos espacios. Hay más la posibilidad de encontrarte con los amigos…de cambiar de ambientes…muchas posibilidades allí...salir a caminar…que me hace muchísima falta ahora acá. Caminar y ver cosas y ver al señor que vende el periódico y la señora que vende la fruta acá. Eso me has mucha falta. Aquí no se ve eso. [need to

work a lot but it's not like this…from the house to work, work to the house and it's like you're in two spaces. There are more possibilities to bump into friends…to change environments…more possibilities there…to go out walking…that I really miss here now. To walk and see things and see the man who sells the paper and the woman who sells fruits…I really miss that a lot. Here you don't see that.]

Field notes paraphrasing informal discussion related to personal contact evoked similar findings. Regardless of rural or urban origins, participants emphasized walking *with* people and the importance of social encounters during their former daily routines. Immigrants recalled developing deep relationships with their neighbors through regular interactions. The sudden loss of such encounters engendered feelings of social isolation which some participants claimed precipitated feelings of depression. According to Isabella, it took her 6 months to adapt to her new situation in Smalltown. Participants in the Self-Discovery Tapestry noted periods of confusion, depression, and isolation immediately following their immigration to Smalltown. Social isolation and deprivation of habitual forms of sensory engagement with the environment were pervasive and a significant blow to participants' wellbeing and mental health.

Discordant social norms.

When available, opportunities for social interaction in Smalltown were also complicated by discordant social norms between interlocutors from different cultural origins. Throughout the world, there are many divergent customs for appropriately greeting one another during typical social interactions. Literature reviews and participant comments confirmed that Latino cultures encourage close interpersonal contact in contrast to Anglo cultures which emphasize respect for personal space. According to Marco,

La manera de acercarse es distinta. Nosotros somos más de tocar y el americano es más reservado….mucho más reservado. [The manner in which you approach is distinct. We are more touchy and the American is more reserved…much more reserved.]

However, expectations for appropriate social interaction were not the same for all Latin Americans. Depending on one's origin, participants were accustomed to different forms of sensory experiences during occupational engagements such as social greetings. According to Isabella, this caused a division among Smalltown Latinos, particularly between Mexicans and other Latin Americans.

As a Colombian, Marco also encountered cultural dissonance in customary social greetings with Mexicans. Marco's habit was to offer a handshake and then to grab his acquaintance's shoulder. Mexicans, Marco found, were not familiar with close contact and were often taken aback by his advance.

No es que uno preténdele mal…un golpe en la espalda…y eso fue complicado…difícil. Si volvía uno a estar muy acostumbrado a ese esquema…y a uno a mantener en que no sabe como comportarse. No saber como interactuar con la gente. [It's not that one means harm…a hit on the shoulder…and that was complicated…difficult. If one becomes accustomed to that schema, and to maintain in that you don't know how to behave. Not knowing how to interact with people.]

Marco added that many Mexicans "se sentían intimidados un pocito [feel a little intimidated]," when he breached their cultural norms by grabbing a shoulder. Many Latinos were themselves unaware of the multitude of cultural differences between their countries of origin. This presented a difficult situation between Latinos who expected their counterparts to behave according to personal customary cultural schemas when, instead, both interlocutors operated under two distinct sets of expectations. In a way, this was more problematic between Latinos than between

Anglos and Latinos as the latter was an expected cultural dissonance while cultural dissonance between Latinos was unexpected.

Cultural and social differences between Mexicans and other Latin Americans were another source of social alienation. For instance, Isabella frequently danced to salsa music in discotheques when she lived in Columbia. However, she was unable to replicate this occupation in Smalltown due to differences between Colombian and Mexican salsa:

> La música es muy diferente...muy muy diferente. Todos bailamos a cosas diferentes. Pero en la música, la salsa es diferente que la de nosotros. Si voy a una discoteca no me sentirá cómoda…porque es diferente…no es fácil darse cuenta.   [The music is very different…very very different. We all dance to different things. But in music, their salsa is different than ours. If I go to a discotheque, I will not feel comfortable…because it is different…it's not easy to notice.]

Cultural differences among Latinos were also evident via Spanish dialects. Banal or harmless words in some countries had vulgar meanings in others. Common idioms or cultural expressions did not translate from country to country. According to Marco, such divergent meanings caused confusion and disagreement between Latinos who assumed they shared an identical language. For Marco, these differences were an additional source of alienation that impeded his social integration with the Mexican Smalltown majority. Eclecticism among Latino populations is all too often glossed over with a fallacious pan-ethnic Latino identity.

Social integration and wellbeing.

According to Isabella, discordant norms for appropriate social interaction were a barrier to connecting with Smalltown residents and challenged her social wellbeing:

Hay diferencias muy grandes en la manera de relacionarse. Somos más cercanos. Querremos estar más en contacto todo el tiempo…más en contacto que el americano. Es más formal, se saludan y hablan pero no con todo el mundo, van a estar en su casa…son maneras diferentes.   [There are very big differences in the way of connecting. We are much closer. We want to be more connected all the time…more connected than the American. They are more formal, they greet and speak to each other, but not with everyone, they go to their houses…they are different ways.]

"Es la diferencia más drástica [its the most drastic difference]" suggested Marco.

Tenemos una manera de hablar con la otra persona muy cercana. Yo sentía que, tratando de expresarme con americanos…con estadounidenses, hay que guardar una distancia. Pero yo creo que esa distancia física también, en cierta manera, afectaba como la posibilidad de establecer una conversación más profunda…cosas más de las emociones.   [We have a way of speaking very closely with the other person. I felt that, when I tried to express myself with Americans…with United Statesians, one must keep a distance. But I believe that that physical distance also, in a certain way, affected the possibility of establishing a deeper conversation…more emotional things.]

Marco and Isabella's words elucidate a powerful aspect of the social alienation endured by many Smalltown Latino immigrants. Alienation was not solely caused by a decrease in participation in social occupations or confinement to one's house, but was also exacerbated by difficulties in establishing meaningful relationships or connections with their social milieus. To Marco, this was especially problematic for Latino populations because: "eso es algo que tiene mucho sentido para el hispano porque implica una reunión de personas, conversación, familiaridad, distension [that's something that has great meaning for Hispanics because it implies a reunion of people, conversation, familiarity, relaxed atmosphere]."

Quique also attributed his sense of wellness to the level of contact with people. He blamed his initial feelings of alienation and depression on the sudden need to commute by car,

I wake up and I drive a car…that's different. Not seeing people in the street, not having that contact with people. Its literally contact. When you ride a

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subway or a bus you are in contact with people, you feel contacted and that produces some sort of wellness to be in touch with people. For me that was huge…that was difficult!

He qualified his statement to suggest that this contact was not merely social interaction, but it's "the level of contact with somebody else. The feel of intimacy, I guess, with somebody else." In this statement, Quique was referring to how much he used to enjoy dancing; an occupation he had since abandoned due to changes in his social environment. In the United States, he found, leisure outings were centered on sitting, drinking, and talking but lacked the level of physical intimacy and closeness he was accustomed to and enjoyed.

According to Quique, dating in Smalltown was also drastically different than in Colombia. He found he was over vigilant regarding his behavior fearing his date was judging his behaviors:

It's like a game. You are trying to show who you are not, in order to impress a lady who has a set of expectations date by date….there is no spontaneity…a lot of careful carefulness around. It's hard for me to be myself in those dates.

Although Quique admitted his vigilance was likely due to personal insecurities related to his immigrant status, he experienced stress and frustration when dating due to discordant social norms.

To Isabella, such differences affected her sense of wellbeing and belonging, "es extraño…se siente uno que no era de aquí, que no pertenece acá [it's strange…you feel as though you are not from here, that you don't belong here]." Marco's echoed similar frustrations and argued it fundamentally changed his social engagement in occupation:

Yo siento que esa necesidad de comunicación ha cambiado al lado del tiempo. Ya no es como esa necesidad de estar hablando todo el tiempo con alguien, con personas. Sino ya me vuelto un pocito mas solitario. [I feel that

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this need for communication has changed with time. I now don't feel the need to be speaking all the time with someone, with people. But I have become a little more solitary.]

Transformations in embodied expectations of sensory experiences and social norms affected participant wellbeing during occupational engagements. The importance of sensory expectations in the transmission of culture via food was a common theme mentioned by study participants.

Tasting Cultural Preservation.

Food was a central vehicle for study participants to maintain their social and cultural roots with their Latin American origins. Preparing and consuming traditional dishes was often cited as a means to reconnect with one's country of origin. When I asked participants how they preserved their culture and instilled it in their children, responses invariably referenced traditional foods and dishes. Conversations concerning changes in alimentation due to immigration spurred vivacious reactions by all participants. Participants lamented changes in the availability of specific foods and seasonings, the freshness of vegetables and fruits, and the scarcity of cooking tools.

Teresa, for instance, recalled her initial frustration with not finding a traditional *molcajete* in Smalltown when she first immigrated 35 years before. The molcajete is a Mexican version of the mortar and pestle originating thousands of years ago in Mesoamerican cultures such as the Aztecs and Mayans. The molcajete, she explained, is used to grind chilies and prepare guacamoles. Made of porous basalt, molcajetes cannot be fully cleaned and become distinctly seasoned through the accumulation of flavors over time. In addition to adding a unique flavor, molcajetes also produce a distinct texture that cannot be replicated by other cooking tools. For

Teresa, the molcajete was an important means for her to reproduce flavors, textures and dishes that connected her to her Latin American roots.

Teresa explained that handmade tortillas were also different and more flavorful than machine made tortillas. Personally, I was amazed to note the extent of this difference during participant observations at authentic Mexican grills. Their tortillas were so rich in flavor that I began eating at a particular Mexican Smalltown grill on a weekly basis.

To Teresa, the link between culture and food was critical to maintaining her Latino identity: "hay gente que ya han perdido todo eso, entonces vamos perdiendo nuestra cultura [there are people who have already lost all that, and so we continue losing our culture]." Numerous participants asserted similar ideas associating preservation of culture with authentic cooking. The latter was not only achieved through using specific recipes or foods, but required using traditional methods as well. Thus specific textures and flavors were embodied in past experiences of cooking and eating traditional foods.

According to Esquandolas, enjoying spicy foods was a cultural passion for Mexicans. As I shared a fast food meal with him, he poured a generous amount of hot sauce on his fries exclaiming, "you wanna see how a Mexican eats?" Esquandolas used copious amounts of hot sauce as a cultural act to connect him to his Mexican origin. Throughout participant observations, I was shocked at the quantity of spicy foods particularly its indiscriminate use with all foods. For example, one can find many different spicy candies at Smalltown Latino candy stands or observe Latinos pour hot sauce over assorted fruit dishes at Smalltown markets.

According to Teresa, finding Latino foods and seasonings was exceedingly difficult when she first arrived 35 years ago. This was problematic since, as Marco found, "las sazones que usan aquí están muy distintas [the seasonings they use here are very distinct]." As a result, he explained, the flavor of foods was noticeably distinct from Columbia. With mounting immigration to Smalltown, Teresa witnessed the emergence of small Latino grocery stores carrying imported Latino goods. As the Smalltown Latino population continued to grow, the demand for such goods increased drastically. Currently, in addition to the numerous small Latino owned stores, Smalltown has two modern Latino supermarkets which focus on providing Latino goods that are difficult to find elsewhere. Thus, according to Teresa, finding authentic ingredients is no longer the challenge it used to be.

But even with increasing availability of Latin American ingredients, the change in environment continued to have an effect on the experience of taste. For instance, Suria explained:

> Hay todo para preparar los platillos que preparan. Pero, claro, tú no sientes la comida igual. Porque las preparan…quizás al mismo ambiente. Esa sopa, yo la voy a beber frente del mar, porque yo vivía por 25 minutos del mar. Yo hago mi plato, y me hace falta ese ambiente. [There's everything to prepare the dishes you prepare. But, clearly, you don't feel the food equally. Because they are prepared...maybe it's in the same environment. That soup, I go drink it in front of the ocean, because I lived 25 minutes from the ocean. I make my dish, and I miss that environment.]

Study participants invariably lamented the lack of fresh produce in Smalltown grocery stores. According to Marco, produce in Columbia has:

> Un sabor más intense mientras que aquí. Aquí como que se nota que los hacen madurada y los agarraba. La fruta y todo eso, como que dejan que el proceso natural siga su curso…fluya. [A more intense flavor than here. Here, it's as if they make them mature, and they grab them. Fruits and all that, it as if they forget to let it follow its natural course…flow.]

Esmeralda, a naturalized citizen from El Salvador, explained that access to fresh foods affected habits of cooking and shopping. "You go to the market almost every day versus going to the store to buy food that who knows when it was harvested." The availability of ingredients determined the dishes one is able to produce with those ingredients.

Rhythm of Occupational Engagement

"You feel like you're in a golden cell…trapped inside of it"

If different cultural norms regarding social interaction were a barrier to establishing desired depth in social connections, the latter was certainly exacerbated by restricted transportation and stringent work routines. For instance, field notes from an informal conversation with Luna outlined typical work demands endured by Latino immigrants to Smalltown. Luna was fortunate to have family in the area and was able to move in with his brother upon his arrival to Farmhouse County. Despite living with his brother, Luna was rarely able to interact since his brother had three jobs at the time. Luna's schedule was also demanding as his weeks consisted of working 14-16 hour days starting as early as 1 am for construction projects. Depending on the nature of the work, these projects would sometimes last into the weekend and, at times, through Sunday. Luna recalled feelings of intense exhaustion with little to no motivation to engage in occupations he previously enjoyed. Instead, he would collapse on the couch, watch a little television, drink a couple of beers, and fall asleep. The weekends, when free, were dedicated to going to the Laundromat, grocery shopping, and other necessary chores. Luna said he developed a dependency on alcohol to cope with mounting confusion, loneliness,

and racing thoughts. He did not know where to find essential goods and could not communicate with Smalltown residents due to language barriers. Luna was troubled by working too much and was overwhelmed by thoughts that he had wrongfully decided to immigrate. Luna was also ambivalent regarding his newfound access to material goods, "when you work so much you get a lot of things…that you can lose." To combat exhaustion, Luna and his coworkers resorted to frequent consumption of energy drinks and energy pills. Throughout four to five years he engaged in a vicious routine of consuming alcohol at night and energy drinks at work. Luna described this period as riddled with confusion over whether he should stay and endure or return to Mexico. He recalled feeling overwhelmed by persistent fatigue and needing to rush.

Esquandolas experienced a similar routine upon his arrival to Smalltown. As with many other Latino immigrants to Smalltown, Esquandolas' initial plan was to immigrate temporarily and return to Mexico as soon as he earned sufficient money. As a result, he and many others knowingly engaged in deleterious work routines to quickly make enough money to return. Esquandolas deprived himself of sleep, drank excessively to cope with stress, and frequently ate fast foods because of lack of time. "It gets so boring sometimes" he lamented. Ignacio also complained, "siempre es lo mismo: del trabajo a casa, baño, comes y a dormir…el diario es la misma rutina [it's always the same: from work to the house, bathroom, you eat and to sleep…daily living it's the same routine]."

According to Luna, the intense work rhythm was especially damaging to Latino families which emphasize *el compartir,* sharing with someone. The Latin idiom "compartir es vivir [sharing is living]," illustrates the significance of co-

engagement for Latin populations. Luna argued that immigrants to Smalltown are subjected to stringent schedules that prevent *el compartir*, an expectation in Latino families. Luna argued that excessive workloads prevented parents from *compartir* with their children such that they become isolated, alienated, and eventually depressed. In Latin America, Latina girls spend most of their time with their mothers and develop a tight bond that is impossible to replicate here. In Smalltown, according to Luna, mothers must work to make ends meet but they continue to hold cultural expectations of their youth. Their daughters, according to Teresa, are exposed to an entirely different set of gender rules which can cause significant familial conflicts. Indeed, Teresa passionately vented tensions she experienced with her daughter over similar issues. She felt helpless; however, as she had no option but to continue her demanding work schedule to meet her family's financial needs.

Forbin cautioned against interpreting these reactions as reluctance to work. Rather, he explained, "for a Latino, the majority of them, their work is a fulfillment of their being." Conversely, he explained, here it's something we look forward to abandoning "so that we can do the things we didn't have a chance to do before." This is very different from Latinos "in that they would be perfectly happy if their heaven were working to accomplish something."

Esquandolas expressed significant pride in his contributions to lasting changes in Smalltown through his construction work. He was also very thankful for his success in Smalltown despite his undocumented status. However, Esquandolas had spent nearly 20 years adapting to life in Smalltown to establish a comfortable

life. Although he enjoyed financial success, Esquandolas described the routine in

negative terms:

> Being here is kind of like…a lot of people because they don't have much time,
> a lot of friends, or many things to do, a lot of people…you feel so lonely. A lot
> of people put it this way: you feel like you're in a golden cell…trapped inside
> of it. Because many times you want to go and visit friends and you can't. You
> want to go to Mexico and visit them but you don't have the documentation to
> go like you want.

Isabella echoed a similar perception although her situation was distinct from

Esquandolas' in that she was documented and did not have to work. Isabella stayed

at home to care for her newborn daughter while her husband took their only vehicle

to work.

Isabella explained that she spent hours on end waiting for her husband to

return from work so that she could leave the confines of her home. Her engagement

in occupations related to shopping and leisure were dependent on access to

transportation. Walking to the shops would take exorbitant amount of time and would

require her to walk long distances carrying bags along streets which do not offer

continuous sidewalks. Because of lack of transportation, Isabella had lost control of

the ability to select when she would engage in occupations and how she would

engage in it. Isabella recalled experiences rich with habitual and happenstance

social encounters as she walked to stores in her country of origin. These

opportunities were completely eliminated as she now traveled to the store in an

enclosed car that did not grant the ability to seize opportunities for social encounters

as she walked.

Decreased opportunities for engagement in occupations had a cascading

effect on Isabella's engagement in other occupations such as cooking:

Tenía que esperar…me trae…me llega…me trae. De estar cerrado sin salir y no puede hacer algo. Tienes que comprar todo a comer por la semana porque si un día no hay…no hay carro, ¿cómo conseguir más?   [I had to wait…he took me…brought me…took me. To be enclosed without going out and not able to do anything. You must buy all your food for the week because if one day it's not there, how would you obtain more?]

Isabella's engagement in the occupation of grocery shopping was markedly different in Smalltown than in her country of origin. In lieu of purchasing fresh vegetables, fruits, spices, and meats, she was required to plan ahead for the week and purchase foods that would not spoil. As a result, Isabella changed her cooking style to accommodate canned and packaged foods; ingredients that she would never have purchased before. Thus, the occupation of cooking was altered because the very ingredients she used did not offer an equally pleasurable experience. Isabella lamented the loss of fresh ingredients which affected her enjoyment of cooking.

Place and Emotional Wellbeing

When visiting San Salvador's markets, Esmeralda noticed "there was so much color, just the clothing that people wore; the native clothing that they wore." Indeed, memories of vibrant and colorful garments were commonplace among Smalltown Latino immigrants. The presence of lively colors and decorations affected whether participants felt at home in their environments including whether they enjoyed occupations in those milieus. For instance, during a casual conversation regarding Luna's hobby as a wedding photographer, he admitted that he did not enjoy shooting U.S. weddings because they were visually boring and lacked decorations. "In Mexico," Luna explained, "we like to decorate with lots of stuff." To Luna, it was difficult to take photos because he did not find the environment visually

stimulating. Suria echoed a similar disdain for sparse decorations when referring to homemaking:

> Uno quiere calor. Uno busca calor en la casa porque eso es lo hogar. Aquí, non. Aquí, la casa no es hogar. Aquí, el mobiliario donde viven todos…no hay nada...es muy extraño.   [One desires warmth. One searches for warmth in the house because it is home. Here, no. Here, the house is not home. Here, the furniture where everyone lives…there's nothing…it's really strange.]

In Suria's eyes, simple or sparse decorations are undesirable and prevent a house from being a home. As she explained her criteria for homemaking, I immediately considered my family's position on the issue. Our particular French upbringing emphasized *simple is beautiful,* while copious decorations detract from hominess by making things seem messy and unmaintained. Messy and disordered environments were synonymous to filthiness and lack of hygiene in contrast to environments with little clutter which were synonymous with cleanliness.

The manner in which homes are arranged also communicated a level of security to study participants. According to Esmeralda, the visual qualities of her home's surroundings impacted her daily living by how secure she felt when in her home. In San Salvador, Esmeralda's home was enclosed by walls and the windows were protected by iron grates. Upon her arrival to the Smalltown, she was shocked by moving into a house that stood alone and unprotected on a large plot of land. To Esmeralda, the lack of visual protection around her home,

> was a little frightening. I thought if something were to happen to me nobody would hear me or come to my rescue. At the beginning I was more aware of locking doors and being aware of my surroundings. I wasn't used to that type of housing and that type of open lot and not having more secure housing.

Although she admitted to having no other reason to feel unsecure, the sudden loss of visual protection interrupted her daily living with preoccupations of safety.

Conclusion

Latino immigrants experienced sensory transformations in their daily occupations in Smalltown, North Carolina compared to their countries of origin. Sensory changes affected the embodied experience of habitual occupations and associated wellbeing. Participants noted sensory changes during occupational engagements suggesting an interruption in the flow of their participation. Sensory experiences that were discordant with participant expectations were described in terms of loss and alienated individuals from Smalltown environments. As a result, study participants experienced sensory transformations as a barrier to their sense of belonging or *being in place* (Rowles, 2000). I further unpack these findings in Chapter 8, a theoretical discussion centered on habits of sensing. I attempt to elucidate the role of habits of sensing in occupation using a Deweyan approach to habit and action.

Chapter 7

Discussion - Occupational and Social Justice

Tales of institutional and personal oppression abound in the daily of lives of Latino immigrants to Smalltown. Those fortunate enough to evade overt injustice still endure it vicariously through stories told by their families and friends. These fortunate few are still marginalized by the symbolic and discursive violence of stories of oppression circulating throughout the community. During data collection, issues pertaining to justice were at the forefront of interviews, document reviews, and participant observations.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: 1) to use a theory to explore the injustices suffered by Latino immigrants to Smalltown, and 2) to tease out the conceptual differences between social justice and occupational justice. The rationale for the second aim is to provide a scholarly critique of employing the term occupational justice in lieu of social justice. As an emerging discipline, occupational science must carefully strategize how it positions itself among other disciplines through the relevance and explanatory power of its knowledge base. In an increasingly interdisciplinary world, academics cannot ignore the strategic importance of facilitating interdisciplinary communication, research, and action. As with any discipline engaged in rigorous scholarship, occupational science must carefully critique its concepts to avoid prematurely integrating underdeveloped theoretical concepts into its knowledge base.

To meet the aforementioned aims, I will provide a theoretical discussion juxtaposing occupational and social justice elucidating their conceptual similarities and differences. Subsequently, I will apply the concepts to the Latino immigrant situation in Smalltown to demonstrate their respective explanatory powers.

Occupational Justice

Occupational justice has garnered great interest and enthusiasm from occupational scientists and therapists alike since Townsend and Wilcock (2003) introduced an exploratory theory of occupational justice in *Introduction to occupation: The art and science of living*. In this seminal work, Townsend and Wilcock astutely juxtaposed social justice and occupational justice following a scholarly review of writings on justice. Though they rightly acknowledged that it was an exploratory theory, their work has since been cited in subsequent works without further theoretical critique. As a result, albeit unintended by Townsend and Wilcock, their exploratory theory was precipitously embraced by occupational scientists and therapists across the world as an established theoretical construct.

To the credit of therapists and scholars in the discipline, the feverish embrace of occupational justice demonstrates a strong motivation to resolve world injustices in support of marginalized and oppressed peoples. However, though well intended, actions in the name of occupational justice may rashly employ and promote an underdeveloped concept. It is thus necessary to continue the critical exploration of occupational justice even as we apply it in practice and research.

According to Townsend and Wilcock (2003), the following four principles constitute occupational justice: 1) empowerment through occupation, 2) an inclusive

classification of occupations, 3) enablement of occupational potential, and 4)

diversity, inclusion, and shared advantage in occupational participation. The first

three principles build on each other to constitute the fourth principle.

The first principle, *empowerment through occupation*, is based on an

equitable distribution of power among members of a society. It suggests that power

sharing would enable individuals to feel empowered during engagement in

occupation. Townsend and Wilcock (2003) argue the "structure and organization of

society determine possibilities for feeling or acting empowered in everyday

occupations" (p.258). Though not explicitly stated, the previous quotation suggests

that empowerment through occupation is achieved by modification of the social

structures that determine power distributions and possibilities for engagement in

occupation. The emphasis on power highlights the importance of institutional and

political structures in shaping individuals' daily experiences with occupation and, by

extension, experiences of meaning and wellbeing.

The second principle purports that an occupationally just society requires an

inclusive classification of occupations. The notion addresses injustices of pay,

privilege, and status allocated to the occupations recognized by a particular society.

It calls attention to the underlying causes of why certain occupations are more

valued than others. For example, the principle would question why a janitor is

compensated so little compared to other types of work, suggesting the janitors'

position in the hierarchical structure of employment does not afford them the power

to contest their status and pay. An *inclusive classification of occupations* also

questions why certain leisure occupations are more valued and esteemed than

others. The social status associated with occupations can affect an individual's feelings of empowerment while engaging in that occupation. A skateboarder does not enjoy the same status and opportunities for engagement as does the golfer. The social construction of the golfer versus the skateboarder paints a strikingly different image often positioning skateboarders as social deviants and golfers as successful members of society. Yet, golf courses require large land allotments and are a significant detriment to their surrounding ecosystem due to intense landscaping; whereas skateboard parks are far smaller and do not require pesticides, fertilizers, and large surface area. To what merit are the social perceptions of the aforementioned occupations justified?

Changing the hierarchical distribution of status related to occupation would require significant societal and institutional change and the third principle of occupational justice: *enablement of occupational potential*. This principle endorses empowerment of disempowered individuals to participate in decision making that affects their ability to engage in occupations. According to Townsend and Wilcock (2003) herein lies the most significant difference between occupational and social justice. The *enablement of occupational potential* emphasizes individual differences and the expansion of choice of engagement in occupation for members of a society. Townsend and Wilcock argue that theories of social justice attempt to hegemonize society while occupational justice values and encourages heterogeneity. Occupational justice thus promotes the acceptance of differences in capacity demanding an individualized approach to enable the potential of each member of a society. This principle is achieved through writing policies, enabling legislation, and

enabling economic practices. Again, occupational justice is achieved through societal and institutional mechanisms of change.

Together, the aforementioned principles constitute the final principle of occupational justice: *diversity, inclusion, and shared advantage in occupational participation.* This idea encourages respect for individual differences stemming from different capacities. It emphasizes equal privilege and shared social and economic capital to enable all members of a society to select and participate in typical occupations of that society. Further, the principle underlines the need to respect different personal and cultural meanings of occupations.

Strategic benefits of occupational justice as a concept.

A short term analysis of the utility of occupational justice as a concept suggests that it has been especially useful to occupational science. Its immediate popularity and acceptance across the discipline shows that it is highly motivating among scholars, practitioners, and students. Personally, I attribute my decision to pursue a doctoral degree in occupational science to the concept of occupational justice. The term politicizes ideas of occupation, occupational therapy interventions, and occupational science research. It expands the scope of occupational therapy and occupational science by highlighting the role of occupation in social movements. It also encourages action and research in the name of justice by both scholars and practitioners. Given the focused individualized therapeutic approach that has been the hallmark of occupational therapy since its inception; the notion of occupational justice may have revolutionized the discipline by encouraging greater social

consciousness, responsibility, and interest in social movements. However, the question remains: is occupational justice different than social justice?

Social Justice

The literature on social justice spans over centuries of philosophical discourse by scholars from a wide range of disciplines. Theories of social justice have evolved significantly such that many theories have since been discounted as obsolete. Given the impossibility of summarizing the entire literature on social justice, I will restrict my overview to major contemporary theories of social justice which are widely recognized and debated across academic disciplines. Within each of these major theories one can find multiple variations, however, I will only provide an overview of their general tenets.

According to Rawls (1999), egalitarianism, one of the oldest conceptualizations of social justice, is a strict doctrine that demands the equal distribution of primary goods. This notion of justice, however, has been discounted since, as Harvey (1992) claimed, "there is nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals" (p. 594). The equal redistribution of primary goods among all members of a society would hardly create a just society nor would it address the institutionalized power structures that engender injustice. Egalitarianism ignores the diversity of capacities among members of a society and defines justice predominantly in the distribution of material goods.

Recognizing the overly simplistic view of egalitarian justice, the utilitarian view posits an aggregative form of social justice asserting that the "rightness of actions is to be judged (directly or indirectly) by the over-all amount of happiness which they

produce" (Miller, 1999, p. 32). Though, at first glance, this view appears to move beyond the distribution of material goods by emphasizing the maximization of aggregate happiness, the principles of utilitarian social justice prescribe the distribution of external resources as the mechanism for achieving justice (Miller). The utilitarian view would suggest that any given distribution of goods is justified if it increases the aggregate societal happiness. However, according to Rawls, "a loss of freedom for some, is not made right by a greater sum of satisfactions enjoyed by many" (as cited in Miller, p. 40). Rawls rightly criticized utilitarian social justice suggesting it could advocate for the overt oppression of a minority if it benefits the majority.

Further, Rawls (1999) argued that the utilitarian view did not sufficiently account for differences between people. In response, he proposed the social contract theory of justice which consists of two principles: 1) "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all" (p. 266) and 2) "social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged" and "(b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity" (p. 266). Rawls stressed that the lexical order of these principles indicates their priority. Therefore, the second principle cannot be satisfied at the expense of the liberties guaranteed by the first.

The second principle, also known as the difference principle, holds that "to provide genuine equality of opportunity, society must give more attention to those with fewer native assets and to those born into less favorable positions" (Rawls,

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1999, p. 86). Townsend and Wilcock (2003) argued that social justice purports equitable distribution of opportunity and resources to reduce group differences. Yet Rawls cautioned against such misconception; stating that his vision of social justice does not entail equitable income distribution or resource distribution, which reflects egalitarian notions of justice. Rawls developed a complex argument promoting the unequal distribution of resources "to improve the long-term expectation of the least favored" (p.86). Townsend and Wilcock rightly characterize such theories as overly concerned with distributive justice; however they overlooked the complexity of different views that distribution by asserting they all demand equal distributions.

Criticizing the distributive paradigm, Young (1990) presented a theory known as the *five faces of oppression*. She found that distributive paradigms are insufficient because they mask the social and institutional context of distributions and, thus, reify the material itself. Also opposed to egalitarian principles, Young stressed that equal treatment suppresses individual difference. She presented a theory of justice focused on *doing* versus *having* claiming justice is "better understood as a function of rules and relations than as things" (p.25). Garnering much acclaim, Young's theory is cited across disciplines including in Harvey (1992), Townsend and Wilcock (2003), and as one of three major conceptualizations of social justice in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009).

According to Young (1990), social justice is the degree to which a society supports the institutional conditions for "1) developing and exercising one's capacities and expressing one's experience, and 2) participating in determining

one's action and the conditions of one's action" (p.37). Young's theory emphasizes

the importance of power in justice and champions enablement and empowerment as

the keys to promoting justice (Townsend & Wilcock, 2003). However Young

cautioned against absolute definitions of justice and shifted her focus to forms of

injustice which were more sensitive to the context of situations.

Injustice, Young (1990) proposed, can be explicated through the five faces of

oppression: *exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism*, and

violence. Exploitation highlights "what work is, who does what for whom, [and] how

work is compensated" (p.50) through power relations and social processes.

Individuals experience *marginalization* when they are prevented from "useful

participation in social life" leading to "uselessness, boredom, and lack of self-

respect" (p.55). By occupying marginal spaces in a society's periphery, individuals

suffer from "deprivation of cultural, practical, and institutionalized conditions for

exercising capacities in a context of recognition and interaction" (p.55).

Powerlessness pertains to one's ability to "participate in making decisions that affect

the conditions of their lives and actions" (p.56). The lack of power goes beyond

institutional and political structures to include one's personal habitus. For example,

Young argued that professionals through education, social positionality, and work

experience tend to enjoy a progressive development of a sense of self, status, and

authority from which the powerless are excluded. *Cultural imperialism* is the process

through which a dominant group projects its experience as representative of

humanity. Those who do not share the dominant group's subjectivity are labeled as

others who deviate from the norm. The achievements, actions, values, and cultural

norms of the dominant group are widely disseminated as social norms such that they become the criteria to alienate and render invisible those who deviate from those norms. The final face of oppression, *violence* goes beyond the direct victimization through physical violence to include "incidents of harassment, intimidation, or ridicule" (p.61). Individuals experience *violence* through overt acts of *violence* and the daily threat of violation because of group identity.

So what is social justice?

The previous review is an overview of major conceptualizations of social justice and is not all-inclusive. Indeed, social justice is a contested term with many different sets of complex understandings (Pozzuto, 2006). Other notions of social justice include but are not limited to, retributive justice, positive law theories, intuitionist theories, relative deprivation, justice as a category of actions, and procedural justice (Harvey, 1992). The diversity of these constructs renders a unified characterization of social justice exceedingly difficult to develop.

Pozzuto (2006) argued that social justice is an intentional act resulting "from practices consistent with the belief systems of actor" (p.89). Thus, Pozzuto found, social justice should be viewed as a category of actions taking place within a particular social context. Therefore, it cannot have meaning when removed from the context through which it was theorized. Pozzuto further stated that given the contextual dependence of social justice, asserting a "universal category of social justice is an empty abstraction" (p. 90). It is "not an object or fact to be found, but a malleable process of social life" (p. 90). Justice and the rationales defining it have different meanings across space, time, and individuals (Harvey, 1992). Its meaning

is "rooted in the social, experiential, and perceptual world of the speaker" (p.595).

Therefore, it should only be applied to the actual context in which it was theorized

(Young, 1990).

Since social justice is dependent on context, then transposing

conceptualizations of social justice to other contexts is problematic if not impossible.

According to Young (1990), one must understand the specific complex context of

each unjust situation before attempting to address it. Since each cultural context is

embedded with different value systems and meanings, it follows that individuals

living through different cultural contexts will have different value systems and views

on what is just. Thus, applying one's value system to another cultural context risks

enacting a form of *cultural imperialism* which assumes one's experience and

subjectivity is representative of humanity. One might even claim that cross cultural

acts in the name of justice, though well intended, are at risk of committing injustices

through *cultural imperialism* as defined by Young. Thus, asserting a universal

concept of social justice across cultures sets the stage for injustices carried out in

the name of justice.

Occupational Justice and Social Justice

I now turn to Townsend and Wilcock's (2003) juxtaposition of occupational

justice and social justice in their exploratory theory. The authors summarized their

argument in Table 3 which, as I have demonstrated, presents an overly

circumscribed view, glossing over conceptualizations that address the very

differences they portend are unique to occupational justice. Certainly, a deeper and

closer look at the vast literature on social justice provides a more nuanced and complex conceptualization of social justice than is outlined in Table 3.

Table 3. Occupational Justice and Social Justice (Townsend & Wilcock, 2003).

Occupational Justice	Social Justice
Humans Are Occupational Beings	Humans Are Social Beings
Interests in Health & Quality of Life	Interests in Social Relations
Different Opportunities & Resources	Same Opportunities & Resources
Enablement	Possession
Individual Differences	Group Differences

Townsend and Wilcock (2003) envisioned that occupational justice focuses on the individual while social justice focuses on the social. They further distinguish the two by asserting that social justice theories erroneously espouse a distributive paradigm which reifies justice to the distribution and possession of material goods; whereas occupational justice provides a humanistic view of enablement and empowerment. Their assertions are echoed without critique in subsequent references distinguishing occupational justice from social justice. For example, in the *British Journal of Occupational Therapy,* Sakellariou and Algado (2006) characterize occupational justice as "non-comparative and essentially individualistic-subjective" whereas social justice is "objective-collective justice, one that is not concerned with the individual" (p. 70).

Herein lays the danger of adopting a concept without sufficient critique. Sakellariou and Algado (2006), rightly represent Townsend and Wilcock's idea; yet in doing so, misrepresent social justice. The uncritical espousal of an

underdeveloped concept will have a cascade of effects via subsequent citations and references to that concept. If an underlying concept is fallacious, knowledge built on the latter may misdirect the development of future knowledge. It is thus imperative that scholars continuously critique knowledge and concepts to avoid entrapment in a theoretical fallacy.

Occupational Justice or Social Justice?

Townsend and Wilcock (2003) argued that social justice focuses on "humans as social beings" (p.262) while occupational justice highlights "humans are occupational beings" (p.262). I find this argument to be superficial and artificial as the two are not mutually exclusive and, in fact, inextricable. As suggested by the transactional perspective on human occupation (Dickie et al., 2006), occupation is a transaction joining the individual with the situation. Humans are relational beings engaged in occupations that are not enacted or learned in a vacuum, but deeply infused with traditions, customs, and past experiences occurring in social, cultural, and historical contexts (Dickie et al.). Thus, it follows that occupation is a social endeavor (Humphry, 2005) even when one engages in it alone.

Moreover, highlighting occupation as an individual enterprise reflects Western cultural notions of individualism which are not echoed in other parts of the world. Assuming that other cultures experience occupation with equal emphasis on individual fulfillment risks enacting *cultural imperialism* as defined by Young (1990).

Townsend and Wilcock (2003) further differentiated their concept by asserting it considers individual differences whereas social justice is concerned with group differences. This oversimplifies the vast literature on social justice as writings on the

latter acknowledge the dilemma of macro versus micro justice. For example, in their book *Social Justice in a Diverse Society,* Tyler, Boeckmann, Smith, and Huo (1997) argued that policies aimed at social justice may be deemed just at a societal level, but not at the individual level. Individual differences within groups, they assert, complicate the development of policies aimed at addressing group differences (Tyler et al.). Moreover, Young's (1990) definition of social justice is the degree to which a society supports the institutional conditions for "developing and exercising one's capacities and expressing one's experience" (p.37). She focused unequivocally on individual difference and development of personal capacity through empowerment. Contrary to the portrayal in Table 3, and in accordance with Townsend and Wilcock's remarks, Young's theory of social justice explicitly eschews distributive paradigms and shifts the focus of justice from *possession* to *doing.* She, too, criticized egalitarian principles, stressing they suppressed individual differences.

Indeed, there are numerous conceptual similarities between Townsend and Wilcock's (2003) exploratory theory and Young's vision (1990). The four principles of occupational justice are addressed in Young's writings and thus do not offer a unique conceptualization of justice. *Empowerment through occupation* (Townsend & Wilcock) echoes Young's discussion of *powerlessness* and *marginalization.* Both highlight the importance of empowering individuals to "participate in making decisions that affect the conditions of their lives and actions" (Young, p.56). This would engender an *inclusive classification of occupations* (Townsend & Wilcock) to remedy "discrepancies of pay, privilege, and status allocated to occupations" (p.259) or *exploitation* (Young) which refers to "what work is, who does what for whom, [and]

how work is compensated" (p.50). The *enablement of occupational potential* (Townsend & Wilcock) mirrors Young's first principle of social justice which supports the conditions for "developing and exercising one's capacities and expressing one's experience" (p.37). *Diversity, inclusion, and shared advantage in occupational participation* (Townsend & Wilcock) are also addressed through Young's discussion of *marginalization* and *cultural imperialism* which stress the oppression of diversity and inclusion in a given society.

The striking parallels between Townsend and Wilcock's (2003) outline of occupational justice and Young's (1990) writings on social justice suggest the concept is not sufficiently distinct. Perhaps the discipline of Occupational Science would be better served by promoting an occupational perspective on social justice by integrating occupation into existing theories. This could facilitate the discipline's entrée into the ongoing multi disciplinary discourse on social justice rather than creating a separate discourse within one discipline.

Case Example: Latino Immigration as Social or Occupational Justice?

In order to adequately critique a concept such as occupational justice, it is useful to move beyond purely abstract theoretical argumentation to consider its application to real situations. In the following section I will apply Young's (1990) social justice to the situation of Latino immigrants to Smalltown, North Carolina. Subsequently, I will apply Townsend and Wilcock's (2003) principles of occupational justice in order to determine whether they provide a different analytical perspective.

Latino immigrants are certainly subjected to Young's (1990) five faces of oppression preventing their ability to enjoy social justice in the form of "1) developing

and exercising one's capacities and expressing one's experience, and 2) participating in determining one's action and the conditions of one's action" (p.37). Latino immigrants, particularly those without legal documentation, suffer from *exploitation* at work. Study participants frequently cited how Smalltown employers foster a work environment which encouraged Latinos to compete against each other by offering to work for lower wages. Further, participants cited numerous instances in which they were paid far less than promised and, in a few cases, not paid at all. Those without papers had no legal recourse to such exploitation and endured the competitive oppressive work environment merely to put food on the table. Recognizing Latinos as a vulnerable population, many employers also subjected them to unacceptable work conditions which were difficult to tolerate. For example, research participants described being subjected to exploitation when working in farm camps. The camps were geographically isolated such that farm workers lived on site and purchased food and other essential goods through the camp owner. This set up an exploitative situation in which the camp owner charged workers most of their income to pay for living expenses. As a result, workers became trapped in a situation where they saved insignificant sums of money with little time or recourse to find other employment or leave the camp.

Latinos are underrepresented in the political arenas and have little power in participating in decisions that affect their lives. Participants without legal status experience even greater *powerlessness* as some claim they do not feel safe calling the police. Others cited instances when they stood up for coworkers who could not speak English, only to be reprimanded for doing so, which exacerbated feelings of

powerlessness. In our conversations, many participants expressed frustration with the U.S. system stating they felt incapable of affecting a change.

Marginalization was frequently mentioned by participants whose sense of self respect was constantly undermined by their situation. Some participants described feeling "less than human" due to the lack of dignity they experienced at work and in daily life. Women who stayed in their homes due to lack of transportation, driving license, or social networks cited feelings of uselessness and boredom. One participant claimed she had felt welcomed and part of the Smalltown community until prevented from attending a community college due to her immigration status. This, she explained, engendered feelings of discrimination and marginalization as an outsider. Many of the immigrants with whom I spoke, particularly those with papers, could not understand why they were experiencing such discrimination and marginalization because they were following all the rules and paying their taxes like their U.S. counterparts.

Finally, Latino immigrants suffered greatly from *cultural imperialism* albeit in a more subtle manner. A research consultant, while studying for a graduate degree in the United States recalled coping with instances of *cultural imperialism*. He recounted a situation when he was publicly humiliated and rebuked by his professor for posing a speculative question that his professor did not find pertinent to the discussion. According to this participant, his culture encouraged such speculation and valued it as an important tool in knowledge acquisition. His professor, on the other hand, did not share that cultural background and did not relate to that tradition

of thought. Consequently, he interpreted that speculation as missing the point or simply not paying attention.

Similarly, participant observations at a local church revealed divisions between the Hispanic and Anglo congregations through *cultural imperialism.* For example, during an important church event, I witnessed a subtle conflict between the Anglo and Hispanic coordinators because two Latino church workers were absent at the beginning of the ceremony. According to a consultant, the Anglo congregation saw this as a clear lack of spiritual commitment and an affront to the significance of the event. Such an interpretation reflected a cultural emphasis on time and following schedules. From the perspective of Latino consultants, the Anglo reaction was also a lack of spiritual commitment as it reflected a misplaced priority on organization rather than spirituality.

Study participants suffered from countless forms of overt and symbolic *violence* throughout their daily lives. Section 287g coupled with the requirement of having a social security number to obtain a driver's license engendered an environment of fear and oppression that dominated the lives of many of my participants. Their daily routines and level of participation in occupations was persistently couched by fear of harassment, arrest, and deportation. Naturally, this was most obvious in the case of undocumented immigrants but it was also a significant issue for those who immigrated legally and were successfully contributing to society. For example, a participant described a situation in which he called the fire department due to a small kitchen fire. After having extinguished the fire, the firemen asked him for his social security number to determine whether he was legal. Fraught

with anxiety, he provided the information although the firemen had no right to make such a request. To my participant, this was a moment of *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu, 1998) through which he was socially positioned as an illegal immigrant solely due to his group membership as a Latino. He recalled feeling frustrated at being marginalized and stereotyped as an illegal immigrant. Another participant explained that soon after her arrival to Smalltown, she found K.K.K. spray painted on the road of her neighborhood. Though she confessed she had no evidence it was directed at her, she experienced it as an act of *violence* and subsequently felt intimidated in her neighborhood. She admitted this made her feel unsafe and prevented her from enjoying former occupations such as walking her dogs or jogging at night.

From an occupational justice perspective, the participants in my study experienced both empowerment and disempowerment through occupation. Participants did not go to Wal-Mart during peak hours in order to avoid feelings of embarrassment and disempowerment if they held up checkout lines due to language barriers. Most participants described intense feelings of disempowerment when engaging in any occupation through which they experienced language barriers. In contrast, certain traditional occupations fostered feelings of empowerment. For example, engaging in culturally significant occupations, such as celebrating religious holidays, provided participants with a sense of belonging and subsequent empowerment. Other occupations, such as playing in soccer leagues or shopping at a Latino flea market, recreated a sense of community and belonging that was empowering.

The *enablement of occupational potential* for this population can only be achieved through social transformation of prejudice and the political transformation of immigration law. Occupational justice does not extend the explanatory power of Young's social justice since one must look to conditions of social justice to understand how that enablement occurs.

As stated by Townsend and Wilcock (2003), the major underlying determinants of occupational justice are a society's "economy, national and international policies and cultural values" (p.250). Each of these determinants is indisputably rooted in social justice suggesting that occupational justice is necessarily based in social justice. Is occupational justice then better viewed as an outcome of social justice? If so, how useful is the concept in explaining justice and injustice? Would occupational science, and more importantly, those it strives to serve, benefit more from espousing occupational justice in lieu of an occupational perspective on social justice? Given Young's (1990) extensive work on the concept and subsequent critiques across disciplines, would occupational scientists and those they serve not benefit more from joining an ongoing scholarly discussion rather than starting our own in isolation?

Occupational Injustices

Though I have argued that occupational justice is not distinct from social justice and actually mirrors Young's (1990) social justice, I am not suggesting we entirely discount Townsend and Wilcock's (2003) exploratory theory. Their vision of occupational injustices is different and would contribute to the explanatory power of social justice. Occupational injustices may be experienced in the form of

occupational deprivation, occupational alienation, and *occupational imbalance*

(Townsend & Wilcock)*.* To demonstrate the potential contribution of these ideas to

the discourse on social justice I now apply them to my study situation.

Individuals experience o*ccupational deprivation* when they are not able to

participate in occupations due to a range of societal barriers. This goes beyond

Young's (1990) notion of *powerlessness* in which individuals are oppressed by not

participating in the decisions that affect their lives and actions. The emphasis on

participation in occupation is unique, though still inextricably based in matters of

social justice. If individuals are prevented from participating in occupation, and

occupation is the means through which individuals transact with their environments

(Dickie et al., 2006) and develop their capacities to meet their potential (Townsend &

Wilcock, 2003), then deprivation of occupation could prevent successful integration

with one's environment and impede the development of capacities in manners that

are not addressed by theories of social justice.

For example, study participants were often unable to engage in occupations

due to government policies that prevented them from obtaining driver licenses. This

coupled with the threat of arrest and deportation due to minor traffic infringements

engendered a climate of fear that caused them to only engage in occupations that

were absolutely necessary. Decisions to participate in occupations were always

couched in this fear such that many occupations outside of the home, particularly

those requiring driving, were eliminated from routines. Even obligatory occupations

were decreased or altered in ways to reduce the fear. For example, participants

complained of leaving their homes solely for work, church, and shopping for

essential goods. They significantly decreased the frequency of shopping for groceries causing a change in what they purchased and what they cooked. In lieu of using fresh vegetables and fruits to cook traditional cultural meals, participants explained they were increasingly subjected to using canned and boxed food items which lasted longer and required fewer trips to the store, but limited what they could cook. Participants lamented that their food did not taste as good and that it was difficult to prepare traditional meals as often as liked.

Though *occupational deprivation* offers a distinct perspective, *occupational alienation* seems to echo Young's ideas. Townsend and Wilcock (2003) define *occupational alienation* as "the outcome when people experience daily life as meaningless and purposeless" (p.252). It engenders feelings of isolation, powerlessness, loss of control and estrangement (Wilcock, 2006). Repetitive or mind-numbing occupations, including those which are exploitative, limit the number of positive experiences with occupation and negatively affect one's identity through a sense of alienation (Townsend & Wilcock). This form of occupational injustice replicates Young's (1990) notions of *powerlessness, marginalization,* and *exploitation* and thus fails to provide a different analytical lens*.*

In contrast, *occupational imbalance* (Townsend & Wilcock, 2003) is a unique analytical tool because it integrates a temporal element while suggesting that over-engagement or under-engagement in occupation is injustice. Young's (1990) notion of *exploitation* highlights how Latino immigrants are subjected to unjust work hours at the expense of other forms of occupational engagement. However, *occupational imbalance* provides a more nuanced view of how such exploitation can affect one's

wellbeing by means of affecting other experiences of participation in occupation. By weighing participation in occupations against each other over a period of time, Townsend and Wilcock add a temporal aspect that is absent in theories of social justice. For example, identifying instances of exploitation is not difficult for Latinos with illegal status. They are subjected to injustice through low pay, oppressive work conditions, lack of choice, and demeaning treatment by their employers. But that fails to explicate the injustices experienced by Latinos who immigrated legally, benefit from the same work rights as U.S. citizens, and thus are not subjected to overt exploitation. Many study participants immigrated with the intention of working extra hours in order to quickly save money and return to their countries of origin. Without exploitation, many of these individuals found themselves working excessive hours for a much longer period than initially expected. Though their self-imposed work rhythm was tolerable for a short amount of time, prolonged subjection to that rhythm was at the expense of participation in other meaningful occupations such that they experienced *occupational imbalance.* Those who complained of such imbalance invariably experienced lack of wellbeing and characterized their lives as centered solely on work and void of other meaningful occupations. Young's *five faces of oppression* does not address this form of injustice. Her analysis would focus on the obligation to work long hours due to injustices of pay and work status with little reflection on wellbeing or balance of occupation.

Conclusion

In their exploratory theory of occupational justice, Townsend and Wilcock (2003) did not provide a fair overview of the extensive literature on social justice. A

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deeper look into that literature revealed that Townsend and Wilcock oversimplified theories relegating the definition of social justice to antiquated versions which have since been discounted. Furthermore, their overview did not properly characterize the diversity and complexity of the numerous existing theories of social justice. They misrepresented theories that espoused the distributive paradigm by suggesting they advocated "equitable access to opportunities and resources in order to reduce group differences" (p.262). As demonstrated in this chapter, such egalitarian principles were not embraced by the very theorists they cited. For example, Rawls (1999) advocated for an unequal distribution of primary goods in order to prevent those who were least advantaged with fewer native assets. After all, "there is nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals" (Harvey, 1992). Townsend and Wilcock also misrepresented theories of social justice by suggesting they were concerned with possession. Though a fair characterization of distributive paradigms, this assertion ignores Young's (1990) theory of social justice which is only briefly mentioned in their overview. Young, whose theory has gained considerable cross-disciplinary notice, explicitly eschews distributive paradigms and focuses on *doing* versus *having*. Her definition of social justice and the associated *five faces of oppression* addressed each of the principles of occupational justice. As a result, occupational justice does not provide greater explanatory power than existing theories of social justice. This puts into question whether occupational justice is a useful concept. When applied to my study situation, the principles of occupational justice do not explicate the Latino situation any more than Young's theory.

In contrast, Townsend and Wilcock's (2003) conceptualization of *occupational deprivation* and *occupational imbalance* are distinct and provide useful analytical tools, as exemplified in my study situation. *Occupational imbalance* offers temporal and wellbeing components to the discourse on social justice while *occupational deprivation* highlights the significance of loss or absence of occupation.

Cultural Imperialism Through Sensation

Study participants endured a form of cultural imperialism through a subtle and unconscious form of oppression that is, nonetheless, alienating and deleterious to individual wellbeing. Cultural imperialism occurs when a dominant group imposes their subjectivity as representative of humanity upon minority groups which experience a distinct subjective experience. For Latino immigrants to Smalltown, individuals were alienated by unexpected sensory experiences, ultimately precipitating depressive feelings with negative effects on wellbeing. For example, immigrants were accused of lacking hygiene and failing to respect the church, and by association religion itself, for neglecting to clean their bodies and church grounds according to U.S. hygiene standards. In the following chapter I analyze the transformations of embodied experiences for engagement in occupation via sensation using a Deweyan approach to habits. I argue that individuals are inculcated to develop habits of sensing through transactions with their former environments such that changes in the expected sensation of a customary occupation affects participation and associated experiences of wellbeing.

Chapter 8

Discussion – Habits of Sensing in Occupation

"Sense qualities are the carriers of meanings" (Dewey, 1934, p.122)

The senses are the means through which we experience, interpret, and respond to the situations we encounter. Everyday experiences are multisensual (Neutstadt, 1994) although we may not be aware of it through habituation to those sensory experiences (Rodaway, 1994). The changes cited by Latinos have illustrated the salience of the senses in embodied experience with habitual engagement through environments. In a novel environment, a person can no longer rely on embodied habitual responses to situations and becomes aware of what was once taken for granted. If we respond to situations by means of receiving, gauging, and interpreting sensations, then discordant habits of sensing will pose tension with that response.

Throughout all action, we are exposed to sensations that modify and direct our behaviors. Despite the ever-present exposure to sensory experiences in occupations, the senses have received relatively little attention in occupational science. Research on the senses, in occupational therapy, is predominantly focused on sensory disorders in a manner that frames scholarly discourse on sensation in terms of dysfunction. The scholarly neglect of the senses is not a reflection of their relative importance but a result of historical and epistemological views on knowledge and science. The surge of objectivity in science encouraged the view that sensory

stimuli were objective occurrences that could be measured and classified in isolation (Rodaway, 1994; Waksul & Vannini, 2008).

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the role of the senses in occupation as an important factor in shaping its respective meanings. I begin with a discussion of why the senses have been neglected in academic discourse. Next, I explore how culture frames perception of sensation and follow that with an exposition of sensation as a social act. Finally, I discuss the role of the senses in place integration and wellbeing.

Sensation: An Affront to Objectivism

According to Rodaway (1994), the senses were historically marginalized by an escalating focus on objectivity through quantitative and positivist science. The quest for discovering "real" phenomena simplified, objectified, and defined sensory experiences as mere sense-to-stimulus responses (Rodaway). Identification of the senses under a positivist paradigm is no surprise due to difficulties in categorizing and measuring complex sensory interactions that constitute the lived experience. The positivist quest to objectively measure sensation encouraged scientists to focus their studies on measureable sensory inputs (Rodaway). Reducing sensory experiences to measureable qualities masks the complexity of their interactions and their role in the embodiment of lived experiences. Neustadt (1994) suggested that senses that do not have clearly demarcated temporal, spatial and structural dimensions are difficult to classify objectively, and thus rarely considered in research. For example, providing an inventory of smells is exceedingly difficult, particularly when faced with a limited vocabulary for describing smells (Rodaway,

Waksul & Vannini, 2008). Contrarily, colors are easily categorized and measured

using primary colors and wavelengths. The English language has a plethora of

words to describe visual stimuli, but not for the other senses. Smells, for instance,

are typically described by likening them to their alleged sources in a tautological

manner such as coffee smelling like coffee (Waksul & Vannini). Presently, the

physiochemical properties of smells are not as measureable as the specific

wavelengths that correlate with each of the primary colors (Rodaway).

Western cultures, through a gradual historical objectification of knowledge

and its creation, have come to prioritize vision and sound over smells, taste, and

touch (Neustadt, 1994; Rodaway, 1994; Stoller, 1989). As suggested by Neustadt,

the progressive devaluation of the other senses in regard to vision can be traced

through history to ancient philosophers such as Plato. In the eighteenth century,

Kant further delimited our sensory appreciation when he "intellectualized and

imagined priorities among the senses, relegating smell, taste, and touch to the level

of the brute" (Stoller, p. 8). Dewey (1887/1967) also perpetuated this bias by

describing smell and taste as "vaguer, confused sensations" (p.32) while he

characterized sight and sound as "higher" (p.32). Echoing Kant's view, Dewey found

that the objective conditions of sight and sound appeal to one's cognitive side while

the vaguer sensations of smell and taste evoke emotional reactions. This bias is

continuously reinforced through every day practices such that smell, taste and touch

are culturally perceived as intimate and "dirty" (Neustadt, p.185).

Vision: The Prized Western Sense

Cultural variability in hierarchical valuation of the senses is often discussed with regard to the West. According to Neustadt (1994), "the 'Platonic prejudice' for the ocular and aural" (p. 185) has engendered a rigid epistemology focused on "sensory distance, ocular focus, objectification, and decontextualization" (p.186). Yet sight is deceivingly uninformative as it provides the viewer with information regarding surfaces and textures in the environment. By means of repetitive reinforcement of personal, cultural, social and historical practices, the viewer perceives far more than the objective qualities of that environment (Rodaway, 1994). The viewer unconsciously draws meaningful inferences about that environment which are based on pre-understandings of the relationships of objects constituting that situation. The intended use objects, their aesthetic and moral qualities, and their relationships to individuals are "socially and personally determined by education and cultural practice" (p.124). Thus the viewer does not react to an absolute stimulus but senses that stimulus in a manner that is imbued with one's personal, social, and cultural histories. The continued social and cultural refinement of one's sensory capacities and perceptions reinforces a bias towards a particular perception of sensory experiences and, likewise, meaning through occupation.

Stoller (1989) cautioned against sensory biases arguing they can constrain a researcher's appreciation of another culture's practices. Stoller suggested that the senses be further incorporated into ethnographic work so that scholars could become aware of their personal sensual biases and how they shape what is noticed and identified as important in data collection and analysis. This is particularly important in ethnographic work which often aims to portray the experience of a

cultural group. Failing to recognize how sensory biases can affect that portrayal

place the ethnographer at risk of committing a tacit form of cultural imperialism

(Young, 1990) in which a dominant group imposes their subjective experience as

representative of humanity. If habits of sensing are layered with ingrained moral and

aesthetic judgments, as I will demonstrate later, then asserting a cultural habit of

sensing as representative of humanity becomes a question of justice.

Making Sense of Culture

Exploring the role of the senses in occupation is complicated by an under

appreciation of how sensory experiences can vary. Though research and

interventions with sensory disorders have highlighted the powerful impact of the

sensory in occupational engagement, studies continue to focus on dysfunction in a

manner that tacitly and erroneously assumes ubiquitous sensory experiences

among *typical* individuals. However, "we see, hear, smell, taste and touch the world

through the mediation, the filter or lens, of our social milieu, the context within which

we have become socialized, educated and familiarised" (Rodaway, 1994, p.23). The

perception of a sense is not an absolute shared by all human beings, but a

malleable interpretation subject to social, cultural, and historical forces. Our

perceptual sensitivities are not innate, but learned in a way that shapes the

meanings we attach to them. According to Dewey (1934), the quality of sensation is

"existential, and hence varies with individuals since it is impregnated with their

uniqueness" (p.223).

For example, in the United States, children are socialized to develop a

different tactile relationship with their environment than in some other cultures.

Rodaway (1994) suggests that cultural practices, such as clothing children or placing them in strollers creates and reinforces notions of what is acceptable in terms of public and personal space. These experiences become ingrained and are continuously reenacted and reinforced in daily life. Before long, these tendencies become innate and real becoming common-sense. Yet common-sense is not quite so common since it varies between cultural and social milieus. This can pose challenges for cross cultural communication if the communicators are not aware of these differences.

For example, in the Smalltown study, a Colombian consultant emphasized that the way he was socialized to greet individuals fostered a more intimate tactile relationship with his social environment. This became a point of contention between him and Mexican acquaintances who were notably uncomfortable when he greeted them in a manner that was too intimate for their habits of touch. He recalls Mexicans' adverse reactions to him grabbing their shoulders while shaking their hands, which according to Mexican customs, is too close for comfort. Further confounding assumptions of a universal tactile experience, Rodaway finds that the role of touch with the multiple environments through which we act changes with different social and historical contexts. For example, formal social environments are typically less conducive to intimate forms of tactile experience such as touching and hugging. Yet not all formal environments encourage physical distance, for instance visitations at funeral homes encourage a social milieu which condones and promotes exceptional tactile intimacy that would not be appropriate elsewhere.

Our sensory *feelings* are subsequently reinforced through repeated engagement in social practices until they seem innate and part of *reality*. Cultural experiences, according to Rodaway, are intimately related to how a culture perpetuates and "employs each of the senses in encountering and seeking to make sense of the environment" (p.145). To understand how cultures inculcate their constituents with sensory habits, I now turn to the role of the senses in action.

Common Sense: The Social Sense

To sense, is to act. We do not passively receive stimuli, but we actively look, listen, touch, smell, and taste. We use our sensory capacities as tools to explore and *make sense* of our world. As I have discussed, these tools are not static or universal, but fluctuate in both a physiological and social manner. We are capable of objectively measuring one's ability to see and hear using sophisticated instruments in controlled environments; however those instruments do not provide an understanding of the societal and cultural influences on the development, refinement, and decay of those sensory capacities. Indeed, the importance of sensory experience in occupation merits further exploration in occupational science to elucidate its complex and variable nature. For instance, how does the embodiment of sensory expectations of place affect participation in occupation and associated experiences of wellbeing?   Addressing this question requires an exploration of the role of sensation in the lived experience of occupation.

Applying a transactional perspective on human experience is a promising avenue for such exploration. The transactional perspective would caution researchers to avoid reducing sensory experiences to mere input and output data. It

would encourage a careful consideration of the situation through which those senses are experienced and how the situation contributes to shaping how they are perceived. The transactional perspective argues that all human action is social through the progressive acquisition of habits via action in social arenas (Dickie et al., 2006). Solitary occupations are social because learning how to engage in occupation is a social endeavor during which individuals co-construct their engagements with their social environments (Humphry, 2005). If occupation is social and sensation is integral to occupation, then the experience of sensation is also a social construction.

According to Waskul and Vannini (2008), sensory experiences are social practices entailing somatic work. The latter refers to the "experiences and activities individuals produce, extinguish, manage, reproduce, negotiate, interrupt, and/or communicate somatic sensations in order to make them congruent with personal, interpersonal, and/or cultural notions of the moral, aesthetic, or and/or logical desirability" (p.54). Somatic work is central to action and how individuals understand their worlds. The social nature of sensing suggests that sensory perceptions are imbued with moral and aesthetic judgment.

For instance, bodily odors can evoke intense moral judgments of a person's worth and status in society. Indeed, the visual and olfactory perception of a person's hygiene subjects that individual to a hierarchical social positioning. In psychiatry, poor hygiene is an indicator of social deviance suggesting numerous possible psychiatric disorders. But one's reaction to a particular odor is not a result of the absolute objective nature of that odor. It is a reaction to the situation in which that

odor is perceived. The act of smelling "evokes olfactory definitions of the situation by which multiple meanings mediate between the act of smelling and the condition of odor" (p.54).

Those meanings are developed through what Waskul and Vannini (2008) call a *somatic career.* This notion stresses the temporal dimension to sensory experiences and suggests that "sensation does not exist prior to experience but flows from it" (p.57). Through repeated engagement in acts of sensing, individuals are socialized to adopt abstract interpretations of the senses as immediate, real, and common-sense (Waskul & Vannini).. According to Dewey (1934),

> to see, to perceive, is more than to recognize. It does not identify something present in terms of a past disconnected from it. The past is carried into the present so as to expand and deepen the content of the latter. (p.24)

Thus the meanings attributed to sensory perceptions do not reside in objective qualities of a sensory experience, but are ritualized socio-cultural habits laden with moral and aesthetic judgments. Common-sense reactions are thus better described as habits of sensing, which through one's somatic career affect personal meanings of place (Waskul & Vannini).

Habits of Sensing and Place

According to Rowles (2008), "through the process of habitation each location leaves its mark on us and, at the same time, becomes imbued with significance as a component of our ongoing story" (p.129). Through repeated engagement with a particular environment, individuals develop an innate awareness that allows them to transcend conscious negotiation of that environment (Rowles). As previously discussed, the senses are intimately related to our habitual transactions with the

environment. If habits of sensing are salient to experienced meanings of place, then exploring how we use them to structure place is logical endeavor.

Rodaway's (1994) *Sensory Geographies* provides a deep exploration of how the senses can structure space such that they come to define place. Rowles (2008) suggested that experiences of place can transcend the immediate, transporting us back in time to "inhabit the environments of our past" (p.130). As an illustration of the parallel importance of the senses for being in place, Waksul and Vannini (2008) demonstrated that particular olfactory stimulations allowed their participants to relive vivid past experiences in places that were associated with rich meanings. Smells are often associated with particular places (Rodaway) and thus, in part, come to define those places. In the West, place is typically defined by vision; however this is not the case for all cultures. For instance the Saami and Inuit define space by sound (Rodaway).

Habits of sensing, according to Waksul and Vannini (2008) are "sense-making patterns that express, articulate, and are the result of individual and collective sensorial biographies and histories" (p.59). In other words, habits of sensing are ingrained habits of perceiving and interpreting meaning from sensory stimuli emanating from the environment. If occupation is a transaction joining the person and a situation, and meaning is derived from the values and aesthetics of a transaction (Dickie et al., 2006), then habits of sensing are a significant factor of how individuals experience meaning in occupation.

If we continue to build on the notion that habits of sensing are the building blocks to habits of action (Waksul & Vannini, 2008), and habits of action are the

fundamental basis for occupational transactions with the environment (Cutchin et al., 2008), then we can begin to appreciate the importance of the senses in everyday patterns of engagement in one's lifeworld. According to Seamon (1980), the *lifeworld* is the "taken-for-granted pattern and context of everyday life, by which the person routinely conducts his or her day-to-day existence without having to make it constantly an object of conscious attention" (p.149). Through embodied and ritualized engagements with one's familiar environment, a person is able to transcend the mundane to "direct their creative attention to wider, more significant life-dimensions" (p.157). According to Seamon, the summative result of these integrated behaviors creates a *time-space routine* through which a person organizes significant portions of their daily occupational engagement without conscious awareness. Time-space routines enable efficient engagement with one's environment by freeing one's conscious attention from repetitive mundane behaviors. Indeed, "creative and innovative thinking can be 'embroidered' on a background of habitual structure" (Clark, 2000, p.129S). Time-space routine is so important to our daily lives that its disruption is experienced as a source of stress (Seamon, 2002) though we often do not even recognize its existence (Seamon, 1980).

If habits of sensing contribute to time-space routines and individual creativity in managing occupational transactions, then they can have a significant impact on wellbeing. Although unconscious, our habits of sensing play a major role in the development and recreation of everyday meanings because they are imbued with predispositions of moral and aesthetic judgment by means of powerful social and

cultural forces. Transgression of expected sensations in customary occupations can alienate individuals from experiencing successful place integration and cause a moral judgment that the place is not right. For instance, Marco was alienated by "aseptic" smells in Smalltown grocery stores which violated his expectation of how the store should smell. Contrarily, such a smell is welcomed by non-Latino Smalltown shoppers whose socially constructed expectations for hygiene suggest the store should smell aseptic.

Sensory and Aesthetics

Sensation, according to Dewey, involves the physical but also involves the soul and is the basis for *feeling* (1887/1967). The act of perceiving a stimulus engenders sensation which results in knowledge creation concerning the particular situation through which the stimulus is felt. Attention may be focused on a singular aspect of the environment, but the *feeling* experienced in that moment is couched by the context through which it is felt. Each sense can provoke range of emotional responses mediated by their quality, intensity, and context of experience (Rodaway, 1994). According to Tuan (1989), an aesthetic response is largely dependent on the pleasure of the senses. However whether a particular sensation is deemed pleasurable is dependent on and "can perhaps be endlessly extended by association, memory, and knowledge" (p.234). Our habits of sensing are thus also habits of aesthetic perception on moral evaluations that are founded on past experiences. Though evoking the past, moments of aesthetic appreciation are not always consciously linked to past experiences (Tuan).

An aesthetic response to a particular sensation is experienced as an impulse informing and directing thoughts, feelings, and action (Tuan, 1989). Such impulses are evident in daily behaviors of avoidance or dislike directed towards specific stimuli emanating from the environment. For example, piercing sounds in one's environment, such as a fire alarm, demand one's attention and direct behavioral responses. Upon hearing the fire alarm, the individual engages in a ritualized response actively conditioned by the social environment of that setting. Foul smells or objects that are perceived as dirty are likely to provoke avoidance. At first glance these appear to be solitary activities, but the social and cultural context is what colors a particular sensation with qualities such as "dirty" or "foul."

Moral and aesthetic judgments towards a particular environment are based on habits of sensing. Sensory habits are "transitory impressions [that] unobtrusively nurture our sense of wellbeing" (Tuan, 1989, p.235). Aesthetic feeling, according to Dewey (1887/1967), "arises from the contemplation of the ideal value of any factor of experience…it is active delight in it" (p.275). This ideal is not an innate affinity towards the objective qualities of an object, but is the result of a habit of sensing conditioned by one's sensorial biography (Waksul & Vannini, 2008). Hasselkus (2002) alluded to this notion by claiming individuals can experience wellbeing in a place when it feels "'right' in terms of its size, its design, its décor, its colors, its location, its source of light, its temperature, etc." (p.36). Thus place feels "right" to someone if the sensory qualities of that place favorably appeal to the aesthetic evaluations that person attributes to the place. According to Dewey (1934), sensation is an integral aspect of the life experience and associated wellbeing, "all

direct experience is qualitative, and qualities are what make life-experience itself directly precious…and all qualities are mediated through some mode of sense" (p.305).

If sensations have emotional and moral correlates (Dewey, 1934; Rodaway, 1994), and being in place involves "*emotional affinity* [emphasis in original] for locations" (Rowles, 2008, p.129), it follows that the interaction of sensory stimuli and our personal sensorial biographies have a significant bearing on experiences of being in place and positive wellbeing. Accordingly, if one's sensorial biography engenders a negative aesthetic response to a situation, the person will likely avoid that situation. In this manner, tensions felt through habits of sensing bear great similarity to Dewey's (1938/1998) articulation of the dramatic tensions of transaction. According to Dewey, consciousness can emerge as a dramatic tension resulting from a poor mesh between one's habit configurations and the demands of the environment. If habit configurations foster a harmonious transaction with the environment, then no tension arises and the individual may proceed unconsciously out of habit. When those habits do not foster harmonious integration and transaction with the environment, the individual then becomes aware of this tension and must creatively reconfigure those habits to reestablish harmony (Dewey).

Though Dewey did not equate habits with sensing (Waksul & Vannini, 2008), he found they were intimately related since "habitual attitudes which govern concrete sensory materials" and the senses are "filters [of] all the material that reaches our perception of thought" (Dewey, 1922/1998, p.32). Dewey's 1922 book was focused on sophisticated habits, such as habits of thought, perception and action. I have

emphasized the role of the senses in constituting more complex habits in a manner that extends Dewey's writings on the senses and thus, I believe, is in accordance with his line of thought. If we accept that habits of sensing enable individuals to navigate their familiar surroundings without consciously negotiating sensations and their respective meanings, then it follows that a violation or disruption of those habitual encounters would result in a conscious need to renegotiate sensory transactions with that environment.

Extending Dewey's thoughts to habits of sensing evokes a complex appreciation of their interactions. Habits, according to Dewey, operate incessantly, in a complex interpenetration and affect each other "wherein each habit contributes to the total configuration, and the configuration affects the functioning of any particular habit" (Kestenbaum, 1977, p.22). Accordingly, a habit of sensing is not felt in isolation but through a complex configuration of habits of sensing such that perception of a particular sensation is always *felt* in the presence of other sensations with varying intensities and qualities.

Sensory Transactions

The role of context in sensation is underappreciated. The presence of a particular stimulus will not always provoke the same response as the traditional stimulus-response paradigm would have one think. These sensations do not occur in a vacuum but in the flow of everyday life (Waksul & Vannini). The same sensation at different moments can evoke different responses to varying contexts through which that sensation is felt. According to Dewey (1934), the senses are not felt "in isolation but in their connections; as interacting, not as simple and separate entities" (p. 125).

For example, a participant in Waksul and Vannini's (2008) study claimed that she enjoyed her dog's odor, although she admitted it was a foul smell, because it evoked meanings of friendship, home, and peace. A similar foul smell emanating from another animal would likely not evoke such a meaningful response. The difference in these two situations would not be the absolute objective characteristics of that smell, but the history of repeated olfactory experiences with her dog in conjunction with pleasant feelings such that her emotional reaction, through continual reinforcement, became a habit of sensing.

However, one's response to a given sensation can also change with context due to other factors than somatic career. Sensory perception, like all other human experiences, does not occur in a vacuum. Any sensation is felt in conjunction with other sensations and actions. Moreover, different senses may be evoked by "specific levels of stimulation, or within the context of certain excitations of the other senses" (Rodaway, 1994, p.37). These experiences also vary among individuals since people "*associate* [emphasis in original] in a regular way different qualities of sensation" (p.37).

The interpenetration of senses has been suggested in studies; however, its role in meaningful occupation remains obscure. In a series of randomized controlled experiments, Woods et al. (in press) found that participants rated foods to be less salty and less sweet when consumed in the presence of a loud background noise as opposed to when consumed in a quiet environment. Participants also reported that foods were crunchier in presence of loud noise. Woods et al. found a significant

correlation between liking the background noise itself and liking the food. The experience of taste was affected by the experience of sound.

Indeed, the senses transact in an "interwoven whole" (Dewey, 1887/1967, p.37) in so many different combinations that the "sum of their partnership exceeds the effectiveness of each alone in discerning environmental details" (Rodaway, 1994, p. 36). Their sum, creating a "massive homogenous sensation" (Dewey, p.37) render the isolation of a particular sensation for purposes of abstraction impractical and potentially misleading. This massive sensation, which Dewey termed "coenaesthesia" (p.71), is the summative feeling of all sensations creating a sense of life, vitality, individuality, and wellbeing.

For example, a Salvadorian woman from Smalltown complained that a seafood soup she had prepared for decades does not taste the same as it did in her hometown despite having the same ingredients and cooking utensils. Upon reflection, she speculated that her soup did not taste the same because of the context in which it was eaten. In El Salvador, she explained, she was accustomed to eating her soup beside the ocean. Now, she misses that environment and claims her soup no longer tastes the same. The *coenaesthetic* experience of eating the soup did not match the confluence of sensations from her hometown. As a result, she did not experience the taste of her soup in the same manner though the objective taste was likely similar. The *coenaesthetic* pleasure that constituted the expected taste of her seafood soup was partly dependent on sensations absent from her current situation.

Habits of sensing regarding the occupation of preparing and eating her seafood soup did not harmoniously integrate with her situation. The absence of expected sensations that typically created the situation through which her occupation occurred caused a dramatic tension in the Deweyan sense, preventing harmonious transaction. This woman did not experience wellbeing during a meaningful occupation due to discordance with her habits of sensing. This suggests that we should take greater consideration of the sensory aspects of the situation rather than solely the occupation itself. If occupation is a transaction with the environment, then it follows that the sensory qualities of the environment will affect the sensory experience of occupation and the meanings associated with it.

Sensory Wellbeing and Place Integration

Dewey (1934) argued that individuals feel most alive and well at moments "of fullest intercourse with the environment, in which sensuous material and relations are most completely merged" (p.107). Indeed, "the summation of the feelings of the workings of the entire organism that appears to form the basis of the temperaments, and which, interwoven with more complex states of emotion, constitute mood or emotional tone" (Dewey, 1887/1967, p.222). Thus, it follows that drastic changes in corporeal sensory experiences engender negative sensations and feelings that could affect wellbeing.

Most of the Smalltown study participants who cited changes in sensory experiences portrayed the change as a form of sensory deprivation. People complained of the absence of familiar sounds such as salsa music, bike riders, and indigenous languages. They complained of environments that smelled sterile in

comparison to the intense smells and tastes of fruits and vegetables from their

hometowns. They described a lack of color and decorations at events such as

weddings. They also lamented the loss of particular tactile experiences such as

plunging one's hand into a bag of beans or being close to others in public

transportation. However, I would caution against using the term sensory deprivation

to describe their situation as this implies the absence of sensory stimulation which

was not the case. A smell perceived as sterile is a smell nonetheless.

Each participant also struggled with adaptation to their new environments

citing depressive symptoms and lamenting the loss of specific sensory experiences.

Perhaps various forms of sensory loss contributed to their lack of wellbeing and

experience with depressive symptoms. According to Rodaway (1994), sensory

experiences that conflict with expectations can cause confusion. Such incompatible

experiences may challenge one's ability to adapt and successfully integrate with new

environments. Rowles (2008) suggested that we can reorient ourselves to new

settings and create new place affinities through engagement in occupation through

those settings. Thus, in order to successfully integrate with a new setting, one must

repeatedly engage in meaningful occupations through that setting until the setting

itself is imbued with meaning and a sense of place. Participants in the Smalltown

study were progressively accustomed to their new environments through repeated

occupational engagements in those milieus. Participants came to expect a

divergence from their embodied Latin American experiences as they were

habituated to their new environments via occupation. This is not a novel claim;

however this chapter suggests that facilitating successful meaningful occupational

engagement in a new environment is intimately related to one's sensory experiences with that environment.

According to Cutchin (2004), place integration is "the process of action to address the problematic aspect of the situation, and thereby remake the situation and bring harmony to our ongoing transactions with it" (p.309). If the problematic aspect of a given situation is incompatibility of habits of sensing, then promoting successful place integration would entail addressing the sensory aspects of that situation. However this would be more difficult than one might presume as it would require far more than merely adding or eliminating a specific sensory stimuli from the environment. The richness of sensory experiences results from the interpenetration of sensations through varying social, physical, and cultural environments. One's sensory experience at a particular time and place can be qualitatively different than another's experience at that same time and place. In addition, a person's experience with a particular sensation can be qualitatively different from situation to situation due to the confluence of different stimuli emanating through those situations. Identical forms of stimuli can thus engender different sensorial experiences because they are felt through different contexts.

Conclusion

Places can evoke memories of meaningful past engagements in occupation. Memories are often rich with sensory experiences and can be evoked solely on exposure to a particular stimulus that is reminiscent of a salient past experience (Rodaway, 1994). Since the different senses play such an important part in the experience of meaningful occupation, I propose that exploring the role of sensation

in occupation is a fruitful ground of inquiry in occupational science. Rather than referring to the senses only when there is a diagnosed sensory dysfunction, I urge scholars to carefully consider the richness and variance of sensory experiences engendered by *typical* participation in occupation. Indeed, given the well documented variability of sensory experiences in diagnoses, it seems unlikely that *typical* humans are born with the same sensory capacities. Once filtered through social and cultural experiences, it follows that these capacities could diverge significantly. Since these experiences shape meaning in occupation, varying sensory capacities at birth along with further distilment through social and cultural experiences can engender divergent meanings through occupation.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The goal of this ethnography was to address two initial aims: 1) to explore the experience of stress for Latino immigrants to Smalltown, North Carolina, and 2) to explore changes in habits and routines of participation in occupations as a result of immigration. Although this study focused on the Smalltown situation, the latter is not dissimilar from other North Carolinian communities. These share similar geographical, social, and cultural environments that would likely bear a similar effect on the lived experience of immigrants to those communities. Thus, the study findings may have a broader application than the narrow focus on Smalltown.

The first study aim was met through participant observations during community and individual occupations and the collection of local media and community documents. The second aim was met through semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and administration of the self-discovery tapestry (Meltzer, 2006). The study's emergent design enabled me to address the following six additional questions raised by consultants during fieldwork:

1. How did the fear of deportation affect participation in occupation?

The fear of deportation impeded participation in occupation due to the confluence of the REAL ID Act of 2005 and Memoranda of Agreements (MOAs) between local law enforcement and federal immigration enforcement under the auspices of Section 287g of the 1996 Immigration and Reform Act (IRA). Together,

these policies provided legal precedent for police to check a person's immigration status for minor traffic violations or at roadblocks. In response, undocumented study participants withdrew from many occupational engagements occurring outside the home. Individuals drove only when absolutely necessary, primarily to commute to work and purchase essential goods. When braving the roads, they adopted evasive driving habits to minimize encounters with police. Participants avoided winding roads, drove on four lane highways, and withdrew from driving altogether. Driving was an intensely stressful endeavor, and fear of being pulled over became a major impediment to participation in occupations outside the home. This exacerbated feelings of depression and social isolation as participants were confined to their homes with few opportunities for social occupations.

2. **How did Smalltown geography affect participant daily engagement in occupation?**

The decentralized urban morphology of Smalltown and lack of public transportation engendered a situation that required access to a vehicle. For undocumented participants, this was especially damaging to their daily engagement in occupations as driving evoked an unacceptable risk of deportation. The need to drive was also a barrier to participation in occupation for documented immigrants. Purchasing and maintaining a vehicle is expensive and many families could not afford the hidden costs of insurance and credit premiums. Caregivers staying at home with children were vulnerable to social isolation through their dependence on transportation from others. Without easy access to transportation, study participants

spent extended periods confined to their homes with few opportunities for interpersonal contact to nurture social wellbeing.

In their previous lives in Latin America, Smalltown immigrants were accustomed to frequent social interactions as they walked to stores and services which were within walking distance. The geographical structure of Latin American communities generally affords residents with access to all essential goods via walking. In the event a person must travel beyond walking distance, he or she can easily access affordable public transportation such as informal bus and taxi services. Participants in this study felt they had many more opportunities to leave their homes to participate in occupations in their countries of origin and recalled an ability to easily change environments in contrast to their lives in Smalltown.

3. **How did changes in routine engagement in occupation affect wellbeing?**

Changes in routine engagement in cultural occupations were portrayed as a challenge to maintaining one's culture. In addition to limiting opportunities for social interaction, the reliance on automobile transportation altered engagement in occupations such as cooking and shopping for groceries. Immigrants to Smalltown shifted their shopping habits from purchasing fresh produce on a daily basis to purchasing canned or boxed foods with a longer shelf life. By reducing the frequency of engagement in the occupation of grocery shopping, Smalltown immigrants also reduced their opportunities for happenstance social encounters. Moreover, the limited availability of traditional ingredients forced an often undesired transformation in cooking habits. Participants lamented the need to use canned or boxed ingredients. Cooking and consuming traditional Latin American meals was invariably

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noted by participants as an important mechanism for cultural preservation. The inability to consistently procure fresh produce made it impossible to cook traditional meals. Thus, the lack of access to traditional ingredients challenged Smalltown immigrants' cultural identities. Furthermore, this was frustrating for parents who aimed to impart their culture on their children.

4. **How did changes in the sensory experiences of occupation affect engagement in occupation and participant wellbeing?**

Participants noted different sensory experiences while engaging in customary occupations in Smalltown versus those in their Latin American past. These changes were predominantly described as a loss with detrimental effects on experiences of wellbeing. Individuals expressed feelings of alienation when encountering sensory changes through engagement in occupations such as grocery shopping, cooking, photography, or attending church. For instance, Marco's reaction to "aseptic" smells of U.S. grocery stores engendered feelings of alienation by highlighting his foreign status including what he had left behind. Participants noted changes in the experience of each sense during engagement in customary occupations. The differences in the sounds, smells, sights, touch, and tastes of everyday occupations evoked memories of past engagements and were frequently described in terms of loss. The transformation of sensory experiences related to habitual occupations was evident to participants and interrupted the habitual flow of their engagement as they reflected on differences. In those moments, participants experienced poor integration with their environment with negative effects on wellbeing. The violation of

sensory expectations were brought to consciousness and impeded harmonious transaction with the environment.

5. How did changes in cultural expectations for engagement in social occupations affect participation?

Cultural expectations for appropriate interactions with one's social and physical environment were a source of alienation for immigrants to Smalltown. Participants described significant differences in how they relate to each other and the physical environment from their U.S. born counterparts. Different communication styles were a constant source of tension and misunderstandings between cultures. For example, Marco was rebuked by his professor for asking questions that were not deemed relevant to the ongoing discussion. However, Marco explained, Colombians are accustomed to speculation when grappling with difficult abstract ideas. In contrast, the professor viewed Marco's mode of analysis as a detraction from his lesson and a barrier to understanding.

In addition, customary forms for social greetings were a point of contention. All study participants, regardless of their Latin American place of origin, noted habituation to closer interpersonal contact than their U.S. counterparts throughout all occupations particularly during social greetings. Participants lamented the loss of physical contact with their social surroundings, describing this as an affront to wellbeing. Participants expressed shock at how native Smalltown residents kept to themselves in public areas. The loss of customary human touch during social occupations was associated with feelings of alienation and negative wellbeing.

6. **How do different cultural norms across Latin America affect participation in occupation for Latino immigrants to Smalltown?**

Study findings illustrate variations in social norms for participation in occupations across Latin American cultures. These variations refute assertions of a pan-ethnic Latino identity and call for a more nuanced appreciation of cultural differences among Latino populations. Participants spoke distinct dialects using different idioms and employed identical words with different meanings. This was problematic for immigrants who were unaware of those differences, and caused misunderstandings and conflicts between Latino immigrants. Although study participants unanimously noted differences in the acceptable levels of physical intimacy for social interactions in the U.S., the latter also differed among Latinos themselves. For instance, Marco (a Colombian) found his Mexican counterparts were accustomed to less physical intimacy during greetings and reacted adversely to his custom of grabbing one's shoulder in addition to shaking hands.

Implications for Occupational Science and Therapy

Juxtaposing Young's (1990) notion of cultural imperialism and habits of sensing suggests a range of possible implications for both occupational therapists and occupational scientists. In clinical settings, particularly psychiatry, occupational therapists often adopt sensory based approaches for the evaluation and treatment of clients. However, if individuals acquire different habits of sensing founded on personal historical participation in occupation through distinct cultural, geographical, and social environments, then applying sensory based approaches is potentially problematic, especially in cross cultural settings.

The study findings suggest that environmental adaptations modifying the quality or intensity of sensory input should be undertaken with consideration of an individual's culture and occupational history. Acknowledging cultural differences in habits of sensing would be especially important for international efforts in which occupational therapists and scientists aim to ameliorate the quality of clinical services. Basing clinical decisions on a therapist's personal habits of sensing may present a discordant situation for clients with a different set of sensory habits. For instance, a clinician working with a Colombian client may attempt to minimize auditory input from outside environments to create a calming atmosphere the therapist finds conducive to therapy. Though the modification may seem appropriate, the decision would be based on the assumption that clients operate with similar habits of sensing. Contrarily, Colombian participants in the study were troubled and alienated by overwhelming silence in Smalltown. Participants found this silence had a negative effect on their wellbeing and engendered feelings of social isolation. Modification to the auditory environment for a Colombian patient could be counterproductive if discordant with their habits of sensing.

In increasingly diverse societies, occupational therapists will often provide services to clients with a variety of backgrounds and cultural schemas for engaging in occupation. Therapists must ascertain what clients expect from therapeutic activities and therapeutic relationships. A therapist attempting to impose his or her cultural notions of how to engage in occupation on someone from another culture will encounter barriers of misunderstandings potentially damaging the therapeutic relationship and expected therapeutic gains.

Organization of Clinical Services.

Participants in the Smalltown study experienced social isolation and longed for meaningful social interactions. The loss of intimate community sensory experiences affected participants' ability to integrate with their environments and resulted in poor wellbeing. Clinical services in traditional physical rehabilitation settings typically involve one-on-one interactions between a therapist and patient. The importance of intimate social sensory experiences suggests that patients in traditional rehabilitation settings may benefit from group based interventions. Group treatments could provide opportunities for intimate social sensory experiences that facilitate place integration and patient wellbeing during treatment.

In addition, therapeutic interventions typically take place in sterile institutional environments that are void of the very sensory experiences study participants lost when immigrating to Smalltown. Sensory experiences that were discordant with sensory expectations alienated immigrants and prevented them from successfully integrating with their new social and physical environments. Invariably, study participants experienced stress, alienation, and poor wellbeing due to the poor mesh between expectations and lived experience. Thus, clinical interventions should be enacted in environments that are familiar and natural to patients. Interventions in familiar environments lessen the likelihood that patients are alienated by discordant sensory expectations. The latter is a potential barrier to therapeutic gains as it may engender feelings of poor wellbeing and poor place integration. The study findings suggest moving clinical interventions from foreign or unfamiliar environments, such as institutional settings; to familiar environments, such as households or places the

patient habitually frequents. Interventions in familiar settings eliminate the potential negative effects of discordant sensory expectations and experiences.

Implications for Healthcare Education

In occupational therapy, education or the transfer of knowledge is an integral part of any therapeutic relationship. Therapists frequently educate their clients on alternative approaches to engagement in occupation, how to correctly use adaptive equipment, and attempting to impart knowledge using discordant cultural modes for thinking and knowledge acquisition may be inefficacious. Assuming that one's cultural norms for transferring knowledge is representative of all humanity risks alienating individuals from different cultures.

Implications for Research

Lessons garnered from this study's findings can inform the design of subsequent studies. First and foremost, this study can serve as an illustration of the scholarly merit of emergent study designs. Adopting broad research plans to remain flexible for serendipitous discoveries is difficult to justify to institutional review boards and funding entities which seek detailed research plans. However, as evidenced by this study's findings, broad research plans can result in unanticipated findings that would otherwise remain obfuscated. For example, I did not foresee the importance of sensory changes for study participants and how those changes affected wellbeing. My emergent design allowed me to pursue this idea without compromising the direction of my study.

Requiring detailed research plans is an effective means for guaranteeing quality research and protecting participants. However, such quality controls can

impede the adoption of emergent research designs. Researchers seeking to employ emergent designs must draw on past studies which successfully use them to unearth novel findings in order to justify the merit of their approach. Citing successful examples may facilitate IRB approval and increase the ability to compete for funding.

Limitations

All data collection and analysis was conducted by a single researcher. Thus the findings and conclusions of this study reflect one person's perception of the situation in Smalltown as guided by participants and consultants in that situation. The study's foundation on a distinct experience limits generalizability to other situations.

In addition, I did not live in the community throughout the study period. My personal situation and inability to obtain funding required me to teach in Chapel Hill during the school year and work as a therapist in Butner, North Carolina during the summer. These requirements were a barrier to spending more time in Smalltown. Spending more time in the community could have offered a deeper understanding of the situation or garnered additional findings that were not evident.

Variation in language was also a constant barrier throughout data collection and analyses. The Spanish language has so many regional and cultural variations that I encountered idioms and vocabulary with divergent meanings between study participants. Transcriptions and subsequent analyses would likely be more faithful to the interlocutors' meanings if they were performed by someone sharing the same cultural and national origin.

Future Directions

The significance of habits of sensing in occupational engagement merits further study. I intend on pursuing this line of inquiry to elucidate the complex role of habits of sensing in the experience of occupation and resulting effects on wellbeing. Particularly, the interpenetration of sensory habits in engagement in occupation should be investigated. The senses and their stimuli are often considered as independent entities with predictable reactions or behavioral outcomes. The Smalltown study suggests a need to develop a more nuanced appreciation of how the senses transact with each other and the situation through which they are experienced. Future study in this area should inspect how habits of sensing affect the acquisition, experience, and enactment of meaningful occupations. Deepening our understanding of habits of sensing could make significant contributions to interventions in clinical mental health settings particularly those employing sensory based approaches.

The impetus for this study germinated from my clinical work in institutional psychiatric settings. Thus, I would like to apply my findings and understandings to develop culturally sensitive interventions for patients in those settings. The Smalltown study suggests that habits of sensing can play an important role in the integration of clients with their institutional and community environments. In particular, I hope to modify service provision to mediate the institutionalization of patients and facilitate their reintegration into the community. Finally, I am interested in exploring the role of habits of sensing in theoretical constructs of occupation science, such as occupational deprivation and occupational imbalance (Townsend & Wilcock, 2003).

Appendix A

Consent Form – Spanish Version

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Consentimiento para participar en un estudio de investigación
Participantes adultos: Inmigrantes
Formulario de conducta social

_____

Nº de estudio del IRB ___09-1342_____
Fecha de la versión del formulario de consentimiento: ___9/10/09_____

Título del estudio: Una exploración etnográfica de la inmigración latina a la Carolina del
Norte.

Investigador principal: Antoine Bailliard, M.S., OTR/L
Departamento de la UNC-Chapel Hill: División de la terapia ocupacional, Departamento
de disciplinas aliadas con la salud
Número telefónico de la UNC-Chapel Hill: 919-260-5510
Dirección de correo electrónico: antoine_bailliard@med.unc.edu
Asesor facultativo: Dr. Virginia Dickie, PhD, OTR/L, FAOTA
Departamento: División de la terapia ocupacional, Departamento de disciplinas aliadas con la
salud
Dirección: CB# 7122
Número telefónico #: 919-966-2452   Fax #: 919-966-9007
Correo electrónico: vdickie@med.unc.edu

Número telefónico del contacto del estudio: 919-260-5510
Correo electrónico del contacto del estudio: antoine_bailliard@med.unc.edu

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¿Cuáles son algunas de las cuestiones generales que usted debe saber sobre los estudios
de investigación?
Se le solicita que participe en un estudio de investigación. La participación en este estudio es
voluntaria.
Puede negarse a participar, o puede retirar su consentimiento para participar en el estudio,
por cualquier motivo, sin sufrir sanciones.

Los estudios de investigación están diseñados para obtener nueva información. Esa nueva
información podrá ayudar a personas en el futuro. Es posible que usted no reciba ningún
beneficio directo por participar en este estudio de investigación. También pueden existir
riesgos asociados con la participación en estudios de investigación.

Los detalles sobre este estudio se analizan a continuación. Es importante que entienda esta
información de modo que pueda decidir en forma fundamentada acerca de la participación en
este estudio de investigación.

Le entregará una copia de este formulario de consentimiento. Debe preguntar al investigador mencionado anteriormente, o a los miembros del personal que los asisten, cualquier consulta que tenga acerca de este estudio en cualquier momento.

¿Cuál es el objetivo de este estudio?
El objetivo de este estudio de investigación es obtener información sobre como los inmigrantes latinos sufren la inmigración y adaptación a la vida diaria en Smithfield, Carolina del Norte.

¿Cuántas personas participarán en este estudio?
Si decide participar en este estudio, será uno de entre aproximadamente 20 personas en este estudio de investigación.

¿Por cuánto tiempo participará en este estudio?
Participará por aproximadamente 1 hora en una entrevista hablando de sus experiencias con la inmigración y adaptación a la vida diaria en Smithfield, Carolina del Norte. Puede retirar su consentimiento para participar en el estudio en cualquier momento. También puede retirar cualquier información que quiera y lo eliminará de mis datos y registros. Si es necesario, y con su permisión, podríamos encontrarnos otras veces para hablar más de ese sujeto.

¿Qué ocurrirá si participa en este estudio?
Antes de la entrevista, le dará un formulario titulado el *Tapiz del Descubrimiento Personal*. Esta formulario le preguntará a medir los cambios en su vida diaria a causa de su inmigración.   Puede negar de completar el formulario o retirarla en cualquier momento del estudio. También, para proteger su privacidad, es importante que no ponga su nombre en el *Tapiz del Descubrimiento Personal.*
En una entrevista, le preguntará acerca de sus experiencias con la inmigración y adaptación a la vida diaria en Smithfield, Carolina del Norte. Puede negar de responder a cualquiera pregunta por cualquiera razón. Con su permiso, grabará nuestra conversación. Pero puede retirar cualquiera cosa que me habría dicho durante la entrevista en cualquier momento del estudio.

¿Cuáles son los posibles beneficios por participar en este estudio?
El estudio está planeado para beneficiar a la sociedad por la obtención de nuevos conocimientos. Es posible que usted no beneficie personalmente por su participación en este estudio pero el propósito es de ayudar a la comunidad latina.

¿Cuáles son los posibles riesgos o molestias que implica la participación en este estudio?
No hay riesgos conocidos implicados por su participación. Pero, es posible que existan riesgos desconocidos previamente. En este caso, debe comunicar al investigador cualquier problema que se presente.

¿De qué manera se protegerá su privacidad?
Para proteger su privacidad, no recordará ni su nombre ni cualquier información que puede identificarle incluyendo su trabajo, donde vive, y otra información personal. Con su permiso, grabará nuestra conversación. Puede pedir que apague el grabador en cualquier momento

antes o durante la entrevista. Después de la entrevista, transcribirá nuestra conversación en forma escrita y eliminará todos los datos que pudieran identificarle. Borrará inmediatamente la entrevista grabada y guardará la transcripción en un archivero con cerradura en mi oficina a UNC-Chapel Hill. Si eliges a completar el *Tapiz del Descubrimiento Personal,* lo guardará también en el archivero con cerradura. Ningún registro existirá que relacionará este formulario de consentimiento con la transcripción de la entrevista. Solamente los 5 profesores de mi comité de disertación tendrán el acceso para leer las transcripciones de entrevistas. Hará todo posible para asegurar su anonimidad y privacidad.

Los participantes no serán identificados en informes o publicaciones sobre este estudio. Aunque se realizarán todos los esfuerzos por conservar los registros de investigación en forma privada, podrá ocurrir que la ley federal o estatal exija que tales registros, incluida la información personal, sean revelados. Esto es muy poco probable, pero si alguna vez se pide que sean revelados, UNC-Chapel Hill tomará las medidas permitidas por ley para proteger la privacidad de la información personal. En algunos casos, su información reunida en este estudio de investigación podría ser examinada por representantes de la Universidad, patrocinadores de la investigación u organismos gubernamentales con fines tales como el control de calidad o la seguridad.

¿Qué ocurrirá si quiere retirar su participación antes del fin del estudio?
Puede retirar su participación en el estudio en cualquier momento sin penalidad. También, el investigador puede negar su participación en cualquier momento. Eso podría ocurrir si debo parar el estudio.

¿Recibirá algo por participar en este estudio?
Usted no recibirá nada por participar en este estudio.

¿Le costará algo la participación en este estudio?
No existirá ningún costo por participar en este estudio.

¿Qué sucede si desea formular preguntas sobre este estudio?
Tiene el derecho de preguntar, y que le respondan, cualquier duda que tenga acerca de esta investigación. Si tiene preguntas o inquietudes, <u>debe ponerse en contacto con yo o mi asesor facultativo por la información</u> en la primera página de este formulario.

¿Qué sucede si usted desea formular preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante de una investigación?
Toda investigación realizada con voluntarios humanos es examinada por un comité que trabaja para proteger sus derechos y su bienestar. Si tiene preguntas o inquietudes acerca de sus derechos como sujeto de una investigación, puede ponerse en contacto, de manera anónima si lo desea, con el Institutional Review Board (Comité de revisión institucional, IRB por sus siglas en inglés) al 919-966-3113 o por correo electrónico a IRB_subjects@unc.edu.

Gracias por su ayuda con este estudio.

Consent Form – English Version

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Adult Participants: Non-immigrants
Social Behavioral Form

_____

IRB Study #__09-1342_____
Consent Form Version Date: ___9/10/09_____

Title of Study: An Ethnographic Exploration of Latino Immigration to North Carolina

Principal Investigator: Antoine Bailliard, MS, OTR/L
UNC-Chapel Hill Department: Department of Allied Health, Division of Occupational Science
UNC-Chapel Hill Phone number: 919-260-5510
Email Address: Antoine_bailliard@med.unc.edu
Faculty Advisor: Dr. Virgina Dickie, PhD, OTR/L, FAOTA
Department: Division of Occupational Science, Department of Allied Health
Mailing address/CB #: 7122
Phone #: 919-966-2452   Fax #: 919-966-9007   Email Address: vdickie@med.unc.edu

Study Contact telephone number: 919-260-5510
Study Contact email: Antoine_bailliard@med.unc.edu

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What are some general things you should know about research studies?
You are being asked to take part in a research study. To join the study is voluntary.
You may refuse to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future.   You may not receive any direct benefit from being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies.

Details about this study are discussed below. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study.
You will be given a copy of this consent form. You should ask the researchers named above, or staff members who may assist them, any questions you have about this study at any time.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of this research study is to learn about how Latino immigrants experience immigration and adaptation to life in Smithfield, North Carolina.

How many people will take part in this study?
If you decide to be in this study, you will be one of approximately 20 people in this research study.

How long will your part in this study last?
If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in an interview lasting approximately one hour long. You may withdraw your participation and consent at anytime at which point any information you would like to withdraw will be deleted.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
I will ask you a series of questions related to how Latino immigration to Smithfield has affected you and your community. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to for any reason. With your permission, I will record our conversation.   You may request that I turn off the recorder or delete any information that you have provided during the interview at anytime.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?
Research is designed to benefit society by gaining new knowledge. You may not benefit personally from being in this research study.

What are the possible risks or discomforts involved from being in this study?
There are no known risks for participating in this study. Any information you provide will be kept confidential and anonymous. There may be uncommon or previously unknown risks. You should report any problems to the researcher.

How will your privacy be protected?
To protect your privacy, I will not record your name or any information that could lead to your eventual identification including your place of work, where you live, and other personal information. With your permission, I will record the interview. You may request that the recorder be turned off at any time before or during the interview. After the interview, I will transcribe our conversation to written form and remove any other identifiers that may be present. I will immediately delete the recorded interview and store the transcript in a locked cabinet in my office at UNC-Chapel Hill. No record will be kept linking this consent form to the interview transcript. The professors on my dissertation committee will be the only other 5 individuals who may read the interview transcripts.

Participants will not be identified in any report or publication about this study. Although every effort will be made to keep research records private, there may be times when federal or state law requires the disclosure of such records, including personal information. This is very unlikely, but if disclosure is ever required, UNC-Chapel Hill will take steps allowable by law to protect the privacy of personal information. In some cases, your information in this research study could be reviewed by representatives of the University, research sponsors, or government agencies for purposes such as quality control or safety.

What if you want to stop before your part in the study is complete?
You can withdraw from this study at any time. The investigator also has the right to stop your

participation at any time. This could be because the entire study has stopped.

Will you receive anything for being in this study?
You will not receive anything for taking part in this study.

Will it cost you anything to be in this study?
There will be no costs for being in the study

What if you have questions about this study?
You have the right to ask, and have answered, any questions you may have about this research. If you have questions, or concerns, you should contact me or my advisor using the information listed on the first page of this form.

What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?
All research on human volunteers is reviewed by a committee that works to protect your rights and welfare. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board at 919-966-3113 or by email to IRB_subjects@unc.edu.

Thank you for helping me with this study.

Recruitment Script – Spanish Version

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Recruitment script
Adult Participants: Latino Immigrants
_____

"Soy estudiante doctoral a la Universidad de la Carolina del Norte a Chapel Hill."

"Me interesa aprender sobre como los inmigrantes sufren la inmigracion y adaptacion a la vida diaria en los E.E.U.U."

"Para aprender sobre las experencias de los inmigrantes Latinos, assisto a eventos de la comunidad y hago entrevistas con inmigrantes Latinos de la comunidad"

"Con su permiso, querria preguntarle sobre sus experiencias con la inmigracion y adaptacion a la vida diaria en los E.E.U.U."

"Su participación sera voluntaria y puede negar su participation o toda informacion que habria dicho en cualquier momento."

"No será identificado y se realizarán todos los esfuerzos para conservar su privacidad."

"Si elige a participar, podramos hacer la entrevista en cualquier hora y colocacion que le conviene."

"Con su permiso, gustaria grabar la entrevista."

"Puede negar de responder a cualquiera pregunta o puede pedir que apague el grabador en cualquier momento antes o durante la entrevista."

"Favor de leer este FLYER antes de decidir si participara."

"Si decide de participar, favor de llamarme por telefono o correro electronico y discutiramos los detalles del studio antes de planear la entrevista."

"Gracias por su ayuda."

Appendix D

Recruitment Script – English Version

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Recruitment script
Adult Participants: Non-immigrants

_____

"I am a doctoral student at UNC-Chapel Hill who is researching Latino immigration to Smithfield, NC."

"I'm interested in learning about how immigrants experience immigration and adaptation to life in the U.S."

"To learn about Latino immigrant experiences, I am attending community events and interviewing community members."

"If you are willing, I would like to interview you about your experiences with Latinos immigrating to your community."

"This is purely voluntary and you can withdraw your participation and/or any information you give at anytime."

"You will remain anonymous and every effort will be made to protect your confidentiality."

"If you agree to participate, we can conduct the interview at a time and place that is convenient for you."

"If you are willing, I would like to record the interview."

"You can refuse to answer any questions and/or request for the recorder to be turned off at anytime."

"Please take the time to read over this handout *[recruitment handout; please see attached]* before you decide whether you would like to participate."

"If you decide to participate, please contact me by phone or email and we will discuss the details of the study before setting up the interview."

"Thank you for your time!"

Recruitment Flyer – Spanish Version

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Reclutamiento para participar en un estudio de investigación
Título del estudio: Una exploración etnográfica de la inmigración latina a la Carolina del Norte.
Departamento de la UNC-Chapel Hill: División de la terapia ocupacional, Departamento de disciplinas aliadas con la salud
_____

¡Participa en un estudio académico!

- Estoy buscando inmigrantes con quienes puedo conversar sobre sus experiencias con la inmigración y adaptación a la vida diaria en los E.E.U.U.

- Manteniendo su privacidad, le preguntaré sobre sus experiencias en una entrevista de aproximadamente un hora.

- Intento aprender como los latinos sufren este cambio importante en la vida.

- Esa información es importante para mejorar los servicios estadunidenses para los latinos.

- La participación es voluntaria y puede retirar su participación en cualquier momento del estudio. También puede negar de responder a cualquier pregunta por cualquiera razón.

- Si le interesa, favor de llamarme por teléfono o correo electrónico usando las siguientes direcciones.

Investigador principal: Antoine Bailliard, M.S., OTR/L
Número telefónico de la UNC-Chapel Hill: 919-260-5510
Dirección de correo electrónico: antoine_bailliard@med.unc.edu

Recruitment Flyer – English Version

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Recruitment to participate in a research study
Title of Study: An Ethnographic Exploration of Latino Immigration to North Carolina
UNC-Chapel Hill Department: Department of Allied Health, Division of Occupational Science
_____

Participate in a research study!

- I am searching for non-immigrant Smithfield community members who are willing to speak about their experiences with the Latino community in Smithfield.

- While protecting your privacy, you would participate in an interview lasting approximately one hour long.

- The intent is to learn about your experience with the Latino community.

- This information is important to improve our understanding of Latino immigration.

- Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time during the study. You may also refuse to respond to any questions for any reason.

- If you are interested, please contact me by phone or email

Principal Investigator: Antoine Bailliard, MS, OTR/L
UNC-Chapel Hill Phone number: 919-260-5510
Email Address: Antoine_bailliard@med.unc.edu

Appendix G

Interview Question Guide: Latino Immigrants

1. <u>How has your daily activity routine changed from when you lived in your country of origin?</u>

   ¿En qué ha cambiado su rutina diaria actual con respecto a la que tenía en su país de origen?

2. <u>What has changed the most in your life since your immigration?</u>

   ¿Cuál ha sido el cambio más grande en su vida desde que emigró?

3. <u>What is most difficult about adapting to the US and its culture?</u>

   ¿Qué es lo más difícil a la hora de adaptarse a los Estados Unidos y a su cultura?

4. <u>What is the easiest about adapting to the US and its culture?</u>

   ¿Qué es lo más fácil a la hora de adaptarse a los EEUU y a su cultura?

5. <u>What do you miss most from your country of origin?</u>

   ¿Qué es lo que más añora de su país de origen?

6. <u>What do you like most about your life in the US?</u>

   ¿Qué le gusta más de su vida en los EEUU?

7. <u>How has this change affected your ability to fulfill important life roles?</u>

   ¿Cómo ha afectado este cambio a sus obligaciones familiares o personales?

8. <u>How has this change affected your level of satisfaction and participation in work, leisure, and social relationships?</u>

   ¿Cómo ha afectado este cambio a su nivel de satisfacción y participación en el trabajo, el ocio y las relaciones sociales?

Appendix H

Interview Question Guide: Non-Immigrants

1. <u>How has Latino immigration to the Smithfield area affected you personally?</u>

2. <u>How has Latino immigration to the Smithfield area affected your community?</u>

3. <u>In your opinion, what is the most significant change in the Smithfield community due to Latino immigration?</u>

4. <u>What is the most positive aspect of Latino immigration to Smithfield?</u>

5. <u>What is the most negative aspect of Latino immigration to Smithfield?</u>

6. <u>Have any changes occurred in Smithfield's government institutions as a result of Latino immigration?</u>

7. <u>Do you have any stories you would like to share related to Latino immigration to Smithfield?</u>

Appendix I

List of Codes

9/11

African American

Alimentación ⇔ Diet

Aprender ingles ⇔ Learning English

Cambio de ambiente ⇔ Change of environment

Cambio de población que inmigre ⇔ Change of immigrant population

Cambios aquí ⇔ Changes here

Cambios culturales ⇔ Cultural changes

Campo ⇔ Camp work

Conocer el sistema ⇔ Knowing the system

Control sobre la inmigración ⇔ Control over immigration

Copa Mundial ⇔ World Cup

Credit & materialism

Deportation

Differences among Latinos

Dificultad por el idioma ⇔ Language difficulties

Dinero ⇔ Money

Discriminación ⇔ Discrimination

Estrés ⇔ Stress

EtOH ⇔ Alcohol

Explotación ⇔ Exploitation

Fear

Flea market

Gangs

Gracias ⇔ Thanks

Healthcare

Hijos ⇔ Children

Identidad ⇔ Identity

Idioma ⇔ Language

Illegal

Immigration Law

Institutional change

Interpretar ⇔ Interpreting

Isolación Social ⇔ Social Isolation

Licencia ⇔ License

Living conditions

Más confianza ⇔ More confidence

Mescla de culturas ⇔ Mix of cultures

Migrant worker

Military

Mudarse y Regresar ⇔ Moving and returning

Necesita manejar ⇔ Need to drive

No show

Obtener papeles ⇔ Obtaining papers

Oportunidad ⇔ Opportunity

Policía ⇔ Police

Preparación escolar ⇔ Education

Preservar la cultura ⇔ Preserving culture

Quinceañera

Racism

Razón de Inmigrar ⇔ Reason for Immigration

Recession

Religión ⇔ Religion

Ritmo de vida ⇔ Life rhythm

Roadblock

Senses - sight

Senses - smell

Senses - taste

Senses -touch

Senses personal contact

Senses sound

Senses temperature

Social norms

Stereotyping

Strange happenings

Strict parents

Tapestry

Temporary immigration

Thinking process

Trabajo en país de origen ⇔ Work in country of origin

Trabajos ⇔ Jobs

Transportation

Valores culturales ⇔ Cultural values

Vicios ⇔ Vices

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