ABSTRACT

PUERTO RICAN CRISIS MIGRATION:
A PASTORAL RESPONSE TO HURRICANE MARÍA CRISIS MIGRANTS

by

The Rev. José E. Rodríguez-Sanjurjo

The devastation that Hurricane María caused in Puerto Rico and the deteriorating conditions in its aftermath triggered a crisis migration that displaced thousands of Puerto Ricans to the United States mainland. Many Puerto Ricans arrived in Central Florida while other crisis migrants escaped political instability in Venezuela, seeking refuge in the Central Florida region.

Cultural stress theory is concerned with how adverse migration-related experiences (e.g., discrimination, the negative context of reception) are related to disruptions to family functioning and introduce stressors into newly arrived community members' lives.

This study addresses self-reported cultural stressors present in a sample of Hurricane María crisis migrants in Central Florida. These findings can help community advocates and mental health professionals identify appropriate intervention strategies to support newly arrived crisis migrants in Central Florida. Understanding the self-reported struggles of those relocating into the region will help mitigate the impact of stressors, disparities, and vulnerabilities in crisis migrants.

Best practices that emerged from the local church's relief operations in support of Puerto Ricans displaced to Central Florida because of Hurricane María are presented to aid community organizations and others engaged in the pastoral care of crisis migrants.

Identifying and reducing stressors among crisis migrants is critical to addressing the long-lasting effects of crisis-related stress.

DISSERTATION APPROVAL

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled

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All honor and glory to my Lord and Savior, who does not see us as strangers but instead calls us friend. To Heather, Elijah, and Eva—my wife and children—who are part of my own Puerto Rican story. To my mother and father who were my role models as Christians, parents, public servants, and community advocates. To Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret and Christ the King Episcopal Church who opened their doors to those in need on many occasions and made this project possible.

CHAPTER 1

NATURE OF THE PROJECT

Overview of the Chapter

Since the Cuban migration in the middle and latter parts of the last century, Hispanics have sought refuge in the United States (US), mainly in Central and South Florida. On September 20, 2017, Hurricane María devastated the island of Puerto Rico. In its aftermath, thousands of displaced Puerto Ricans arrived in Central Florida simultaneously. A mass departure of political refugees from Venezuela and other diasporas also sought refuge in the Central Florida region. These mass exoduses are the product of ever-intensifying economic, climate, and political crises, the effects of which are leaving a mark on newly arrived Hispanic families—both domestic and immigrant—in the region. Whether semi-permanently or permanently, relocating to another country requires significant adjustment to a new social and cultural framework and with it several stressors associated with the acculturation process.

Cultural stress theory is concerned with how adverse migration-related experiences (e.g., discrimination, the negative context of reception) are related to disruptions to family functioning and introduce stressors into newly arrived community members' lives. The knowledge and understanding of the stress that crisis migrants experience in the aftermath of crisis migration are limited. How Hispanic immigrants and newly arrived persons adapt to stressors in their daily lives directly impacts equal access to opportunity. It is in this context that this post-intervention project was established.

Personal Introduction

I was born in Puerto Rico in 1980, and as a toddler, joined a wave of migration from San Juan to Hartford, CT. The year my family moved to Connecticut, the Puerto Rican population grew 130% and marked a shift of Puerto Rican migration in the northeast (Carroll, “Migration Change” 59). My family left Puerto Rico searching for economic opportunity and followed many others to East Hartford's inner city. After a few years, my family joined another migration shift of Puerto Ricans to Orlando, Florida (Duany, *Puerto Rico* 147). We moved a few years before the area experiencing the largest ever increase (142%) of Puerto Ricans on the mainland United States.

My family first came to temporary housing, caravanning from Hartford in a cargo van, a small hatchback, and a trailer with two other families, one of whom we lived until my parents bought a house in Azalea Park within a year. My family experienced and lived the development of the Puerto Rican diaspora in the region.

We lived in a tight-knit community with the support of other families. When we first arrived at the Azalea Park community in Orlando, I was one of two Puerto Ricans in my second-grade classroom. By the time I reached high school, Puerto Ricans almost made up the majority of students. Today, my nieces and nephews are in the majority. The Puerto Rican community has become well-established, welcoming other displaced Puerto Ricans from economic turmoil and recent natural disasters.

Immediately upon arriving, my family connected with a local Pentecostal church, la *Iglesia Pentecostal Movimiento Internacional*. This denominational grouping was founded in Ponce, Puerto Rico and followed the diaspora to the mainland. The church, particularly the Pentecostal tradition, played an essential role in my life and my family's

economic development, guiding us toward self-resilience and ever-present as my family settled into every facet of our new life in Orlando.

As we settled into the region through the years, I experienced linguistic and cultural challenges associated with a new social landscape. Also, I contended with others viewing and treating us as foreigners who didn't belong. I attended Stonewall Jackson Middle School and, from a young age, found myself at the receiving end of a system constructed to exclude rather than include me. Growing up, I was the victim of bullying and assaults for being Puerto Rican (Postal).

I grew up with strong role models in the form of a mother who was a union organizer and a father who worked multiple jobs to make ends meet. My life was typically Hispanic in so many ways. Nationally, 41.3% of Hispanics work hospitality and other service industry jobs (Bureau of Labor Statistics), and my parents worked in the hospitality industry, as do many in the Central Florida region. My father also had a full military career spanning from Vietnam to the Persian Gulf war. Puerto Ricans engage in military service as a path to the middle class at a rate 2 to 3 times higher than the national average (Franqui-Rivera and Áviles). I bucked many trends and not only went to college but earned two graduate degrees, achieved homeownership in my twenties, and I have always been able to make a living wage denied to so many in my community.

Later in life, I joined the 35% of Hispanics who marry a non-Hispanic (Ordway). While I have maintained a strong connection with the Puerto Rican community, my life is divided between raising my family in the Seminole County suburbs and serving the Hispanic community in Orange County. Intermarriage is a migration theme in both

Scripture and human migration that brings its cultural stressors within the marriage and mixed marriage within the community and the Church.

I am a bi-vocational Episcopal priest serving as the vicar of Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret and working as a civil servant for the Federal Government. Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret is located next door to the Pentecostal church my family participated in planting when we first moved to Orlando. The church I work at is one of two inner-city Episcopal churches and the only inner-city church serving the Hispanic community. Our congregation comprises an intersection of migrants, newcomers to the area, and a predominately Spanish-speaking congregation.

I have an evident calling in the Azalea Park neighborhood to facilitate community redevelopment, economic opportunity, and social justice. Given the tremendous need, mainly since the influx of immigrants in the last decade, we have initiated the Azalea Project, a community redevelopment program to formally apply much of the wisdom we have gleaned over the years into formal interventions. Our church community is a living laboratory in collaboration with our neighbors, academics, and elected officials, and our goal is to add value to the lives of those living in our community and advocate for their needs.

In the aftermath of Hurricane María, thousands of families were displaced to the Central Florida area. They were displaced into the same community that received my family in the 1980s. Months before Hurricanes Irma and Maria, the Episcopal leadership moved me from Seminole County back to Orange County to serve as the priest-in-charge of a congregation in my neighborhood. After Hurricane María, the area was overwhelmed by newly arrived families. The Federal Government's inaction complicated an already

delicate situation regarding a housing shortage, low wages, and other challenges faced by the existing Hispanic community. It spurred our church into intervening and advocating for our newly arrived neighbors.

Statement of the Problem

Understanding and documenting cultural stressors present in the Puerto Rican population and the Hispanic community is critical. It can help community advocates and mental health professionals identify appropriate intervention strategies to support newly better arrived Hispanics in Central Florida. In the same way that Miami became a hub for Cubans, Orlando is becoming the Puerto Rican diaspora's principal hub (Duany, "Mickey Ricans?"). Orlando's Puerto Rican population already rivals New York's and is expected to surpass it in 2020 (Krogstad). By addressing the cultural stressors and challenges faced by Puerto Ricans in Orlando, Orlando can be better established as a hub of opportunity for the greater Hispanic community, just like Miami.

Our partnership and research alongside the University of Miami had revealed that newly arrived Puerto Ricans in the post-Hurricane María migration era experienced higher rates of post-traumatic symptom disorder (PTSD). It is well documented that the effects of PTSD have long-lasting adverse effects on individuals and families. Compounding PTSD with the recently arrived in Orlando's self-reported perceptions leads to a better understanding of local disparities. Newly arrived Puerto Ricans to Orlando reported that already established Puerto Ricans did not welcome them. They also faulted a federal response that housed them in temporary motel rooms in areas that did not have access to public transportation. They were denied access to transition programs to grant them access to permanent housing (B. Gutierrez).

Understanding the self-reported struggles of those relocating into the larger community will help mitigate the impact of stressors, disparities, and vulnerabilities in crisis migrants. It is critical to capture these experiences through a post-intervention study to understand the difference between prior waves of migration into the Orlando area. These previous generations benefited from welcome and support from the greater Puerto Rican community. Newly arrived Puerto Ricans have indicated in other studies that they have not experience the same level of support and welcome as those previously settled into the region. This study will help explain what differences exist between those Puerto Ricans arriving in South Florida who were already flourishing with jobs and permanent housing only six to seven months after Hurricane María (B. Gutierrez) and those who came in Central Florida. Capturing stories of disparity will help future researchers understand how to mitigate future disparities. This will help in not only better serving this recent wave of migration but also the reported "300,000 Puerto Ricans projected to leave the island in two years" due to the impact of coronavirus on an island ravished by both natural and economic disaster (Segarra).

Purpose of the Project

The purpose of this project is to identify best practices that emerged from the local church's relief operations in support of Hispanics displaced to the Orlando area because of Hurricane María.

Research Questions

Integration into a new community after crisis migration is hampered by many stressors in the receiving environment. Identifying stressors and aligning them to community resources will better equip community leaders in determining intervention strategies that will allow crisis migrants to access opportunities in their new homes.

Research Question #1

What role does crisis migration-related stress experienced by the displaced person play in relief operations?

Research Question #2

What community organizing and leadership strategies work best in relief operations in support of crisis migrants?

Research Question #3

What best practices emerged for moving from relief to developing self-resiliency in crisis migrants?

The Rationale for the Project

Identifying and reducing stressors among crisis migrants is critical to addressing the long-lasting effects of crisis-related stress. On its own, the individuals impacted by PTSD recover within a year after the event that triggered the stress. New stressors may complicate disaster recovery in prolonging crisis migrant's time dealing with PTSD and coping with the ongoing stressors dampens an individual's outlook (Shalev). Puerto Ricans who relocated to Orlando in the aftermath of Hurricane María did not recover from securing employment and permanent housing as quickly as those displaced to South Florida. Understanding how the Orlando community has been inhospitable may provide local leaders with crucial information to improve conditions for future migrants to the area (B. Gutierrez).

Research shows that trauma caused by natural disasters leads to higher instances of divorce, domestic violence, behavioral problems in children, and drug addiction (Heredia Rodríguez). In a ministry setting, documenting experiences post-intervention is critical in determining which interventions positively impacted crisis migrants to inform the future provision of pastoral care to the displaced. This is both a complicated and messy endeavor that can "add some new knowledge" (Moschella) to the subject of crisis migration that Salas-Wright already identified as understanding. Pastoral care and leadership in a vulnerable and marginalized community transcends church polity and requires clergy to work hand in hand with community organizers and other leaders that exist outside of the church and its norms. This post-intervention project was needed to hear from those experiencing post-crisis migration stress and those who have successfully built resiliency in these communities.

Definition of Key Terms

Climate refugees, in contrast to refugees escaping persecution, are displaced because of a climatic event or disaster. While not a legal category of refugee, some have extended the term refugee to include those displaced by "events alarming public order" (The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees).

Crisis migration is "large-scale relocations prompted by catastrophic social, political, economic, or environmental events" (C. Salas-Wright, M. Cohen and P. Andrade).

Cultural stress is related to crisis migration and "is concerned with how adverse migration-related experiences can create disruptions in family functioning and, in turn, increase the risk for adverse behavioral and mental health outcomes" (C. P. Salas-Wright)

Delimitations

This project collected the stories of displaced crisis migrants in Orlando. Participants were Hurricane María survivors displaced to Central Florida from Puerto Rico in the aftermath of the hurricane as well as the church workers who supported them. This project was run parallel to a University of Florida study and an ethnographic story banking project funded by the Unitarian Universalist church. The project drew participants from a pool of 250 individuals in Orlando who were displaced from Puerto Rico by Hurricane María.

The project is limited to the Puerto Rican Hurricane María crisis migration. The project did not include participation from Hispanics migrating for other reasons. The project recorded the experiences of displaced migrants across various age groups,

genders, and socio-economic groups. The project also documented community and religious leaders' experiences providing support and services to crisis displaced persons. Hurricane María crisis migration is defined as those leaving Puerto Rico or unable to return to Puerto Rico because of disruptions caused by Hurricane María as self-reported by men and women over eighteen.

The project documented people's self-reported feelings, perceptions, and experiences using a sample of 10 individuals from the population served. All attempts were being made to ensure a representative sample and not a random sample. The project concurrently documented the feelings, perceptions, and experiences of 10 workers supporting the church's work. Of the ten workers, at least two were displaced persons now working in support of their community. At least two were clergy providing pastoral care. The balance was volunteers supporting recovery efforts in Orlando.

Review of Relevant Literature

In support of this post-intervention project, the researcher drew upon the work of ethnographic research conducted by other academics at the church working alongside the church to support our work with crisis migrants. The literature review built upon other research on crisis migration due to natural disasters and human disasters. Their work is critical because it does not classify crisis migrants as refugees in the legal sense. After all, they are not involuntarily displaced or resettled.

Applying this term and expanding the knowledge of this category of migrants speaks to Puerto Ricans' reality as migrants. At the same time, they are domestic concerning the state but international regarding culture. The work of the academics based at the church is essential in that it shows crisis migrants are seeking refuge in a new land

separate from the legal entanglements of migrating across international borders. Who are they?

The primary source of literature for this project is from sociological and psychological publications. Sociological publications allow for the exploration of themes within crisis migration as a single or series of events that displaces large numbers of people across international or geographic borders within a defined period. Other literature sources included mental health and medical journals discussing how natural and human disasters precursors to crisis migration impact mental health.

Efforts to redevelop and rebuild communities displaced by the disaster were explored. These were focused on physical reconstruction and economic redevelopment. Often, resources are invested at the disaster and not necessarily in the community receiving displaced individuals as seen post-Hurricanes Katrina and Maria. The project leveraged and drew upon research conducted at the church. Researchers explored disparities associated with displacement and its mental health effects.

Given that the research site also hosts PTSD counselors from the University of Central Florida, the researchers explored how human disasters that cause displacement and crisis migration can cause more severe post-traumatic stress than natural disasters (Galea, Nandi, and Vlahov). Human disasters leave open the threat to future disasters. Crisis migrants impacted by hurricanes might have seasonal worry concerning the next hurricane season though they do not live in a constant distress period. The response in the aftermath of a disaster and how the community responds to the crisis migrants is an integral part of disaster response (Gill).

The study explored the shared experience of the crisis migrant regarding disparities and other cultural stressors. The project also explored how the disaster response includes vulnerability-induced factors (Squires and Harman). Even in natural disasters, stressors are sourced from human intervention. Peter Dreier considers disasters more "human-made more than natural" (528). Gustavo García-López argues that "the hurricane was destructive, but it is what happened since then which has been the real catastrophe" (101). Social vulnerability and disparities significantly contribute to being adversely affected by disaster and the difficulty recovering for the crisis migrant (Wisner, Gaillard, and Kelman, "Framing Disaster").

The project also explores biblical themes of community such as the love of neighbors, and the treatment of aliens. How crisis migrants are received into a new community is crucial. Crisis migrants may experience defensiveness exhibited by destination community members as cultural stress. A higher-order cultural stress construct comprised of discrimination, the negative context of reception, and bicultural stress was conducted. These stressors occur in parallel. Their presence can be used to predict depressive symptoms, low-income family functioning, and other challenges faced by crisis migrants (Psychology of Migration Working Group).

Crisis migration produces and is a product of stressful experiences. PTSD is aggravated by cultural stressors occurring in the destination community (Quinn). Rejection of crisis migrants and cultural stress experiences sourced from one's ethnic group is more traumatic than rejection by another group (Cordova and Cervantes). Unpublished focus group data with Puerto Rican Hurricane María crisis migrants in Central Florida indicates that previously settled residents in the Central Florida Puerto

Rican diaspora were discriminating against and excluding the hurricane survivors. The unpublished raw data and the totality of the academic output of the church's work were included in this project.

Research Methodology

The research methodology was comprised of documenting Hurricane María crisis migrants' experiences through interviews and questionnaires of crisis migrants and those who worked at the church supporting them. This information was collected on-site and in parallel with other research conducted at the church. Since this was a post-intervention, an assessment tool was used in conjunction with the questionnaire. The assessment tool measured self-reported instances of stressors still present three years after intervention.

Type of Research

This sociological research is a post-intervention study that utilized mixed methods such as focus groups, interviews, and questionnaires. All questions were a mix of qualitative and quantitative.

Participants

Participants included crisis migrants who relocated to Central Florida in the aftermath of Hurricane María in Puerto Rico. Since the study's goal was to expand the understanding of cultural stressors, other participants included workers in the field, both men and women, who assisted Hurricane María crisis migrants in Central Florida over the age of eighteen.

Instrumentation

Focus groups were recorded with both crisis migrants and workers. Questionnaires were used to measure cultural stressors and make other observations in

the Hurricane María crisis migrant community. Questions from the Refugee Services Core Stressor Assessment Tool from the National Child Traumatic Stress Network were adapted for this project and other diagnostic tools.

Data Collection

One-on-one interviews with crisis migrants and workers and a questionnaire aligned with the research questions and purpose statement. Questions were quantitative and qualitative. Paper surveys were used.

A researcher-conducted focus group was implemented to discuss the themes identified in the literature review in a communal setting with aid workers who assisted displaced individuals.

Data Analysis

Questionnaires and focus group transcripts were reviewed for response similarities and differences, as well as any themes that arose that coincided with previously identified themes. Transcripts from the focused group were used to supplement findings from surveys. Statistical analysis of post-intervention assessments was also completed to more fully document Hurricane María crisis migrants' experiences. Descriptive statistics were calculated on all survey responses to include means, central tendency measures, and average.

Generalizability

Identifying common themes in crisis migrants to Central Florida helps local leaders better prepare for future crisis migration waves. It is already anticipated that future hurricanes, the current earthquakes affecting southern Puerto Rico, and post-COVID-19 recovery efforts will bring about new waves of Puerto Rican migration to

Central Florida. The data collected by this study can be used by others working with crisis migrants to anticipate potential stressors in the community and best prepare for displaced individuals' pastoral care.

Moreover, any research generated will benefit other crisis migrants like the Venezuelan community using the groundwork for understanding stressors already established. The methods shown for documenting shared experiences within crisis migrant communities are reproducible. However, all research questions, questionnaires, and interviews must be modified to ensure cultural competence concerning appropriateness for distinguishing characteristics of the diaspora group displaced by the crisis.

Project Overview

Chapter 2 of this study details the literature and biblical foundations on crisis migration, disaster recovery, and how stressors impact communities' redevelopment and resiliency. Chapter 3 presents the research design, methods of research, and data analysis methodology. Chapter 4 shows the results of the study and analysis of the collected data. Chapter 5 offers the interpretation of the research findings and observations, and successes of the church’s work with crisis migrants.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview of the Chapter

This research project aimed to produce a post-intervention study that lays out a narrative of recent crisis migrants from Puerto Rico whom Hurricane María had displaced to Central Florida. Studying the relationship between cultural stressors, crisis migration, and the Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida requires an in-depth review of the current literature on these topics. Ethnographies informed this project to capture the shared experience of Puerto Rican crisis migrants.

This project explored and documented migration-related cultural stress among Hispanic crisis migrants—specifically those displaced to Central Florida by Hurricane María—and contributed to understanding cultural stress and adaptation through previously produced ethnographies and post-intervention and qualitative research context of crisis migration. This review focuses on a scriptural and theological understanding of the migrant and our sacred duty to welcome the stranger among us as a sacred trust and specific duty of care assigned to the Church.

Biblical and Theological Foundations for Crisis Migration and Cultural Stressors

The biblical narrative is shaped extensively by human migration. The narrative of Scripture is full of the movement of people through diverse and strange lands. Wright and Macelaru write that:

> Migration runs like a thread through the whole Bible. People on the move (for all kinds of reasons) are so much part of the Biblical story's fabric that we hardly notice it as a significant feature. Indeed, when the text points out that Yahweh,

> God of Israel, has been involved in the migrations of peoples other than Israelites, …the message that comes across is that Yahweh is the God of all nations, including all their historical migrations and settlements. (91)

The theological foundations to be discussed are adapted from the French Bible Society's publication *On the Road,* a devotional produced for migrants (Andriamiantso, Coyault, and Mampembe). The French Bible Society worked with migrants to identify steps in the migration process related to Scripture, adapted for this project. The steps are as follows:

- Step 1: Antecedents to crisis migration, or "Why leave?"
- Step 2: Cultural stressors, or "A difficult journey."
- Step 3: Migration routes, or "Seeking a place."
- Step 4: Barriers to crisis migration, or "Are all means acceptable?"
- Step 5: Forming a diaspora, or "Finding a place to settle."
- Step 6: Return migration, or "Is a return possible?"
- Step 7: Migration and acculturation, "God is close to everyone." (Andriamiantso, Coyault, and Mampembe)

Of the seven steps, this project will focus on (1) The antecedents to crisis migration; (2) Cultural stressors; (3) Migration routes; and (4) Forming a diaspora.

Old Testament Foundations of Crisis Migration and Cultural Stressors

The first eleven chapters of the book of Genesis present vivid stories of forced migration. These stories of disobedience, exile, criminal vagrancy, and divine protection "recount tales of the earliest human families as migrants and refugees moving about the earth seeking a land to settle and a home in which to dwell" (164). Nguyen writes that

"God cares for and protects these fugitives, vagrants or immigrants despite their frailty and sin" (164). Migration is a biblical theme that tells the story of God's people and "lies within the framework of God's overall sovereignty in human history and geography" (Wright and Macelaru 91-92).

Nguyen identifies themes of alienation and displacement in the movement of people in the biblical narrative check the rest of the document for this capitalization (164). These can be found as early as the forced expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3.23) and the great flood's displacement of Noah and his family (Gen. 6.9-22). Despair leaving the garden and calamity surrounding the great flood are mythological images that are energy-evoking and energy-directing signs (Campbell 86). These stories represent movement. The movement continues in the Genesis narrative when Abram is called to leave his own country and settle elsewhere. This is depicted as a faithful response to the promise and hope of blessings for Abram and his descendants. This departure also brings with it the change of Abram's name to Abraham (Gen. 17.5), as well as a long journey.

Genesis is filled with many stories of both voluntary and forced migration. The biblical narrative casts the people of Israel into the role of the stranger. The strangers are among three archetypes of vulnerable groups in the Scripture that also include widows and orphans. To Myers, strangers have intrinsic rights to not only sustenance but also to human rights. Not only are the children of God sojourners in the Biblical Narrative, but the Almighty's mysterious appearance as three men in Genesis 18 shows that God too takes on the guise of the stranger in need of hospitality (Myers, Our God is Undocumented" 57). Joshua Jipp argues that Abraham's role as father to the nations is

confirmed "after he has demonstrated his faith and piety through offering hospitality to the three men" (5).

Migration as part of the story of humanity in Genesis is not haphazardly woven into the narrative. While life spans shrink from one generation to the next, there is much order seen across the generations. Cotter writes: "There were ten generations from Adam to Noah, who begot three sons (Gen. 5). There are ten generations from Shem to a father, Terah, who begets three sons…From the birth of Shem's son to Abram's migration to Canaan is 365, a year of years" (73). Cotter presents this movement as culminating into Abram's migration and then shifting to Sarai's infertility.

Lau and Goswell present the intersection of infertility and famine motifs as familiar to the Biblical narrative's sojourn account (72). They offer common themes to the famine sojourns in the narrative as containing: (1) famine as precursors; (2) deception on behalf of the sojourner; (3) a story of adduction or human trafficking; (4) Divine deliverance; (5) a confrontation; and (6) a parting of ways. Examples of this pattern are seen in Abraham's sojourn in Egypt (Gen. 12.10-20); Abraham's sojourn in Gerar (Gen. 20.1-18); and Isaac's sojourn in Gerar (Gen. 26.1, 7-17). The promise of covenant is a theological thread that is reinforced after each narrative.

Anghie and McCormack see this cycle of ancient migration as a phenomenon "first about nomadic peoples settling into urbanization and agriculture, then scattering" followed by "several attempts to settle" (23). In an early story, Abraham barters Sarah to Pharaoh for wealth that includes slaves. A later story recounts Joseph being sold into slavery by his brothers. Anghie and McCormack present these stories as early examples of human trafficking that are part of the recurring themes previously identified by Lau

and Goswell. To these themes, the authors provide details of further perils in the ancient world, including "the selling of relatives, incest, and [the] unabashed glorification of violent land grabs" (Anghie and McCormack 24).

Lau and Goswell present pestilence and famine alongside warfare as one of the triads of classical disasters impacting the world of the biblical narrative (71). Discord among nations and political refuge can be seen in Isaiah 30.1-7, where the causation of displacement originates in ill-advised treaties and misplaced trust in political allies. Conflict within nations can be seen in Elijah's escape from Jezebel in 1 Kings 19-22. Other examples of internal political displacement can be seen in David escaping Saul's wrath (1 Sam. 19) and his retreat by the insurrection led by his son (2 Sam. 15.1-15).

There is also an ancient parallel to the modern-day political refugee and asylum seeker in the Pentateuch. Myers argues that Cain's mark, in reality, protected him from further punishment for murdering his brother. He presents Cain's mark as "a theological warning to those who would retaliate, thus constraining the lethal logic of endless retribution" (Myers, "Our God is Undocumented" 56). For Myers, the provision of sanctuary or sheltering perpetrators is an early principle established in the Bible for both the guilty and for those who engaged in accidental manslaughter. These individuals had both the right to flee and receive hospitality.

Dykstra and Myers argue "that the Bible must be understood from the perspective of refugees" (195). Salvatierra argues that sanctuary in the Pentateuch (Num. 35.22-34) was a social and legal mechanism to prevent "cruel and unjust" punishment (217). The right to flee and receive sanctuary plays out in the lives of many of Scripture's protagonists. After killing an Egyptian, Moses escapes Egypt while intervening in an

abusive situation (Exod. 2.11-22). Later, cities of refuge are established to provide safety to those fleeing from blood revenge (Exod. 20.12-14; Num. 35.9-28; Deut. 4.41-43, 19.1-13). Not only was this concept of refuge codified in the Torah but was later reaffirmed elsewhere in the Hebrew Scripture (Josh. 20; 1 Chron. 6).

Once displaced, the Biblical narrative exposes the hardness of humankind towards the stranger in their midst. Cultural stressors can be seen in Edom's denial of safe passage to Israel and their subsequent use of force in turning Israel away from its borders (Num. 20.14-21). Cotter explains the human motivation in being hard-hearted to strangers. In response to the story of Joseph's reunification with his brothers in Egypt, he writes:

> During a time of regional crisis, when many were seeking opportunities for economic migration due to widespread famine, it was entirely reasonable to fear that foreigners like Joseph's brothers would look for weaknesses (what is called its 'nakedness' in Gen. 42.9) in Egypt's defenses so that they might steal into that more prosperous land and take advantage of the wealth they found there. (Cotter 73)

Myers writes of the traditional notion of seeing borders as protection; however, presenting an inversion to this argument presents sanctuary cities' borders as beckoning the vulnerable in protection. He argues that the biblical narrative challenges boundaries "that insulate the powerful from the weak" in presenting the "Sabbath Economics" code of Scripture where borders are placed on private property that "delimited proprietary ownership in order to ensure that the landed classes were not privatizing the commonwealth" (Myers, "Nothing from Outside Can Defile You!" 125).

Many dangers exist for people of God on the move. Brevard Childs writes about the rhythm of life that leads to eventual decline. He lays out the reality that human life is frail and “fully dependent on the breath of God for life.” In the Old Testament narrative, he argues there are no semi-divine or superhuman characters. To him, even Samson is eventually demythologized. Child presents humanity’s limitations as a consistent theme in the Hebrew Canon (199).

The sojourner in the Old Testament is bound to the dangers of the sojourn. One such danger is human trafficking. Graetz writes that the rabbinic interpretation of Exodus 20.13 includes “stealing human beings.” She adds “that redeeming captives is more important than supporting the poor, because captives are in danger of their lives” (Graetz 194). She explains that the Talmud indicates a “Biblical injunction not to stand idly by one’s brother’s blood” (Graetz 194). Captivity and redemption are vivid in God's people's collective history, and their memories are evident in their Talmudic commentary (Rotman, “Mediaval Slavery” 597).

A violation of this injunction occurred with Joseph was betrayed by his brothers. Joseph subsequently saved his brothers from famine, thus triggering their own migration story. Marzouk describes this as a “novella of forced migration” (65). Joseph’s story is one of migration through abduction resulting from “favoritism, hatred, and fear of abuse of power that dominated the politics of his family of origin” (Marzouk 65). As in the case with many of the stories discussed, Joseph’s betrayal and forced migration also intersect other Scripture themes. While not specified within the Biblical narrative, Jewish tradition (Bereishit Rabbah 91.6) states that Joseph’s brothers “had reason to believe that due to

Joseph's handsome features he might have been sold as a male prostitute" (Meklenburg 572).

Themes concerning the vulnerability of women in antiquity are present in the biblical narrative. Hayter points to women becoming "vulnerable to abuse by man as he rules over her" in the aftermath of the expulsion from Eden (115). Childs writes that "the Old Testament is filled with terrifying examples of abuses against women" (80). Childs also argues that these stories present "universal male prejudice against women" and are rooted in disobedience and sin. In the Old Testament, women find themselves in danger at the hands of more powerful men. This happens twice with Sarah: first with her husband surrendering her to an Egyptian pharaoh (Gen. 12.13-14, 19); and second, Abraham's surrender of her to the King of Gerar (Gen. 20.1-18). This cycle of abuse repeats itself with Rebekah and the Philistine king (Gen. 26.7-11). The Old Testament narrative is consistent in detailing the various perils experienced by those on the move.

Closely related to sex trafficking, another peril found in the Biblical narrative is sexual assault. Schulte details that there is no Hebrew word to denote rape, but the word *inna* is used to describe "violence, abuse, or force." The term is repeatedly used in violent periscopes that go beyond mere humiliation and shame (Schulte 108). The cycle of human trafficking and sexual abuse of sojourners in the Old Testament narrative exposes men and women as equally vulnerable. Child argues that rape in the Old Testament is "evil," "shameful," and "a horrifying example of human depravity" (80).

Women are not the only individuals vulnerable to sexual violence in the biblical narrative. Greenough presents male rape myths as being present in the biblical narrative. He argues that these themes exist to emasculate the victim (loc. 424). He offers three

stories that intersect with Genesis migration or sojourner narratives: (1) the attempted rape of visiting men to Sodom (Gen. 19.1-29); (2) Lot and his daughters (Gen. 19.30-38); and (3) Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39). In each of these stories, the aggressor takes on a different persona (Location 1023). In presenting the story of Samson, he writes of him as "feminized," "defeated," "subdued," and "oppressed." He closes with the reminder that "men can be and are victims of sexual violence" in the Biblical narrative (Location 1478).

This theme continues in Sodom. In this story, heavenly angels are disguised as men visiting Lot and become the target of Sodom's sexual aggression (Gen. 19.5). Jipp argues that Lot is saved from Sodom "because of his hospitality and godliness" (4). Still, an intersection of migration themes later finds Lot assaulted by his daughters. Further in Genesis, Joseph becomes an example of male vulnerability. He escapes sexual aggression by Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39) but is imprisoned as a consequence. Later in Judges, a Levite encounters similar aggression while traveling, but his concubine is violated and meets a violent death (Judg. 19-21).

The violent rape and murder of the Levite's concubine is a particularly grotesque and egregious passage in Scripture. This particular story lays bare both the dangers of human migration and vulnerable people in the biblical narrative. It also exposes the dangers of human exploitation that are triggered by discord and civil unrest. Erickson writes that "the rape of the Levite's concubine is grotesque, while the sexual abuse of the women of Jabesh-Gilead and Shiloh is normalized and socially sanctioned" (136). The author concludes that during civil war, rape, and forced abduction were normalized and socially sanctioned.

Scripture is honest about the abuses experienced by sojourners and makes it clear they are to be afforded God's help and protection (Gen. 21.14-21). Scripture adopts a positive stance towards the sojourner. Generally speaking, the Pentateuch provides for "comprehensive protection of foreigners (refugees, migrants) from any and all forms of abuse and oppression" (Wright and Macelaru 95).

Not only are the people of God afforded legal protection, but Marzouk discusses God's continual participation in the sojourns as an assertion of divine sovereignty that reveals hope through God's own mobility among exiles (89). God provides refuge for His people and demands the same level of protection for the stranger among the people. Humphreys shows God's own participation in the "paradigm of hospitality" where Abraham's actions in providing hospitality to the three strangers reflect "a deference that could bespeak the reverence due [to] God" but reflects "a hospitable encounter between two humans" (115).

Myers argues that Middle Eastern antiquity saw sustenance from nature as "a gift to be shared and circulated, so too shelter." He argues that human settlement after sojourn required hospitality to be extended to those still on their sojourn. He sees this as an essential component to both ancient and contemporary indigenous cultures "cosmology of grace." He sees the welcome of the stranger in Genesis as ubiquitous with the "risks of desert travel…and the realities of human displacement due to the political and economic forces of ancient empires" (Myers, "Our God is Undocumented" 55).

Sheets-Johnstone writes that the "Biblical concept of a stranger is far from one-dimensional" and that it "permeates both Old and New Testaments and in fact permeates the general everyday concept of a stranger" (180). The author asserts that the narrative

language is "nominally obsessed" with this theme (180). Scripture is clear throughout on society's duty to provide fair treatment to immigrants. Immigrants must be met with an outstretched arm (2 Chron. 6.32-33) and must be rescued from the power of the oppressor. They should neither be mistreated nor exploited (Jer. 22.3). They must be met with bread (Isa. 21.14).

The Old Testament narrative reminds the reader that they too were once foreigners in a foreign land (Exod. 22.21) and that before God's sight, all are foreigners and strangers (1 Chron. 29.14-16). According to Gopin, the narrative also presents the Almighty as "alienated by our abominable behavior, but always hoping that our own embrace of strangers becomes the basis for welcoming the Diving stranger into the community of human beings" (3).

Throughout Scripture, the people of God exist as part of various scattered and displaced diasporas. Gopin writes that the "God of the Bible seems to be occasionally at home in the midst of human beings" (3). Various narratives in the Old Testament deal with the plight of the people in exile. The exile and diaspora experience can be seen in the Old Testament diaspora narratives:

- Israel in Egypt (Genesis, Exodus)
- Israel in Babylon (Jeremiah, Lamentations, Daniel)
- Israel in Persia/Media (Daniel, Ezekiel, Esther)
- Israel in Greece (1 and 2 Maccabees)

The Old Testament reminds the reader of Israel's own estrangement from their homeland and the Almighty. The Israelites are concerned for foreigners and so establish a duty of care for foreigners. The narrative clarifies that immigrants must not be cheated.

Rather they are to be treated as the community's own citizens (Lev. 19.33-34). Ahmed describes this duty of care as to "welcome the unassimilable; it hence conceals how that very act of welcoming already assimilates others into an economy of difference" (151). Ahmed portrays hospitality as moving beyond the economic exchange. In this exchange, Gopin presents the sojourn as central to the "coexistence between different things" – the "self and the ultimate Other, the Divine Presence" (3).

The assimilation of difference is seen in Myer's "cosmology of grace." In the Book of Ruth, the obligation society has to ensure that sojourners earn a living wage or are otherwise able to provide for basic needs is seen in Ruth's gleanings rights in Boaz's fields (Ruth 2.1-13). Through these rights, Ruth had a right to access agricultural sustenance (Wright and Macelaru 96). Boaz showed Ruth further care in his protection and assurance that she would not be sexually abused (2.8-9). Boaz actively revealed God's desire for the protection and care of the sojourner.

Lau and Goswell show this care due to Ruth's "return" from the country of Moab (Ruth 1.22). The authors point out that since Ruth is not originally from the Promised Land, her "return" signifies repentance as the word in Hebrew has both meanings. Myer's "cosmology of grace" can be seen in Lau and Goswell's argument that Ruth's "return" is her placing her trust in the Almighty (Ruth 1.16-17). In the end, "she begins to be blessed and is a blessing to others" (Lau and Goswell 82). This feeds into the cosmology of hospitality as a gift that is circulated.

For M. Daniel Carroll R., in the biblical text, the sojourner is cast sympathetically and their sincerity is not in question as it "is the expectation that the sojourner will not abuse the hospitality that is extended" (55). A subversion of perpetuating hospitality is

the cycles of stranger exploitation found in the biblical narrative. Burnside describes the stranger and sojourners as "assimilating and nonassimilating immigrants" who are vulnerable outsiders "beyond Israel's social margins" (219). The Old Testament narrative not only prescribes a duty of care over immigrants but also presents stories of the people of God falling into cycles of exploitation and deception by others as Jacob by Laban (Gen. 31.1-7); the Jews in captivity in Egypt (Exod.); David's murder of Uriah (2 Sam.11.5-27); and the plight of the people of God in Babylon and Persia.

Scripture addresses the behaviors in which migrants engaged for survival and the hard choices they made. Burnside presents the case for the "vulnerable outsider who cannot get justice because of corruption" (135). Revisiting Abram and Sarai in Egypt, Abram lies, seemingly out of necessity, and surrenders his wife to the pharaoh (Gen. 12.10-20). Equally vulnerable as Sarai, Ruth seeks a husband and protector in her new home (Ruth. 3.1-13). Often people in difficult situations have to respond to stressors either through shrewdness as Jacob did with Laban (Gen. 30.25-31.16) or by holding on to hope as Joseph in prison (Gen. 39.19-21). Moreover, Joseph's imprisonment was an unjust consequence of his own decision to live rightly and not engage in an illicit affair with Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39).

Further displacement or a desire to return to one's homeland is a cultural stressor seen in Lot's wife looking back to Sodom and the Israelites yearning to return to Egypt (Exod. 14.11-12; Num. 21.5). Leersen addresses homesickness as "by no means a romantic construct" (412). In discussing Psalm 137 on the Babylonian Captivity, he writes, "the notion of homesickness has been widely attested over a long period; banishment or the necessity of emigration are almost universally seen as traumatic

experiences" (412). Another powerful place this trauma is found is in the dead's repatriation (Gen. 47.27-31). Vingerhoets links homesickness to grief as an elicitor of crying (213). Choices are also made once prosperity is achieved in a new host land regarding returning to one's homeland to rebuild (Neh. 1.1-5, 2.1-5). Struggling with the decision to return home is exemplified throughout Israel's various stories in the Babylonian captivity (Lam.).

Vulnerability and cultural stressors are not limited to the experience of the Hebrews. Foreigners among God's children experienced stressors. As a foreigner, Hagar was treated cruelly and sexually abused by her master (Gen. 16.6). Exum presents Hagar as raped and exploited to solve the problem of Sarah's infertility. The author argues this point due to Abraham and Sarah's "misuse or abuse of Hagar" (72). Gossai presents Hagar fleeing for her life and quotes Westermann as suggesting that "Hagar's flight into the desert from 'legal' oppression by Sarah, exposing herself to all the dangers involved, is a prime example of the human will for freedom" (13). Gossai presents Hagar's encounter with the Almighty as a "promise in the midst of despair" (14). While she is anonymous to her masters, she is known to her Creator. In the wilderness, the Almighty makes hospitality available to a foreigner, and she proclaims the Almighty a "God of seeing" (Gen. 16.13).

Msoka presents the biblical understanding of justice as a demand for covenant fidelity in treating four groups: widows, orphans, the poor, and the sojourner. The author presents fidelity as integral to justice embodied in such a manner "that every person in community should be treated justly in accordance with one's dignity, particularly refugees" (Msoka 119). In Scripture, these demands are subverted in the unjust treatment

of the sojourner. Jacob suffered such unjust treatment at the hands of their extended kin. He takes on the persona of the foreigner and is cheated and mistreated by his uncle. He already intermarried and integrated into his new home but was continually exploited. His uncle and father-in-law defrauded Jacob, and his cousins did not trust him (Gen. 31.1). Like with Hagar, the Almighty called recognized Jacob's plight. Eventually, the Almighty called him to return to his father's home (Gen. 31:2-5).

Hard choices and cultural stressors are seen in the Old Testament narrative concerning either the Hebrew people being foreigners or their treatment of foreigners in their midst. A nameless foreigner, the woman of Shunem, makes an extended appearance in the Old Testament narrative. First, when she is introduced, she is barren and childless in a strange land (2 Kings 4). Still, Japinga writes that she is "not poor and needy, but powerful, smart, and independent" and "one of the strongest women to appear in the Old Testament" (154). While a "great" woman, her personal story of migration intersects with the Scripture's fertility themes (Frymer-Kensky 64). Frymer-Kesnky writes, "Hospitality does not call for reciprocity" (65). Still, Japinga presents that through receiving hospitality Elisha is moved to miraculous intervene in her life to restore her to fertility.

Later her son has died. Only through the hope of miraculous intervention is she rescued from her despair (2 Kings 4.18-37). She places the body of her son in Elisha's hospitality suite and professes "shalom" (2 Kings 4.23) to her husband on her way to Elijah's home (Japinga 155). It is in a chamber of hospitality that Elisha intervenes, and the child is resurrected.

Yet again, she appears in the Old Testament narrative. Famine had come to the land, and she escaped to Philistia. She returns to discover her land taken, and she has to

appeal to King Jehoram for the return of her property (2 Kings 8). Frymer-Kensky details a complete restoration that far exceeded her legal rights. Her field is returned to her and that the land produced in her absence (71).

A final example of crisis migration is the displacement of Rahab from her home in the face of an Israelite incursion into her homeland (Josh. 2; 6.22-25). Firth asserts that "Joshua is quite clearly putting a human face to a Canaanite" (21). Rahab is shrewd and enters into a covenant with foreign spies (Josh. 2.12-17). At the beginning of her own story of migration, she is stepping down from her palatial home and position to the uncertainty of joining a conquering and nomadic army in the wilderness (Josh. 6.23). Rahab assimilates and marries into Israel (Josh. 6.25) at a critical time in its history. Fuchs writes that "instances of exogamy entail the assimilation of the foreign woman into Israel's body politic...[and] are all positioned at key moments in the nation's history" (117).

Firth writes that "readers are meant to be disorientated by the presence of a Canaanite prostitute who expresses Israel's faith with more clarity than any other, [and] who has received an oath promising protection for both herself and her family" (22). This assimilation is later celebrated in her being named in Jesus's genealogy as not only one of his forebears but as mother of Ruth's kinsman-redeemer (Ruth 4; Matt. 1.5). Still, Garcia-Alfonso points out that "Rahab moves between two communities and two worlds" and "is not only foreign among the Israelites; she is [now] foreign in her own land" (158). According to Garcia-Alfons, Rahab makes hard choices:

> Rahab obtains security and salvation for herself and her family through deceit, trickery, cleverness, and seduction. All these elements allow me to see her as a survivor, someone who is determined to do whatever it takes to survive. (162-63)

A summary of the Old Testament's migration narrative is seen not only in the full inclusion of foreigners into Israel but also in Jesus Christ's progenitors. Within the biblical path of crisis migration and stressors in the Old Testament are the following themes:

1. Voluntary and forced migration is seen in Joseph's narratives (Gen. 37.23-28) and Ruth (Ruth 1.1-5). Migration can also result from calamity (Gen. 7-9) or human strife (Gen. 27.33-37, 41-45; 1 Kings 19-22; 1 Sam. 19). The Old Testament codifies the duty of care owed to refugees (Josh. 20; 1 Chron. 6).
2. The Old Testament narrative prescribes a duty of care to the stranger in one's midst (Gen. 21.14-21). The marginalized and vulnerable is also a concern of the Old Testament, as is seen in various stories of human trafficking (Gen. 12.13-14,19; 20.1-18; 26.7-11; 37.28,36).
3. The duty of care owed to migrants is established in the Old Testament early on (Gen. 21.14-21) and in various places (Deut. 8.1-6; 2 Chron. 6.32-33). The Old Testament challenges the reader to recall their migrant journey (1 Chron. 29.14-16).
4. The Almighty is ever-present with God's people throughout their exile experience. The Almighty also commands the people of God to harken back to their exile experience in remembering to treat the stranger in their midst with care (Lev. 19.33-34; Ruth. 2.1-13).

5. The Old Testament narrative provides a raw and honest presentation of the difficult decisions that migrants must make in times of crisis, from lying (Gen. 12.10-20), to seeking out protection (Ruth. 3.1-13) and suffering repercussions from moral decisions (Gen. 39).
6. A return to the land is a modern-day Jewish sentiment seen throughout the Old Testament from Jacob's escape from an inhospitable new home to his father's home (Gen. 31.2-5). This is also visible in Lamentations as well as the desire to return home to rebuild (Neh. 1.1-5; 2.1-5).
7. The saga of crisis migration in the Old Testament reveals part of the plan of salvation through the life of the migrant and the cultural stressors they experience. No better example of this is Rahab, a foreign prostitute displaced into Israel (Josh. 2; Josh. 6). Not only is she displaced into the Hebrew nation, but having married into them, she is credited as "living in Israel to this day" (Josh 6.25).

New Testament Foundations of Crisis Migration and Cultural Stressors

The Gospels of Matthew and Luke contains genealogies. Nguyen writes that not only were foreign women included in Jesus' genealogy but also that "all the Gospel writers depict Jesus in one way or another as *paroikos*" or as a stranger (167). He argues that Jesus' foreign progenitors dramatically portray Jesus' nativity within the context of migration. Jesus' own life is marked by exile and being an itinerant.

Two female progenitors of Jesus, Tamar, and Bathsheba, had narratives linked to foreigners. The first, Tamar, took on the person of the cultic temple prostitute or *qedesha* (Gen. 38.21) in fooling Jacob to fulfill his duty to give her an heir. The second,

Bathsheba, was the widow of a foreigner (2 Sam. 23.39) who was murdered unjustly by the King of his host country (2 Sam. 11). Jesus' female progenitors are woven into His story. Accompanied by themes of women and fertility, they also introduce themes of women and their relationship to vulnerability, sexual exploitation, and prostitution. Nguyen believes that in portraying Jesus as first a refugee and later a returning emigrant the Gospel writers evoke "Israel's experience of migration" (167).

Simonetti writes that "in terms of a spiritual mystery, that Rahab the harlot was a figure of the church" (7). As an archetype for the Bride of Christ, Rahab harkens to Ezekiel's child washed and clothed in expensive robes (Ezek. 16.9) and jewels (Ezek. 16.11-13). The child grew up and offered itself "to every passer-by" (Ezek. 16.15) and when grown, played the role of a prostitute (Ezek. 16.22). The child debased itself among the nations—Egypt (Ezek. 16.26); Philistia (Ezek. 16.27); Assyria (Ezek. 16.28); and Babylon (Ezek. 16.29). Moreover, this child was a foreigner whose father was an Amorite and mother was a Hittite (Ezek. 16.45) and whose siblings were Samarian and Sodomites (Ezek. 16.46).

Jipp writes that "Because of her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved" (4). Like in the covenant with Rahab, the Almighty remembered his covenant with the prostitute, his everlasting promise and offered forgiveness (Ezek. 16.60-63). Her "hospitality to the spies is taken as a sign of her faith in the God of Israel (Josh. 2.8-13) and results in her showing 'kindness and mercy' when Israel enters into the land" (Jipp 5). The author argues that Rahab's hospitality demonstrated the kind of faith that saves.

Christ's genealogy in Matthew 1 not only includes Gentile women but also weaves into Christ's origins the stories of many sojourners in foreign lands like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Jipp writes:

> The identity of Israel's patriarchs as sojourners in a land not their own, Israel's experience of inhospitability at the hands of the Egyptians, Israel's experience of divine hospitality in the form of water and quail and manna in their wilderness wanderings, the tithe of the first fruits given for the vulnerable, the Davidic monarchy's origins in the virtuous Ruth, and their relationship to God as his guests on God's land insure that Israel conceptualizes itself perpetually as immigrants, sojourners, and guests before God and as people whose existence is sustained by God's hospitality. (143)

These themes are ever-present in the Gospel. Not only were Jesus' ancestors on the move and sojourners, but his story opens with foreign magi (Matt. 2) proclaiming his birth to a false foreign king of Israel. Jesus' own life presents him as the quintessential crisis migrant. In identifying himself with the crisis migrant, Jesus casts the migrant's journey as his own. Johnstone and Merrill state, "Jesus was a refugee. So was Abraham. So was Moses. Jews and Christians have been on the move for a long, long time" (53).

Rivera describes Jesus as "a refugee in Egypt and a displaced person in Nazareth…and as the Son of Man present among strangers" (153). Almost immediately after Jesus is born, while his parents were traveling, the narrative moves Christ into the role of a political refugee in Egypt (Matt. 2.14). Rivera shows that Jesus' childhood was shaped by migration (145). Revelation warns believers of the deception of the cities (Rev. 18.1-5; 18.10-19) and reminds them that even the King of Kings did not find safety in his

homeland, and neither would he be honored in his own home country (John 4.44). The same can be said of the church as well. Regardless of believers' status and place in society, the New Testament narrative reinforces that they are all foreigners (Eph. 2.19) as their citizenship is in heaven (Phil. 3.20).

Scripture also presents a subversion of an already established story. In the childhood narratives of Christ, the promised Deliverer was not rescued from danger in a foreign land. He was delivered from danger in the Promised Land into a foreign land. According to Rivera, Jesus "became a migrant and is present in the lives of foreigners and strangers calling people to their service" (148). The Deliverer did not enter Egypt to free a people enslaved in a foreign land but instead entered into Israel to free God's people enslaved within the promised land by a foreign power and enslaved by sin throughout the world. Jesus' role as migrant serves two purposes: (1) delivering hospitality and justice to the sojourner; and (2) revealing a "migratory and hospitality paradigm" that shows his work as the Christ (Rivera 144).

Nguyen shows how the crisis migration to Egypt (Matt. 2) "is to have Jesus the Messiah go into Egypt in order to come out of Egypt, which clearly alludes to Israel's exodus and liberation" ("Migration in the New Testament" 72). Upon Jesus' return, the reader becomes reacquainted with him while his parents were on the move to Nazareth after an even more cruel ruler over Bethlehem ("Migration in the New Testament" 72).

Jesus is in constant movement. Motifs of migration as seen in the verbs "to withdraw," "to depart," and "to take refuge" are found throughout the narrative (Nguyen, "Migration in the New Testament" 72) . These motifs show Jesus in a continual state of migration as he "withdraws" (Matt. 4.12) to Galilee after John the Baptist's arrest (

Nguyen, “Migration in the New Testament” 74). Nguyen presents Jesus’ entire life as a journey and his ministry as itinerant. The Gospel of Luke adds additional motifs of Jesus being *paroikos,* meaning “visitor” or “stranger” (“Migration in the New Testament” 74), continuously benefiting from the hospitality of others from Zacchaeus (Luke 19.8) to Mary and Martha (Luke 10.38-42). For the Gospels' duration, Jesus’ ministry is on the move and an eventual collision course with death at Calvary.

Nguyen presents the great commission as a call for Jesus’ followers to join in Jesus’ migration (“Migration in the New Testament” 73). The author lays out this call as full of stressors (78). Jesus’ calls for believers to deny themselves and pick up their cross to follow Him (Matt. 16.24) is a reminder of the Church’s own missionary journey as migration through this transitory life (Jas. 4.14) be faced with adversity and pain. Peter writes that Christians are all foreigners and exiles (1 Pet. 2.11). As such, their fate will be full of cultural stressors and sacrifices along the way (Rom. 12.1).

The New Testament narrative does not abandon the believer to sorrow but commands to offer help and hospitality to others along this challenging journey (Luke 10.30-37). Das and Hamoud write that the attitude of hospitality “was a quality that leaders of the early church were required to have” (66). Elsewhere they state “that hospitality towards a stranger is an integral part of what it means to follow him” in that “it is a reflection of the wholeness, healing, and *shalom* that God intends for his creation” (71).

As Christians move and progress as pilgrims on this plane, they experience most foreigners' fate and exile. Regarding the Apostle Paul, Nguyen states that “to fulfill the missionary mandate of the risen Christ, the great apostle had to endure many trials and

sufferings for the sake of Christ and the Gospel" ("Migration in the New Testament" 78). Peter reminded believers previously that they ought to behave appropriately in the face of cultural stressors and injustice (1 Pet. 2.12). Regardless of the adversity the migrant faces, the Gospel beckons the believer not to respond to persecution and hate with hate (Matt. 5.43-48).

Das and Hamoud argue that through hospitality the people of God demonstrate a duty of care beyond those native born in a community. They present hospitality as an integral part of Christian life. They likewise present hospitality and the key to understanding the great commandments (72). They quote Japanese theologian Kasuke Koyama. writing:

> Our 'extending hospitality to strangers' happens 'by the mercies of God,' and when this happens our life becomes a 'living sacrifice,' which is 'holy and acceptable to God,' and it is an essential part of our 'spiritual worship.' There is a living connection between 'extending hospitality to strangers' and 'loving your God and loving your neighbor' (Mark 5.44) of which Christ says 'there is no other commandment greater that these' (Mark 12.31). And his directive to love enemies (Matt. 5.44) is the ultimate of extending hospitality to strangers. (qtd. in Das and Hamoud 72)

Nguyen presents the Christian migrant as "unhindered" (Acts 8.36, 10.47, 28.31) by boundaries, free from human restrictions, and not bound to geographic boundaries. The church is continually in motion and entirely dependent on the master "plan of God" ("Migration in the New Testament" 80). Christians on mission are exhorted to be wise in knocking on the right door (Matt. 7.7-14) and reminded to be shrewd (Luke 16.1-8).

Hamilton writes of "the extraordinary social innovation that the early Christians carried out, or, as they would insist, God carried out" (125). In regards to the "plan of God," Hamilton adds that early converts "entered into an equal partnership in which the boundaries between insider and outsider, between heirs of God's longstanding promises and descendants of straight-up pagans, worshiped and served side by side" (125).

Hamilton explores Scripture's warnings not to assimilate into the nations. Hamilton write that "By not assimilating fully to its host cultures, Jews two thousand years ago preserved a spiritual legacy of rigorous moral self-examination, …and trust in a God whose passion for justice and mercy embraced humankind" (123). Instead of integrating and adopting foreign customs, the Christian sojourner is commanded to the diaspora: the Church, the Body of Christ where there are no distinctions (Gal. 3.28). In the believer's sojourn, they are called to resist patriolatry as Jesus' resisted Satan's temptation to be given all the "kingdom of the world and their authority" (Luke 4.5-6). Instead, the Christian sojourner is called to pray for those in authority (1 Tim. 2.1-4). The believer is also encouraged to be active and faithful to God (Acts 16.13-15) and join a faith community (Acts 2.42,46).

Is a return to one's family possible? In Luke's Gospel, the narrative reminds readers that the prodigal son, like the harlot in Isaiah, can return home (Luke 15.11-32). In his sojourn (Luke 15.13), the prodigal son joins his story to the prostitute redeemed out of the nations. Das and Hamoud present "God's act of redemption" as the basis for Christian ministry (73). Earlier it was discussed how returning the Promised Land was attributed to Ruth even though she was foreign-born.

Nguyen writes that when the sheep and goats are separated, Jesus always identifies with the hurting. He argues that anyone that welcomes the outcast welcomes Jesus and fulfills the mandate of hospitality as a charity ("Current Trends of Migration in Asia" 169). Even though the prodigal son and the foreign prostitute (Luke 15.30) join their flesh through wild living (Luke 15.13), redemption is possible. The prodigal son, like the harlot, exchanged his fine robes of childhood (Luke 15.17; Ezek. 16.10) with filth (Ezek. 15.16) and disgrace (Ezek. 16.25). A spiritual return home is possible, and in the same way, the prodigal son was welcomed home with compassion (Ezek. 16.20). The harlot will become a bride and clothed in finery (Rev. 19.7-8).

Nguyen argues that "hospitality to the stranger is not only a moral or Christian duty but an esteemed virtue" ("Current Trends of Migration in Asia" 169). Conversely, the New Testament narrative is filled with cautions and warnings for the sojourner concerning cultural stressors and the absence of hospitality that will be afforded to them. From the story of the Israelite abused and rescued by the Good Samaritan (Luke 10.30-37) to the appeal to ensure that those who provide disciples hospitality along the way are paid their wage (Luke 10.8), the New Testament continues offering hospitality motifs.

The absence of hospitality abounds in the New Testament from the Jewish people who are captives in their homeland under the Roman Empire's yoke (Luke 2.1-5) to the false foreign kings (Matt. 2.1) assigned as oversees of Israel. Jesus's reminder to us to accept hospitality when offered (Luke 10.5-7). Byrne writes about the hospitality of God and the question of "acceptance" (61). He notes that people "can exclude themselves from salvation by not being prepared to accept that hospitality at the time—and in the company—of God's choosing" (137).

The New Testament narrative's point of view is to help the sojourner with hope and words of encouragement along the way. While the narrative may seem bleak for the sojourner, like the woman of Shunem, the New Testament narrative also asserts the Christian sojourner's right to protection from the state. When oppressed and a victim of injustice, like the woman of Shunem, the Apostle Paul invokes his Roman citizenship (Acts 22.27-28). Again, the wisdom to be shrewd does not preclude the Christian sojourner from asserting their political rights. Adams writes extensively concerning Paul's rights as both a Tarsian and Roman citizen and how Paul exercised two individual citizen rights (322).

In contrast to the sojourner with political rights, Paul offers a contrast in a refugee—an escaped slave—who has no rights and instead someone else has rights over their personhood. Scripture provided cities of refuge for those escaping peril. However, in Paul, Onesimus could find spiritual refuge but not legal relief from his status as a slave in the Roman world. Williams does point to Paul denying his rights at times when necessary for the common good. This is seen in his discussion "concerning weak and strong brothers" in 1 Corinthians (Williams III, "Light Giving Sources" 21). This is also seen in Paul invoking the Kingdom of God's values in his please for a fugitive slave whose Christian owner had his ownership rights (Philem. 1.8-25). Whereas people were trafficked into slavery in the Old Testament narrative, the New Testament narrative offered hope for those born into slavery through the Christian sojourn.

The Christian sojourner is not abandoned. John's Gospel begins with Christ's self-humiliation in his incarnation and owns earthly pilgrimage. Tillich refers to his self-humiliation as "existential estrangement" (159). The Eternal Word becoming flesh and

dwelling among humans (John 1.14), is how the Almighty identifies with humanity, not only with human weakness (Heb. 4.14) but also as a sojourner. Jesus not only lives as but suffered his form of cultural stress in his temptation in the wilderness (Matt. 4) and in being tempted in all things (Heb. 4.15). In conquering sin and death, Christ identified with the rejected (Matt. 25.31-46) and liberated the sojourner from their bondage (Luke 4.18-19).

Tillich writes that the Apostle’s Creed “has enumerated symbols of subjection along with the symbols of victory” that are of “universal significance” (159). Christ predicted the Temple's destruction (Matt. 24.1-25.46; Mark 13.1-37; and Luke 21.5-36). The children of Israel yearned to return home to rebuild in Lamentations and Nehemiah. The scattering of the twelve at Christ’s arrest foreshadowed the scattering of the Church foretold by Christ (John 16.32). In inaugurating the Kingdom of God, Christ also inaugurated a Church in sojourn that will persevere and triumph at the *parousia*. Barth writes of Christ’s self-condescension as causing his triumph (517). The Hebrew and Christ’s migration journey and movement through the Old and New Testament landscape geography foreshadowed a sojourner church triumphing at the Eschaton.

According to Halvorson-Taylor, the biblical narratives “acknowledge the wide scope of human agency, both its potential and its dangerous pitfalls in a particularly diasporic context” (501). He adds that this context is an “enduring reality” (501). During Christ and the early Church, the Church's scattering is layered upon Israel's continued scattering in various diaspora communities in the ancient world (John 11.52; 1 Pet 1.1).

The later scattering of the Church in the New Testament narrative is brought upon by Saul of Tarsus's persecution of the church (Acts 8.1-3) and turned refugees into

evangelists wherever they scattered (Acts 8.4). Initially, the scattered preach to Jews alone (Acts 11.19). Still, when Paul is converted, the Gospel is preached throughout the Empire to gentiles utilizing Paul's rights as a Roman citizen and his sojourn through Rome's empire.

Chamburuka believes that Paul's writings are highly apocalyptic, encouraging Christians to focus on the Parousia (192-93). The hope of the sojourner in the *eschaton*. In the same way that Paul's end provided a means to bring the full inclusion of strangers and foreigner into the people of God (Eph.), the hope inherent in the consummation of time will bring a positive conclusion to the Christian sojourn. The promise of John's Revelation is not that believers will be raptured to a new homeland but that their true home will descend to earth: "a new heaven" and "new earth" will replace their existing home (Rev. 21.1-8).

According to Chamburuka, Paul "encouraged Christians to be good citizens and be subject to the present regime for the true kingdom was just but at the corner where they will reign together with Christ forever" (193). The consummation of time sees the Almighty permanently residing with humanity (Rev. 21.2-8) as the Eternal Sovereign of the new Jerusalem (Rev. 21.9-27). The River of Life and Tree of Life reappears. The curse of sin is ended, and the nations and people are healed (Rev. 22.1-5). In the end, no one is a stranger, and no one is ever again a sojourner in a strange land. The church's hope in dealing with universal cultural stressors in shared and continual crisis migration is that Christ's coming is imminent (Rev. 22.6-21).

A summary of the New Testament's migration narrative moves through generations of migrants and culminates in the estrangement of God in the person and life of Jesus of Nazareth. The New Testament narrative:

1. Weaves in the stories of the disenfranchised among the vulnerable. This includes imagery of the female prostitute (Gen. 38.21), the widow (2 Sam. 23.39), and the foreigner (Ruth). These women are progenitors of Christ and serve as archetypes for the Bride of Christ or incorporate the estranged into the Body of Christ (Eph. 5.31).
2. The New Testament Narrative establishes the life of Christ as a meta-narrative of the hardships experienced by migrants. The Christ child was spared no cultural stressor. From his exile to Egypt as a political refugee (Mat. 2.13-18) to his 40-day desert exile (Matt. 4), Christ's sojourn identifies him with people's own status as foreigners (Eph. 2:19).
3. Reminds readers of the transitory nature of this life (Jas. 4.14). The authors accept the reality of sacrifice (Rom. 12.1) and encourage the Church to rise above all stressors (1 Pet. 2.12).
4. Continues in the entire witness of Scripture's call to resist integration (Luke 4.5-6) into the deceptive cities' system (Rev. 18.1-5; 10-19). The New Testament authors eliminate differences that estrange people from one another (Gal. 3.28) and call everyone into a community (Acts 2.2, 27, 46).
5. Depicts sin as the source of humanity's estrangement. The Prodigal Son and the Bride of Christ stand together and side-by-side (Luke 15; Ezek. 16) as a reminder that a return to humanity's spiritual home is possible (Rev. 19:7-8).

6. Presents evidence that Jesus' parables contain admonitions of the dangers on the road as well as the promise of rescue as evident in the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10). The New Testament narrative prescribes the additional duty of care not to those on their sojourn but to those who serve them along the way (Luke 10.5-8). Paul also exemplifies self-care in invoking his civil rights, like the woman of Shunem, when faced with injustice (Acts 22.27-28).
7. It gives evidence that the Almighty joins humanity in its sojourn. The Almighty also identifies with human suffering, and he becomes the head of a household dispersed (John. 11.52; 1 Pet. 1.1) and awaiting the hope of the *eschaton* and the promise that God's abode itself will descend upon the earth ending all estrangement (Rev. 3.12) and all suffering (Rev. 7.17).

Theological Foundations for Crisis Migration and Cultural Stressors

The Old and New Testament foundations for crisis migration and cultural stressors weave into a narrative that reveals hope for all believers on their sojourn. The sojourn is a central and unifying theme through Scripture, as is Christ's own self-identification with the sojourner and the Christian's identification as a spiritual sojourner. The narrative is straightforward on the Christians' duty of care concerning the vulnerable. Contemporary society has set up the Church for a new form of idolatry that is detrimental to the crisis migrant and creates burdens for them that manifest in the same cultural stressors Holy Scripture promises to provide relief.

Crisis migration as the sojourn in the wilderness and the burdens experienced by the sojourner can be explored through the following theological reflections:

1. Sojourn Embedded into the Consciousness of the People of God

"The sojourn as embedded in the national consciousness" is woven through the narrative from enslavement, exodus, and exile in the Old Testament to further scattering in the face of oppression in the New Testament (J. D. Davis 186). Daniel Hillel argues that "the Israelite's sojourn in Egypt became so deeply imprinted in the collective consciousness of their descendants as to be considered a defining event in the birth and subsequent development of their nationhood and religion" (103). Hillel goes further in saying that memory of the dessert sojourn "indelibly etched" in the memory of Israel's "cultural descendants" (126) and notes the sanctification of landmarks along the way in the desert. The sanctification of these landmarks separates the movement of sojourn as holy activity.

The theme of wilderness sojourn is carried into the early Church. The 40-year sojourn in the Sinai reaches into the New Testament through the John the Baptist's wilderness ministry and Christ's temptations in the wilderness (Williams, *Wilderness Lost* 29). In the Church's paradigm, Sinai and Egypt symbolize the temporal world's corruption (30). The Gospel of John identifies the Gospel with the Exodus sojourn: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up" (John 3.14; 30). Within the context of the Christian tradition, the crucifixion is synonymous with the wilderness sojourn. Paul identifies Christ as the spiritual meat and drink that sustained the Israelites in the desert (1 Cor. 10.1-5; 30).

2. The Sojourn as the Christian Catechumenal Task

Timothy C. Tennent argues that the sojourn is so embedded in the psyche of these cultural descendants that Scripture itself cannot be fully understood without first contextualizing Scripture in "its old environment" (55). The old environment was one

on the move with ever-changing landscapes. Even when settled in the land, the Psalmist remind the reader, “For I am a passing guest, a sojourner, like all my fathers” (Ps. 39.12). De Kruijf notes that this is not inferring that heaven is people’s heavenly home. At the *eschaton,* the new Jerusalem descends to earth as God’s new abode. De Kruijf views this as a “confession that God owns the land, so that consequently Israel finds itself *coram deo* in the same position as the strangers who it should be hosting itself” (282). The Christian life is incarnationally a sojourn. As such, the Christian is called to identify with other sojourners and provide assistance to others in their sojourn.

Origen viewed Christ’s sojourn on earth as his self-identification with humanity’s sojourn and estrangement to the land. This sojourn provides for the care of the souls of catechumens for learning true doctrine as a means of preparing them for his *Parousia* (Edsall 153). This constant movement sets the stage for the agricultural language the intersects Scripture—“plowing, sowing, watering, reaping”—that is synonymous with the work of the modern migrant worker (Edsall 156). This is at the heart of the task of “uprooting sin and vice from the souls of those in their charge” (Edsall 156) – the catechumen. Edsall interprets Origen’s teachings as “caught up in the dynamic of this transition from the physical to the spiritual” (159).

3. The Sojourn’s Origin, Character, and Promise

To Szypula, this earthly sojourn oriented Christians into looking towards and yearning to fulfill God’s promise (391). The Christian sojourner desired and strived towards the promised end of either resurrection or witnessing the *Eschaton*. The Christian sojourn is not a futile exercise to Szypula but an expression of “radical

faith" in living out "the eschatological tension of earthly existence" (391). Szypula describes this as "Christian existence in the <<not yet>> of salvation" (156).

Szypula borrows from tent imagery in Hebrews 11 and describes the sojourner's call to live in provisional shelter. This temporary dwelling and existence have a threefold purpose: (1) the journey's origin in God's election and promise; (2) the journey's temporary character; and (3) the journey's end in the promise *Parousia* (Szypula 155). The author of Hebrews' provision shelter is an allegorical call back to the Tabernacle and the Almighty's continual presence with the Israelites on the move in the wilderness. This is a reminder that the sojourner's existence is not outside of God's influence, nor is it alienated from God's own presence (156).

Benne discusses the promised *parousia* within the theme of covenant. This ties the Christian's sojourn back to the Mosaic Covenant and the eternal promise of freedom from bondage. God's Covenant with the Christian sojourner is open-ended and includes all vulnerable people. This covenant is communicated through both judgment and hope (Benne 327). It is this hope that sustains the Christian sojourner in their burdened wilderness experience.

4. Stressors and Burdens Experienced in the Wilderness

From Adam and Eve's eviction from Paradise to Abram's call to leave his own country, the human emigration experience is found throughout the biblical narrative. The person of faith is a homeless migrant. This experience is marked by "the human quest to earn a living, attain psychological stability, and improve quality of life" (Raheb 18). The Israelite captive in Egypt were migrant serfs with no rights. Their

duty was obedience, and their reward was xenophobia that led to attempted genocide (Raheb 88). Captivity in the wilderness was a futile exercise for the Israelites.

Living in the earthly tent is not free of its stressors. The sojourn, or the Christian wilderness experience, is a burdened existence. Szypula explores the afflictions experienced by Paul (156-57). Paul's sojourn was harsh and burdened by "persecutions, dangers, physical punishments, tensions, hunger, and labors" (157). Szypula quotes Lambert in referring to the sojourner's "momentary affliction" (2 Cor. 4.17) and "sufferings of this present time." "Paul quite easily regards the negative aspects inherent to human nature or God's creation as part of that suffering: frictions and adversities, wind and weather, illness and decay, robbers and numerous dangers" (157).

5. Adoption of the Sojourner and Redemption from the Wilderness

Szypula references Benoît's view of the burdened Christian sojourn's paradoxical nature. To Benoît, the Christian sojourn exists simultaneously on two planes: (1) "the eschatological world … inaugurated by the resurrection of Christ"; and (2) "the old world … condemned by the Cross but which continues" (Szypuła 291). Szypula sees our adoption also occurring on two levels: (1) people participate in the Messiah's sonship in the present and promised future through the Holy Spirit; and (2) through the same Holy Spirit believers participate in the divine life of the Messiah while still in their earthly bodies (291-292).

It is these dualities that point believers to the sojourner's redemption from the futility of mortality. In the Christian sojourn, redemption takes the form of liberation from mortality. To Szypula, "redemption expects deliverance from the mortal aspect

of existence" (295). Like Israel captive in Egypt, the Christian sojourner is held captive by mortality and its burdens. Like Israel waiting for its promised Deliverer, the Christian sojourner waits for the *Parousia* with great anticipation and hope. While Christ already accomplishes liberation through the Holy Spirit within the Christian sojourner, the complete restoration will only be achieved at the *Eschaton* (295). That is: "While on their earthly sojourn, believers continue to bear the burden of saved but not fully redeemed bodies" (Szypula 391). Christ's own body, while resurrected and ascended, continues to be held captive as long as God's people are captive.

Concerning this paradox, Brueggemann provides further insight into communal sojourn in that it "speaks of God's freedom for the neighbor" energizes the sojourner through "special memories that embrace discontinuity and genuine breaks from imperial reality (19). In the Christian sojourn, God is neither co-opted nor contained by empire. The Christian sojourn "transfigures fear into energy" and reveals hope to the sojourner by providing the hope of an alternate reality that challenges the managed reality of Pharaoh's empire (Brueggemann 18).

For Moltmann, in this theology of hope, Jesus himself appears "as a stranger with an apocalyptic message that was foreign to [this world]" (37). Moltmann expands on the theme of the stranger by discussing the American's estrangement from their community. He touches both on the cities' deception and the managed reality of perceived equality in the empire. In an observation on American democracy, Moltmann quotes Tocqueville:

> The first thing that strikes the observation is an innumerable multitude of men, all equal and alike, incessantly endeavoring to procure the petty and paltry pleasures

> with which they glut their lives. Each of them, living apart, is a stranger to the fate of all the rest; his children and his private friends constitute to him the whole of mankind. As for the rest of his fellow citizens, he is close to them, but he does not feel them; he exists only in himself and for himself alone. (319)

Johnson engages this othering of the neighbor. Reflecting on Frederick Douglas' work, Johnson touches on the willingness of the American nation willing to spend millions to send former slaves back to Africa while being unwilling to offer "hope to African Americans in their progress as an 'American citizen'" (94). Allegorically referring to Scripture, Johnson quotes Douglass' rebuke of Bishop Henry McNeal Turner on the proposed emigration of former slaves to Africa:

> It tends to weaken his hold on one country while it can give him no rational hope of another. Its tendency is to make him despondent and doubtful, where he should be made to feel assured and confident. It forces upon him the idea that he is forever doomed to be a stranger and sojourner in the land of his birth, and that he has no permanent abiding place here. All of this is hurtful, with such ideas constantly flaunted before him he cannot easily set himself to work to better his condition in such ways as are open to him here. It sets him to groping everlasting after the impossible. (Johnson 94)

6. The Sojourner as a Special Concern

Estrangement is a prominent theme in Scripture. Soerens and Yang assert that the Hebrew Scriptures stand apart from their ancient counterparts in containing thorough instructions on the duty of care owed to immigrants. Regarding the injunctions delineated in the Mosaic law, they quote Rodas who noted that all other contemporary

Near Eastern texts "are almost totally silent" on this subject (91). This ethical concern is consistent in the New Testament. Jesus identifies with the lowly stranger (Matt. 25.31-46). The New Testament authors remind readers that they may be unknowingly entertaining angels in providing hospitality to the stranger (Heb. 13.2).

Commenting on contemporary society in the United States, Soerens and Yang reflect on the reality that many American Christians do not adapt these commandments to structure society. They write, "God has a special concern for immigrants, a concern that, as God's people, we are commanded to share" (91). They further assert that the duty of care the people of God have to the immigrant is a central theme of Scripture (92).

In summary, there is a mandate in Scripture to care to the sojourner. There is also a self-identification of the Almighty with the sojourner. Spiritually the Christian sojourner experiences the burden and hardship of the wilderness sojourn. At the same time, they remember that in those places where the Christian sojourner privileges others, they sit in their former estrangement place. The fullness of Scripture reveals the burdens faced by the sojourner. It also reveals the hope of the *Parousia* as the end of all estrangement.

There is a spiritual danger that remains. Van Houten analyses the foreigner's placement in the status once held by the Israelites in Egypt. In placing the foreigner in the Israelites' place, the gap is closed between the sojourner and the native-born. This creates a close relationship between the foreigner and the Israelite. Van Houten writes that the foreigner's categorization alongside the orphan and the widow places all three in a class

"separated from the *paterfamilias*." While the Old Testament law presents these individuals in the land as subsistent on charity, it does not require it (van Houten 54).

In shaping the community ethic around a social concern for those cut off from the safety net of family, the Old Testament narrative contains themes carried through the New Testament. This social concern is a central theme of Scripture. In contemporary American Christianity, this theme is often ignored. Industrialism ushered in an age "in which vast social dislocations made men uncertain in their behavior and therefore susceptible to ideologies" (Moltmann 296).

American Christianity often gets caught up in the managed reality of an established church, an American Jesus, and American exceptionality that suspects the foreigner and prescribed no duty of care to the Christian for the sojourner. Patriolatry is idolatry. It is a "perverse caricature of patriotism" and "rests on the conviction that the nation's legal and cultural norms are the absolute standards for all moral judgment" (Walters 51). Patriolatry exchanges divine commandments for domestic norms. Patriolatry leads to the disparagement of the foreigner (51).

While patriolatry is more akin to secularism, Maoism, or Soviet totalitarianism its "overtly fuses with religious belief" (Walters 52). Walters' prophetic witness warns:

> National interests become identified with divine providence, which in turns nurtures the conviction that any policy or action that strengthens the nation is ipso facto blessed by God. When this mixture of religion and nationalism happens, political rhetoric beings to take on religious flavor, national holidays get treated with solemnity of holy days, statesmen and soldiers acquire near sainthood status,

> and opposition to the country's policies is condemned not merely as traitorous but vaguely blasphemous. (52)

Patriolatry leads Christians away from the alternative reality the sojourner is called to embrace and the empire's managed reality (Brueggemann 18). American patriolatry appropriates the imagery of the sojourn into the rhetoric of American exceptionalism. This imagery is so embedded into the psyche of the Israelites' spiritual descendant that even American Christians identify with the wilderness sojourn in the myth and lore of the American story (Williams 119). Sadly, this appropriation inspires nationalism that harms modern-day sojourners instead of inspiring a duty of care to them.

Modern Literature on Crisis Migration and Cultural Stressors

Crisis migration-related stressors have already negatively impacted Puerto Ricans' resettlement to Central Florida (Gutierrez). Research on this topic indicates that trauma caused by a natural disaster leads to higher instances of divorce, domestic violence, behavioral problems in children, and drug addiction (Heredia Rodríguez). The Puerto Rican crisis migrant joins an already marginalized immigrant community. This community is negatively impacted by poverty, food and housing insecurities, lack of healthcare, and reduced educational opportunities (Chang). The crisis migrants' continual need to cope with ongoing stressors dampens an individual's outlook (Shalev). Understanding the crisis migrant and their cultural stressors is critical in providing pastoral care to the displaced.

The Crisis Migrant

Crisis migration is "large-scale relocations prompted by catastrophic social, political, economic, or environmental events" (C. P. Salas-Wright, M. Cohen, and P.

Andrade). International migration levels are at their highest in recent years. Typically, a destination society is not hospitable to large waves of crisis migrants. This “cold shoulder” is referred to in the literature as a *negative context of reception*, and it is often influenced by the host nation's narratives. In the United States, the overarching narrative that “the United States is based on Anglo-Protestant heritage” influences various implicit and explicit biases against minority groups (Schwartz, Salas-Wright, and Perez-Gomez 26).

Martin, Weeransinghe, and Taylor categorize crisis migration as set off by humanitarian crisis. To the researchers, the precursors to crisis migration are “widespread threat to life, physical safety, health, or basic subsistence that is beyond the coping capacity of individuals and the communities in which they reside” (Martin, Weeransighe, and Taylor 123). Either natural or human-made events can trigger crisis migration. Other factors such as poverty and poor governance contribute significantly to the many precursor events that trigger large-scale migration in response to the crisis (Martin, Weeransighe, and Taylor).

Martin, Weeransinghe, and Taylor characterize crisis migration as include elements of movement across geopolitical borders; either temporary or permanent relocation; participation in formalized evacuation or voluntary migration programs. They also characterize crisis migration as supported by accessing social and diasporic networks. Crisis migrants are often understood as being noncitizens. The authors provide further defines crisis migration as encompassing “the diverse forms of movements and non-movements—situations in which people become trapped—that occur in the context

of humanitarian crises, while 'crisis migrants' is intended to refer to all who move or remain trapped in such contexts' (Martin, Weeransighe, and Taylor 125).

Martin, Weeransinghe, and Taylor describe crisis migration in four dimensions: causality, geography, temporality, and vulnerability. The authors further describe each of these dimensions as follow:

1. Causality

   The authors do not view extreme natural hazards alone as precipitants to crisis migration. The combination of extreme hazards with failed governance, poverty, and weakness work together to foment a level of humanitarian crisis sufficient to trigger crisis migration. Aside from natural disasters, human-made hazards and political instability can contribute to crisis migration. The disaster also needs not to be sudden. It can be caused by slow-onset precursors like repeated crop failure and environmental change (Martin, Weeransighe, and Taylor 127-28).

   Climate change induced migration is a field of study in itself. Climate change is a slow-onset human-made disaster that can trigger acute and sudden episodes of natural disaster. Climate change migration or 'climmigration' is triggered when a "community is no longer sustainable exclusively because of climate-related events and permanent relocation is required to protect people" (Kelman 123). This one causality is an exemplar of how all four dimensions intersect in regards to crisis migration.

2. Geography

   Cross-border displacement makes up part of the geographical dimension of crisis migration. The authors note that displacement often occurs to neighboring countries

and is a regional event. They note that migration triggered by natural disaster tend to lead to both internal and international migration. Often, host communities face some of the same challenges as their neighbors and have few resources to offer displaced migrants. This can sometimes lead to unrest and violence between the displaced and receiving communities (Martin, Weeransighe, and Taylor 129).

3. Temporality

This dimension occurs in stages. During pre-crisis, attempts are made to mitigate disaster, and assistance is provided to individuals to adapt. The second stage is migration when attempts to prevent or mitigate disaster fail. Large-scale displacement is often the result of sudden cataclysm and is often chaotic, whereas slow on-set disasters migration is more deliberate in anticipation of worsening conditions. Crisis migration has inherent risks, especially among the most vulnerable populations—women and children. While a return home ends the migration cycle, migration is often protracted over a long period and often permanent. No viable path to returning home exists after an extreme disaster (Martin, Weeransighe, and Taylor 129-30).

4. Vulnerability

The needs of crisis migrants quantify vulnerability as a measure of multiple demographic and socioeconomic factors. A humanitarian crisis can exhaust a crisis migrant's resilience by depleting reserves of resilience. Vulnerable groups require special attention as crisis further stresses and depletes support systems. Slow-onset crises may lead to a gradual depletion of resources, whereas sudden acute crises overwhelm available resources due to the humanitarian crises' chaotic nature (Martin, Weeransighe, and Taylor 130-31).

Peek references research indicating that vulnerable groups typically include "the poor, women, ethnic minorities, persons with physical or mental disabilities, the elderly, and children" (5). Children especially are vulnerable to different threats. These vulnerabilities include psychological vulnerability (e.g., PTSD, depression, anxiety, etc.); physical vulnerability (e.g., death, injury, illness, physical/sexual abuse, etc.); and educational vulnerability (e.g., missed school, poor academic performance, etc.) (Peek 5). Prior studies failed to shed light on the vulnerability of child migrants in the United States and other developed nations (Peek 11). It is widely understood that children are at an elevated risk of physical and sexual abuse post-disaster. Organizations must develop capacities to protect children left vulnerable by disaster (Peek 14).

There is an intersection in these dimensions. They do not exist independently from one another in any given disaster. For example, for causality and vulnerability, White addresses vulnerability conditions concerning power dynamics and victimization. The author notes the blurring of natural and human-made disasters. In this space, the victimization of vulnerable populations is best understood when looking at how "natural phenomenon" combines with the consequences of human neglect or behavior in placing people in a place of disparity. White quotes Williams in pointing out that "Some circumstances that appear natural may if analyzed in greater depth, be a consequence of human acts" (White 60). These human acts can both contribute to both the cause and the vulnerability of people in a humanitarian crisis.

The Crisis Migrant and Cultural Stressors

Polarized rhetoric serves as the backdrop of current crisis migration in the United States (Salas-Wright, Goings and Vaughn, "Health Risk Behavior"). A negative context of reception leads to feelings of being unwanted in a migrant group. Cultural stressors like these are unsettling and are related to increased anxiety and depression in migrant groups. These feelings may activate the feelings of trauma that necessitated the migration and contribute to mental health problems alongside a host of other health issues that lead to early mortality, including suicide (Schwartz, Salas-Wright, and Perez-Gomez 26).

Schwartz et al. describe most forms of immigration as initiated by choice and in an orderly fashion. In contrast, they describe crisis migration are often chaotic and irregular. They also contrast crisis migrants to political refugees in that the latter often employs legal and organized mechanisms for migration. In contrast, the crisis migrant does not fit neatly into any category. Schwartz et al. summarize Salas-Wright and Schwartz's work concerning crisis migration characteristics (Schwartz, Szabo, and Meca 7-8). They identify the following features:

1. The move is unplanned or chaotic.
2. In a short timeframe, crisis migration involves large groups of people arriving in the destination country.
3. The outflow of people originates in one country or region and arrives at multiple embarkation points in the destination country.
4. Crisis migrants arrive at destination crisis already traumatized and suffering lapses in mental health.

Runde, Yayboke, and Garcia Gallego described irregular migration as circumventing formal pathways to migration. The reasons for this are various. Some simply have no access or could not afford to migrate formally. Others could have been denied access or chose to ignore existing controls. These circumvent not only formal pathways but orderly migration processes. The authors describe irregular migration as “the shadows” and speak to irregular migrants' increased vulnerability. These vulnerabilities include human trafficking and fair job opportunities (Runde, Yaybroke, and García Gallego 5-6). The authors do not address the kind of irregular migration that occurred after Hurricane María, where individuals self-evacuated into Central Florida without FEMA's formal support or having a friendship or kinship networks in the area to receive them.

Salas-Wright, Vaughn, and Clark Goings document the extensive research that indicates that sustained exposure to cultural stressors like racism and discrimination is associated with increased risk to the mental and physical health of crisis migrants. Discrimination often complicates multiple sources of cultural stress simultaneously experienced by the crisis migrant. These sources include, but are not limited to, discrimination, adjustment difficulties like learning a new language, acculturation, and disruption to kindship and friendship networks. The researchers summarize prior research as: “Such findings are in keeping with prior evidence suggesting that the cumulative burden or recurrent exposure to discrimination can increase the probability of developing a mental health problem” (Salas-Wright, Vaughn and Clark Goings, “Trends and Mental Health Correlates” 478).

Cepeda et al. studied cultural stressors among crisis migrants displaced after Hurricane Katrina. Among Latino immigrants facing a second displacement post-Hurricane Katrina, pre-existing cultural stressors included “lack of resources, difficulties planning a relocation, and the real or imagined danger of the route to the new country” (Cepeda, Negi and Nowony, “Social Stressors” 209). Cepeda et al. find that post-traumatic stress disorder may linger after these experiences and other mental health and emotional well-being impacts. The authors note that “Experiences of discrimination also have been found to have an impact on Latino migrants’ elevated levels of blood pressure and other markers of health” (209).

Cepeda et al. l discuss other cultural stressors to include alienation from kindship and friendship networks. They add that migrants are often left to their own devices in dealing with discrimination and other stressors in their absence. The researchers note that Latinos' pre-existing marginalization leaves the category of crisis migrant vulnerable to crime and violence (Cepeda, Negi and Nowony, “Social Stressors” 210). Language barriers are also known to contribute to stress and depression (214). In some circumstances, language barriers have the potential of escalating to severe altercations (215).

The Puerto Rican Crisis Migrant and Cultural Stressors

The Puerto Rican Citizen as Migrant

González speaks of Puerto Ricans as “citizens yet foreigners” (81). The Puerto Rican crisis migrant is not an immigrant but experiences the same negative context of reception as the international crisis migrant. While still a citizen of the United States, the Puerto Rican crisis migrant has an estranged and unusual relationship with their

citizenship. U.S. law describes citizenship to those born in Puerto Rico as “a mere ‘statutory’ citizenship subject to the plenary will of Congress” (Venator-Santiago 38).

The Puerto Rican migrant before Hurricane María was a circular migrant (Otterstrom and Tillman), or what Kelman coins as a migrant by default (Kelman, “Does Climate Change Cause Migration?”). Duany describes circular migration as “revolving door migration” and defines it as a back-and-forth movement between the mainland and the island. This back-and-forth is not limited to the Puerto Rican. It is also seen in multiple border crossings among South and Central Americans. Duany adds that “Such two-way, repetitive, temporary moves do not fit easily within conventional migration models.” Still, Duany notes that this circular migration pattern is typical of the Caribbean region (“Mobile Livelihoods” 356).

Melendez categorizes “every Puerto Rican as a potential migrant” (122). He presents President Franklin Roosevelt’s regret that after years of United States sovereignty over the island, “hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans have little and often virtually no knowledge of the English language” (125). Touching about the potential migrant nature among Puerto Ricans, Roosevelt adds:

> the Puerto Rican will be able to take full advantage of the economic opportunities which became available to them when they were made American citizens…Puerto Rico is densely populated Island. Many of its sons and daughters to seek economic opportunity on the mainland…They will be greatly handicapped if they have not mastered English. (qtd. in Melendez125)

Aranda describes the uniqueness of Puerto Rican nationality as second-class United States citizenship. Their relocation is not a simple move within the country. It

occurs within unequal contexts where "similar transitions upon migration regarding cultural and linguistic barriers as well as racialization" exist (E. M. Aranda 23). This project is focused on the crisis migrant. Aranda conceptualizes the Puerto Rican as an institutionally marginalized "internal migrant" whose experiences are influenced by conquest and colonization (23).

While the Puerto Rican as a circular migrant has been transitioning into the Puerto Rican as a permanent migrant over the past few decades, Torres and Mazan note that this cycle has been true for individuals and entire households. They term this movement "el va y ven" and note that over the past five decades "of intense multidirectional activity, during which everyone seemed on the move; now, major fragments of the population have lived in both Puerto Rico and the United States" mainland (Torres and Marzan 114). González refers to the Puerto Rican migrant as a pioneer among all Latin American migrants. Their experience of arriving on the mainland as citizens not requiring visas or alien cards reveals the depth of the obstacles facing all Latino—citizens and non-citizen alike. González writes, "Despite our de jure citizenship, the average North American, whether white or black, continues to regard Puerto Rican as de facto foreigners. Even the Supreme Court, as we have seen, has had difficulty explaining the Puerto Rican condition" (82). González describes the Puerto Rican condition and forces that describe the Puerto Rican worldview as "schizophrenia" (82).

Politically, Puerto Ricans have had birthright—native or natural-born—citizenship since 1940. However, a societal reality is that only 54% of Americans know Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens (Hansen). This lack of knowledge impacts how Americans view aid to Puerto Rico and their fellow Americans. A recent poll showed that

among those who did not support aid for Puerto Rico as much as a 10-point jump in favoring aid occurred when they were informed that Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens (Enten).

Any internet search on the term “Puerto Rican immigrant” and numerous entries from Sonia Sotomayor’s “corner of Puerto Rican immigrant New York” to journal articles discussing “a large portion of the Puerto Rican immigrant population of the United States” appear as the top search results. The use of the misnomer “Puerto Rican immigrant” is pervasive. A letter to the editor published in the New York Times in 1993 correctly addresses this term:

> We are pleased by your informative article about Ninfa Segarra on her appointment as deputy mayor of New York City (Woman in the News, Dec. 2), but troubled by the term "immigrant" to describe her lineage and family's status.
>
> In this context, the word "immigrant" (one who leaves one's country to settle permanently in another) is incorrect, in that Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States in 1898 at the end of the Spanish-American War under the Treaty of Paris. Furthermore, the Jones Act of 1917 granted citizenship to all Puerto Ricans, whether they are born on Puerto Rico or in the mainland United States.
>
> Thus, while Ms. Segarra's parents may have migrated to New York City in the 1940's, they were not required to relinquish citizenship from another country in order to become legal residents and full-fledged citizens of the United States. (Nuñez)

The Crisis Migrant and Cultural Stress

Migration is inherently stressful. Recent work with Latino crisis immigrants has identified alarming levels of stress experienced by the migrant. The stress experienced by crisis migrants often begins before migration. Stress continues through adverse experiences en route to and while settling at the migrant's final destination. Crisis migration is often abrupt and unplanned. Recent studies indicate that crisis migrants displaced by crises and disasters have elevated use/misuse of alcohol and other struggles with mental health issues (Salas-Wright, Vaugh and Goings, "Disconcerting Levels of Alcohol Use" 2).

Increased vulnerability to mental health problems and emotional crisis is ever-present in migration. Crisis migrants may have reduced access to resources and social support. Crisis migrants may also be alienated from culturally appropriate coping mechanisms that may not be normative in their host culture. Because of this, Qureshi, Revollo, and Collazos write:

> Migrants in crisis … are different from native born individuals on two major fronts. One has to do with the degree to which migration constitutes a stressor, and the other the degree to which culture and migration impact the stress process. (64)

Lorenzo-Blanco, Meca, and Unger list discrimination, negative context of reception, and acculturation stress as being conceptualized together to denote "cultural stress." They note various researchers that attribute cultural stress as an essential contributor to low emotional and behavioral health among Latinos in the United States. Paradoxically, the research also shows that recent immigrants report better emotional and

behavioral health than more established families in the United States. The researchers conclude that a reason for this paradox may be that more established families have had longer to experience and accumulate negative cultural stress (Lorenzo-Blanco, Meca, and Unger 115).

Salas et al. examine cultural stress across two domains consisting of discrimination and negative context of reception. These two domains are at the heart of cultural stress theory. Discrimination is based on both intentional and direct mistreatments because of a migrant's cultural background. To Salas et al., the negative context of reception is a broader term. It is based on how migrants view themselves as welcomed and able to access their destination country opportunities. The most common form of feeling unwelcomed is feelings of being "shut out" or unwanted because of cultural background. Feelings of unfair treatment and criticism also contribute to negative context of reception (Salas-Wright, Schwartz, and Cohen 3).

Cultural stress can also play out in the acculturation process among nonimmigrant ethnic groups forced to acculturate by a dominant group (Schwartz, Montgomery, and Briones 2). Cultural stress impacts and has adverse health outcomes on families. In adolescents, cultural stress is linked to higher depressive symptoms, higher aggressive behavior, cigarette smoking, and alcohol use. In adults, cultural stress also contributes to higher depressive symptoms and heavy drinking and smoking (Lorenzo-Blanco, Meca, and Unger 116).

For the Puerto Rican crisis migrant, there is a history of an attempted force and subsequently failed acculturation on the island. Puerto Rico's change to Spanish as one of the official languages of the island was no accident. The cry "¡Nuestro idioma es el

español!" was born out of the Federal Government's attempts to force language integration on the island after the 1898 invasion. For the decades between 1898 and 1949, the enforcement of regulations forcing English language instruction in public schools was attempted. This was met by resistance by Puerto Ricans at all levels of society (Kerkhof). Enculturated in Puerto Rican identity is a history of resisting forced acculturation.

The research shows that positive acculturation experiences lead to higher reported levels of good mental health in youth. There is great diversity in how migrants grapple with the effects and demands of acculturation. Schwartz et al. acknowledge that migrants engage in the cultural systems of their destination countries to varying degrees. They note that the research shows recent trends in younger migrants as more likely to adopt biculturalism. The research shows that:

> Young migrants likely engage strongly with both their heritage and destination cultural systems, because they likely have been educated in the destination society and likely have older family members (e.g., parents, aunts/uncles, grandparents) who are oriented primarily toward the family's cultural heritage. (Schwartz, Szabo, and Meca 5)

The effects of cultural stress on the Latino community have been extensively researched in the United States. The research indicates that perceived neighborhood characteristics may lower the accumulated experience with cultural stress on Latinos' emotional and behavioral health. Lorenzo-Blanco, Meca, and Unger posit "perceptions of supporting or cohesive neighborhoods might buffer against the adverse effects of cultural stress of emotional and behavioral health outcomes" (115).

For the crisis migrant, the effects of cultural stress can be devastating. A review of the relevant psychiatric literature addresses the "ghostly nature of symptoms" associated with loss as perceived by the crisis migrant. Beneduce surmises that loss becomes "inextricably linked, what is usually considered separately; namely social marginality, paranoid symptoms, racial phobia, … an unaccountable 'resentment' of the small pitfalls of daily communication, and an overwhelming feeling of dispossession (264). Beneduce elaborates that the "trauma these tales talk about consists of many traumas" (271). Beneduce challenges the reader to "go beyond mere cultural connotations…to see a real testimony in these postcolonial symptoms" (276).

Modern Literature on the Central Florida Puerto Rican Diaspora

Puerto Rican Migrant and Diaspora

The misnomer of the Puerto Rican immigrant has its basis in the negative context of reception experienced by Puerto Rican migrants. As early as 1955, sociologists noted that while Puerto Ricans are not immigrants in the legal sense, "the significant differences between [mainland] United States culture and Puerto Rican culture, including that of language" fragment (Mintz 313). Language and other factors combine to make the migration of Puerto Ricans like international migration.

Like other international migrants, Puerto Ricans have formed diaspora communities throughout the mainland United States. The Puerto Rican relationship to the mainland can best describe how cultural stressors are experienced in the *pa'lla afuera.* These cultural stressors provide a contrast to *la isla* and life on the mainland (García-Colón 107). Garcia-Colon posits:

> *Pa'alla afuera* simultaneously expresses [the Puerto Rican] migrants' estrangement and sense of belonging. That sense of belonging remains anchored in Puerto Rico, even when migrants' established lives in the States. (107)

Nationally, the Puerto Rican diaspora in the mainland United States is larger than the island population. This is a unique position for any diaspora. While most of the diaspora is situated in the Northeast (53 percent), Central Florida's pre-Hurricane María population matched New York's population. Before Hurricane María, Central Florida was already a hub and gateway to Puerto Rican migration. The Central Florida Puerto Rican diaspora is located primarily in Orlando and Kissimmee, and it reaches into Tampa and Poinciana (Aranda and Rivera 58).

Duany also argues that Puerto Rican identity is unique because Puerto Rican identity is inclusive of its diaspora. Duany argues for further distinction in contemporary society, not only because of Puerto Rico's large diaspora but also its long-term colonial status. Duany notes:

> Puerto Rican diaspora has few contemporary or historical precedents. Few other countries in recent memory have exported such a large share of their population abroad—more than half a million out of a total of roughly two between 1945 and 1965. ("Nation on the Move" 5-6)

The Puerto Rican crisis migrant has multiple identities as "Puerto Rican, a person of color, poor, and a colonial migrant" (Asencio 2). Add other diverse categories to describing the crisis migrant like sexual orientation, gender expression, age, and disability, and their identity is further complicated. These multiple identities may contribute to difficulties navigating new homes. Each status on its own can create

stressors on its own. Together, the multiplicity of Puerto Rican identity requires resiliency in the individual, requiring developing “strategies to negotiate their multiple identities and sources of oppression” (Asencio 2).

Before Hurricane María, the Hispanic Federation released a report about Latinos growing presence in Florida. In 2016, they documented 1,000,000 Puerto Ricans living in Florida. While Orlando, Tampa, and Miami all had majority-female Latino populations, Orlando’s female share of the Latino population was 60%. Florida accounted for 10% of all Latino households, with 49% of all Orlando and Central Florida households being Spanish dominant. From 2000 to 2014, Florida’s Puerto Rican population grew by 94%, and it was estimated (pre-Hurricane María) that Florida’s Puerto Rican population would surpass Florida’s Cuban population by 2020. Also, by 2020 it was already predicted that the population of Florida Puerto Rican diaspora would overtake New York’s Puerto Rican diaspora (J. A. Gutierrez).

From July 2019 to June 2020, in conjunction with the Heart of Florida United Way, the church assisted Hurricane María survivors in Central Florida. An unpublished internal sample based on clients showed that the unduplicated clients were 53% female and nearly 38% of all households served had single female heads of house.

Ortiz notes that migration is typically male-driven. A typical pattern emerges, especially among Mexican immigrants, of men migrating ahead of their families and their families migrating later. Most migration studies have been based on the experiences of men. Puerto Rican migration seems to be female-driven. Ortiz identifies that “if migration is to occur, it is more likely to happen soon after a change in marital or fertility

status" (465). The migration of single mothers to the mainland can be attributed to seeking better mainland opportunities and families not available on the island (Ortíz 465).

Negative Context of Reception of Puerto Ricans

The overarching American narrative that "the United States is based on Anglo-Protestant heritage" plays out in the relationship between mainland citizens and their Puerto Rican counterparts. This narrative is codified in the Supreme Court's insular cases where, according to Maass, the Supreme Court ruled that possession of Puerto Rico "need not equal annexation" (195). Moreover, Justice Henry Brown argued "if those possessions are inhabited by alien races, differing from us in religion, custom, laws, methods of taxation, and modes of thought, the administration of government and justice according to Anglo-Saxon principles may for a time be impossible" (Maass 195). Brown continued that Puerto Rico was "belonging to the United States but not part of the United States," with Justice Edward White echoing that Puerto Rico is "foreign to the United States in a domestic sense…merely a possession" (Maass 195).

The Puerto Rican migrant experience is differentiated from the international migrant's situation because of citizenship. Very little else differentiates the treatment of newly arrived Puerto Ricans to the United States mainland from the experiences of international migrants. Other than the issue of language, Puerto Ricans share much in common with their international migrant counterparts. Still, the political issues surrounding Puerto Rican identity are as much a concern for the Church as are meeting the pastoral needs of the Puerto Rican crisis Migrant. De la Torre connects America's entry into imperialism and Puerto Rico's colonization Protestant imperialism subjugating

a foreign Roman Catholic people (10). All subsequent tensions between these two groups cannot be seen independently of this unbalanced and historically toxic relationship.

Fernandez argues that Puerto Ricans are “subordinate citizens” that are perceived as “exploitable, low-wage labor both on the island and the mainland” (8). To Fernandez, the commonalities are not limited to mutual exploitation. Still, both communities enrich each other by being “neighbors in the same communities, worshippers in Spanish-language churches, patrons of the same ethnic businesses, and ultimately, even relatives in blended families” (9).

The role of the worship community and the Latino migrant is a reoccurring theme in the literature. Early on, the project site has received special interest from academics and researchers who understand the worshiping community's unique role within the Latino and Puerto Rican migrant.

The Puerto Rican “subordinate citizen” is othered and seen as less than in the marketplace. This assigning of value to the Puerto Rican migrant, as seen in the Supreme Court Insular Cases, begets racism. Racism stems from generalized values, “real or imaginary differences,” assigned to people (Perea 140). The United States conquest of Puerto Rico and “the racial inferiority attributed to the people targeted by American conquest” is a fundamental mechanism that feeds the perceptions and attitudes that lead to a negative context of reception towards newly arrived Puerto Ricans (Perea 140).

The process of acculturation refers to the process of cultural change and adaptation. It refers to both the adoption of new ideals as well as the retention of existing ideals. Typically this term is used about international migrations. However, the term can

also be applied to nonimmigrant cultural groups. Schwartz et al. discuss issues of acculturation for nonimmigrant ethnic groups:

> Nonimmigrant ethnic groups are faced with acculturation challenges not because they have chosen to enter a new society, but rather because they have been involuntarily subjected to the dominance of a majority group (often on their own land)…Acculturation among groups such as these is quite different from acculturation among voluntary immigrant people or refugees because their status as 'minorities' or 'ethnic groups' within the receiving culture is involuntary. (Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones, "The Role of Identity" 2).

The Latinization of Orlando

Since the 1990s, Florida has become a pole of Puerto Rican migration (Torres and Marzan 111). Before Hurricane María, the typical Puerto Rican in Orlando was "born on the island, had at least a high school education, worked in a white collar profession, lived in suburbia, and was married with children" (Otterstrom and Tillman 52). Otterstrom and Tillman also note that the Puerto Rican migrant in Orlando was already unique to the migrant to other United States metropolitan areas. Orlando's transplants were more highly educated, had more work experience, and had higher English language mastery levels. The researchers note that Puerto Ricans in Orlando also tend to break the mold on the concept of the Puerto Rican circular migrant in their intent to permanently settle a metropolitan area in which they see a "new" Puerto Rico.

Before the Hurricane María crisis migration to Orlando, half of the Orlando diaspora settled in the area directly from Puerto Rico with the geography providing a place of merger for newly arrived Puerto Ricans and more established from northern

diaspora communities (Silver, “Latinization, Race, and Cultural Identification” 66). Orlando provides a unique geography where the *jibaro* (the rural Puerto Rican farmer) and the *Nuyorican* (the mainland born and acculturated Puerto Rican) form a new community. Initially, as early as 1986, the Orlando Sentinel referred to Puerto Rican migration as more “trickle than a downpour,” but by 1989, that “increased Latinization is staggering” (Delerme 118). Llorens addresses the pull-down to Orlando for Puerto Ricans settled in the Northeast:

> In communities and towns left moribund by the death of the sugar industry in Puerto Rico, land sits fallow, and industrial complexes from earlier eras have been left to rot. Overgrown vegetation and stray dogs rule, and every other house sits empty because the people who lived there either died or “se fueron pa’lla fuera” (migrated to the mainland)…These ruined landscapes have parallels in the mainland cities where so many Puerto Ricans have migrated—they go “seeking a better life,” but instead land among other ruins in post-industrial U.S. cities like Hartford and Bridgeport, Connecticut, and many others (H. Lloréns 154).

Ariza writes about the “astounding” transformation of Orlando into a Puerto Rican enclave. In lamenting that this transformation had not been documented, she offers the following observation:

> There was a visible Puerto Rican enclave with restaurants, banks, grocery stores selling Puerto Rican products and radio stations promoting Puerto Rican culture in Spanish; these businesses had not existed in the late Seventies. But there were few stories documenting this phenomenal makeover (Ariza 136).

Orlando's transformation was caused by an outflow of Puerto Ricans escaping an ever-deteriorating economy in the years before Hurricane María. Weiss and Setser document an economy in a sustained decline for over a decade before Hurricane María made landfall. This economic deterioration represented a 14% drop in economic output. The resulting outflow of Puerto Ricans decreased the island population in Puerto Rico from 3.8 million in 2006 to 3.2 million right before Hurricane María struck. Before Hurricane María, the island's poverty rate was twice that of the nation's poorest state, Mississippi. Before Maria, Puerto Rico had a poverty rate of 45%, with 56% of the island's children living below the poverty line (Weiss and Setser 2).

Duany notes that researchers have previously neglected-looking into the demographic change occurring in Central Florida. Duany notes that in the years between 1990 and 2009, the Orlando metropolitan area's Puerto Rican population quadrupled. Orlando's Puerto Rican population had the most significant increase—142 percent—of Puerto Ricans on the mainland. Duany quotes Susan Eichenberger as remarking, "Puerto Ricans have transformed the landscape of the area so much so that they fell that …[it] is an extension of the Island" (Duany, *Blurred Borders* 106).

Friendship and Kinship Networks

Orlando as an extension of Puerto Rico is reinforced by friendship and kinship networks. Duany emphasizes kinship and friendship networks as essential factors in the Orlando diaspora. Duany found that those settled in Orlando maintain an emotional connection to the island. Members of the Orlando diaspora before Hurricane María were noted as keeping friendship networks intact on both the island and Orlando. Duany's research notes that many who now reside in Orlando previously were familiar with the

area because of multiple past visits to families and friends. Puerto Ricans in Orlando have traditionally been able to keep their kinship and family networks intact between Central Florida and Puerto Rico (Duany, *Blurred Borders* 120-21).

While a draw to Central Florida includes the ability to maintain existing kindship and friendship networks (Aranda and Rivera 71), the research also shows that Puerto Ricans are drawn to the area for retirement, a better quality of life, better working conditions, and higher wages. The move is not without built-in challenges. The challenges facing Puerto Rican youth, in particular, leave them struggling to acquire English proficiency and other stressors that put them at risk of marginalization and exclusion from opportunity (Ariza 131). Duany's research notes that Puerto Ricans moving to Orlando come here to "echar la familia pa'lante." While they can keep their social networks intact, they often sell everything they have on the island to facilitate their move to the mainland (Duany, *Blurred Borders* 121).

Negative Context of Reception of Puerto Ricans

The overarching American narrative that "the United States is based on Anglo-Protestant heritage" plays out in the relationship between mainland citizens and their Puerto Rican counterparts. This narrative is codified in the Supreme Court's insular cases where according to Maass the Supreme Court ruled that possession of Puerto Rico "need not equal annexation" (195). Moreover, Justice Henry Brown argued "if those possessions are inhabited by alien races, differing from us in religion, custom, laws, methods of taxation, and modes of thought, the administration of government and justice according to Anglo-Saxon principles may for a time be impossible" (Maass 195). Brown continued that Puerto Rico was "belonging to the United States but not part of the United

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Racial and Ethnic Identity

Before Hurricane María, Duany listed the Orlando diaspora's distinctive feature as having many well-educated professionals and managers. He notes that 63% of Puerto Ricans in Central Florida consider themselves white compared to 43.6% in New York and 51.9% nationally. On the island, 80.5% of Puerto Ricans consider themselves white (Duany, *Blurred Borders* 107). This particularity of the Puerto Rican diaspora is essential because, in the aftermath of Hurricane María, the project site partnered with the University of Miami and noted that the experiences of crisis migrants included:

> Displaced Puerto Ricans in Central Florida did not receive the welcome they anticipated from established Puerto Ricans and thus did not integrate into the larger community as easily as they expected to, said Schwartz. By contrast, those who came to South Florida had already rebuilt their lives (moved into housing and started jobs) six to seven months later. (B. Gutierrez)

The University of Miami's research indicates a disconnect between newly arrived crisis migrants' and the path already laid out by previously arrived Puerto Ricans in noting the rejection felt and self-reported by the newly arrived (B. Gutierrez). Duany had already noted that "Puerto Ricans in Central Florida could follow a different path from that of other Puerto Rican communities in the diaspora" (*Blurred Borders* 107).

The research seems to provide early indications of a shift in that newly arrived Puerto Ricans' posture in the United States mainland. Various academics and researchers already note that already established Puerto Ricans are self-reporting resentment of being re-cast in the foreigner's role. Already established, Puerto Ricans resent being seen as what Rodríguez describes as “perpetual resident aliens” or people who are “foreigners in their native land” (*A Future for the Latino Church* 49).

Anecdotally, the research site observes more ethnic and multicultural identity away from self-identified whiteness in newly arrived Puerto Ricans. On the ground, researchers are taking note that newly arrived Puerto Ricans are less concerned with passing as white and are more anchored to their Puerto Rican identity. As America steps away from its melting pot mentality, Latinos are no longer caught between the black/white binary that dominates race discussions in the United States.

Puerto Ricans are reclaiming their status as *boricuas,* their own term to denote their *mestizaje.* González describes *mestizaje* as “the experience of those who live between two cultures or realities” (J. González 17). *Mestizaje* breaks free from the binary that defines American conversations on race—mestizos living among several realities concurrently. Puerto Ricans are both Latin American and North American. They carry the white traits of their Iberian ancestors and their Taino and African ancestors (17). According to Virgilio Elizondo, “Mestizaje as locus for theological reflection.”

Segovia writes of this theological reflection as a Hispanic American theology that contrasts mixture and otherness, or *mezcolanza* and *otredad*. He also presents the complex relationship between Hispanic ethnic identity and American sociopolitical status (Segovia 30-31). Soliván-Román argues that biblically ground faith “calls for an

affirmation of our ethnic and cultural identities as expressions of grace" (Soliván-Román 45). Affirming identity as a means of grace affirms "the full spectrum from black to white, our language, our cultural heritage" as charism from the Divine (45). This affirmation can serve as a means of mitigating and eliminating cultural stressors in displaced communities.

Puerto Ricans and other Latinos cannot escape how they are perceived by others regardless of how they perceive themselves. González argues that exile and alien categories will always apply to Latinos no matter were born or how many generations they have been in the United States. González writes:

> According to census figures, roughly three-fourths of all Latinos in the United States are American citizens by birth. Yet they too have to deal with issues of exile and alienness. The very fact that the common perception is that most Hispanics are recent immigrants, means that even those who were born here are often made to feel as if they are newcomers. You apply for a job, and your papers are scrutinized with particular care just because you look different. (J. González, *Santa Biblia* 93)

González notes that the overwhelming majority of Latinos are beginning to prefer to ethnically identify by their country of origin (e.g.,, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.). This stands in contrast to previously arrived Hispanics born on the US mainland or even earlier emigrants who have higher assimilation and acculturation levels (Rodríguez, *A Future for the Latino Church* 49). These older generations of previously arrived Puerto Ricans in the Orlando diaspora may also account for the higher levels of Puerto Ricans self-identifying as white in Orlando than Puerto Ricans elsewhere in the United States.

Hispanics overwhelmingly prefer to identify by their country of origin. Many shift away from these geographical categories to self-identifying as "Latino." Research shows that the "process of becoming 'middle-class' was consonant with becoming Latino'" (Nanko-Fernández 30-31). By moving into the Latino category, the researchers concluded that these groups escaped stereotypes attached to their migrants from their homelands (Nanko-Fernández 30).

Ariza presents another view that is in the same vein as *mestizaje*. Citing work from Portes and Rumbaut, Ariza addresses segmented assimilation theory in targeting how Puerto Rican youth in the Orlando area form their identity. This theory contains a path to "selective acculturation" that involves the "deliberate preservation of the immigrant's community's culture and values" (Ariza 134). Rivera Nieves invites the reader to consider the variability of the immigrant experience. She writes of how selective acculturation accounts for who second generation Puerto Ricans combine their parent's culture with the culture of their home (Rivera Nieves 46).

Ariza also presents Aranda, Duany, and Perez's positing that Puerto Rican identity may be best understood as transnational. Ariza presents Aranda's view that while Puerto Ricans do not cross international borders, "they do cross geopolitical, social, and cultural ones" (134). In viewing Puerto Rican identity transnationally, researchers can study subjective experience. Ariza discusses how Aranda finds this more valuable than just studying demographic change and economic numbers.

Aranda presents the various routes to incorporation. She argues that context of reception as well as resources and opportunity impact the migrant. To her these explain variations in social outcomes (E. M. Aranda 42). Aranda also presents prejudice as the

opposite of community (E. M. Aranda 103). Prejudice as a cultural stressor is a "shock" that strengthen a Puerto Rican's ties to island society and away from mainland communities (E. M. Aranda 139).

Santiago-Vendrell argues that "Puerto Rico has a long and contested history of race and racialization" (150). He presents the mixing of races as foundational to Puerto Rican identity (151). The first two centuries of Puerto Rico's colonial history were marked by miscegenation, where "people frequently transgressed racial boundaries" (160). Santiago-Vendrell argues that "the amalgamation of the races did not create a better society, which was always ruled by White elites because for them racial impurity disqualified individuals from citizenship and responsibilities" (160).

Santiago-Vendrell views whitening, or the notion that "*Hay que mejorar la raza* (we have to improve the race)," as a common aspiration that prevails today in Puerto Rican society (160). The author adds that "Mulattos were despised even more than Blacks by the White elites since they represented the closes threat to White hegemony of the elites of Puerto Rican society" (160-61). To present Puerto Rico as a stable society, liberals sought to represent the island as white (162). The United States colonization of Puerto Rico brought Protestant missionaries that were complicit in this view and elevated themselves as pure. In contrast, Puerto Rican whites were described as being in their own genus (166). This view of whiteness played into the Supreme Court's Insular cases discussed in this paper (167).

The Aftermath of Hurricane María

Before Hurricane María hit Puerto Rico, the island was already suffering from the economic disaster plaguing the island's economy. For more than a decade before

Hurricane María, Puerto Rico had been experiencing a slow onset financial crisis. According to Mora, Davila, and Rodríguez, this economic crisis was already a humanitarian crisis (208). Hurricane María was both its own crisis and exasperated an existing crisis that had already caused a sizeable outmigration. Between 2006 to 2017, Puerto Ricans had already experienced a net loss in population from the migration of 15.75% of its population (Mora, Davila, and Rodríguez 213).

Before Hurricane María struck the island, the emigration from Puerto Rico to the mainland was already unprecedented (Sutter and Hernández). The pre-Hurricane María wave of migration to the mainland already saw 48% of emigrants moving to the South and 31% of all emigrants relocating to Florida. In Hurricane María's wake, it was clear that the disaster would have repercussions across the Caribbean in Central Florida. A spokesperson for Florida Governor Rick Scott said that Florida would assist with "whatever is needed, both in Puerto Rico and in Florida" (JD Gallop).

In the oral history, *Tossed to the Wind: Stories of Hurricane María Survivors*, Nancy Rosado re-tells her experience of returning to Orlando after providing relief on the island:

> Upon arriving in Orlando, I felt the weight of the narratives I had been privileged to listen to in Puerto Rico. I became aware of a different type of narrative, a continuing narrative, of the evacuees who had journeyed to central Florida, focused more on adjustment and overcoming obstacles, while feeling resentment at having been driven from their homes, the life they knew, and the country they loved. I am convinced that these stories are part of the long Puerto Rican

> experience in the United States and are worthy of being documented lest they be forgotten or distorted by time. (Rosado, Preface xi)

The same oral history captures my eyewitness account of the first Hurricane María survivors that arrived at Orlando International Airport:

> …we got called to the airport for the first few flights that were arriving. It was devastating. I've traveled, so I'm not saying this ignorantly, but it felt like I was in some sort of refugee center. The juxtaposition of that beautiful, sleek, modern airport with the people who were arriving…I mean these families were arriving in *chancletas* [slippers], T-shirts, shorts; they had no *maletas* [baggage]. You know how people arrive at the airport with goodies, *postres* [desserts], and every now and then somebody sneaks an avocado past US Agriculture? I saw people with no *maletas*, nothing, and barely clothed. If you know anything about *puertorriqueños*, they all get dressed up to go to the airport, meet their families, and it's a party. But it was literally like the walking dead. Hey were so sad, man. They were tattered. I'm not used to seeing my people like that. We have a strong people, you know. *Somos orgullosos.* Those first few days at the airport, that wasn't my culture. It was people who had been really beaten down. It was horrible. (Rodríguez-Sanjurjo 144-154)

In referring to the wave of Puerto Rican migration off the island with the allegorical title "Exodus," Sutter and Hernández document "thousands feeling devastation", and data that suggests "migrants have moved to every US state – even Alaska." The authors noted that academics referred to this migration as an "exodus" and "stampede." This article was unique because it was part of an exhaustive report

considering the expertise of academics, trends and objective data, and interviews on the ground with community leaders in the diaspora. They noted anthropologists calling the crisis migration triggered by Hurricane María as the “greatest migration ever from Puerto Rico since records have been taken” (Sutter and Hernández).

Sutter and Hernández's data showed almost 12,000 new Puerto Rican enrollments in Florida schools in Florida alone. Before Hurricane María, the net outflow of migration was 64,000 in 2015. From September to November 2017, airline data indicated a net outflow of 179,000 Puerto Ricans leaving the island to the mainland. Hurricane María disrupted the traditional model of migration to the US mainland (Sutter and Hernández).

Sutter and Hernández quote Edwin Melendez, Director of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College in New York, “There are people going to South Dakota to work on farms and turkey factories…Migrants primarily follow the patterns family members and friends have set before them, …but they also seek out steady jobs wherever they might be available.” They add the Pew Research Center’s Krogstad affirmation of this, “People are looking for any kind of job they can get…And if (the job is) in Alaska, they are willing to give it a shot” (Sutter and Hernández).

In the aftermath of Hurricane María, 52 percent of households relocated to Florida, with the Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford metropolitan area being the most favored destination for a newly arrived household. So many people were arriving that Florida Governor Rick Scott declared a state of emergency in Florida. In 2016 there were 5.4 million Puerto Ricans living in the US mainland compared to 3.4 million on the island (Sutter and Hernández).

In the 2017 and 2018 American Community Surveys, the island's total net migration was at 142,000, 4.4% of the island population, once the dust settled post-disaster. In 2018, a 36.9% increase in net migration and the migration pattern still favored the majority moving to the South. A third of all Puerto Ricans settled in Florida in the year following Hurricane María. A notable statistic is that the net outflow of Puerto Ricans also netted the island a decrease in its poverty rate. It is apparent in the data that the most vulnerable joined the crisis migration to the US mainland. The Puerto Rican financial crisis had already been forcing the most vulnerable off-island, and the island poverty rate had been on a decline since 2013 (Glassman).

Negative Receptivity of Puerto Ricans after Hurricane María

Comedian Samantha Bee documented the stories of Hurricane María displaced Puerto Ricans to the Orlando area in the Azalea Park neighborhood. The story captured the tension between life on *la isla* y life for the diaspora *pa'alla afuera*. In one segment, Orlando was referred to as a *barrio* of Puerto Rico and Florida as a "Puerto Rican paradise" while quickly transitioning to describing "the happiest place on earth" as full of challenges regarding healthcare, jobs, education, and affordable housing. Samantha quips, "I think the orca at SeaWorld have an easier time living here than some of the humans," which leads to community activity. Jimmy Torres responds: "Puerto Ricans get discriminated. They get turned down. They say, "No, we cannot rent you an apartment.' They're not used to being minorities."

It is for the reasons that Torres noted, "not used to being minorities," that Puerto Ricans and other Latino groups settled around the multiethnic Miami metropolitan area where Latinos have an established presence (Aranda and Rivera 59). Aranda and Rivera

found incidences of negative receptivity of Puerto Ricans. They note the range of consequences social stressors have on the Puerto Rican migrant. From reduced housing options to not feeling American, the Central Florida Puerto Rican diaspora's experiences are thought by some to be "part of the narrative of being a minority" (79).

The data gleaned shows "experiences with discrimination in the lives of Puerto Ricans area likely pervasive, regardless of where they settle in Central Florida" (Aranda and Rivera 79). The authors are unable to conclude if these experiences of negative reception have an effect on socioeconomic standing and also note that "much of what we know about Puerto Ricans is based on research about older communities in the northeastern and Midwestern United States" (81).

These observations reveal cultural stressors experienced by Puerto Rican crisis migrants but also reveal sources of dehumanization. The Supreme Court's Insular cases have already been discussed. Still, the *condescension*—"the notion that one person or culture has more of a right to exist than other, or than all others" (Woodley 23)—is a cultural stressor obstacle that the Puerto Rican crisis migrant must endure.

Condescension is related to the phenomenon known as *perpetual foreigner syndrome*. Schwartz discusses research indicating that those perceived as White are more likely than ethnic minorities to be considered "American." He notes research where Hispanic and Asian celebrities were less likely to be identified as American when compared to foreign celebrities of European descent. Immigrants who can pass as white are treated differently than ethnic immigrants. While prior waves of migrants were of White European descent, contemporary immigrants are perceived as ethnic. In regard to contemporary migration, Schwartz adds:

> The situation is quite different for contemporary immigrants and their children largely because the majority of today's immigrants are from ethnic minority groups. Children from immigrant families, including those born in the United States (second generation) or those who arrived as young children (1.5 generation)—many of whom speak unaccented English—are nonetheless faced with perpetual foreigner syndrome (Schwartz, "Identity Development" 143).

The Changing Local Church as an Agent for Social Outreach

The Changing Church in Central Florida

Hyper-locally, the Azalea Park neighborhood of Orlando, the setting for this project, is a neighborhood that went from 7 percent Hispanic to 59 percent Hispanic by 2012 in a matter of decades. The local Episcopal Church is comprised of two independent congregations co-located at the same facility. The Orlando Sentinel documented the demographic shift occurring in this community in 2012. The decline in the average of the English-speaking service was met with inverse growth in the Spanish-speaking service. The Spanish-speaking service can be described as "hymns to the beat of the bongo drums and acoustic guitars." The congregation is "younger with babies and strollers parked in the outer aisles." According to the Orlando Sentinel, "It's a different world now" as demographics have shifted in the community (Kunerth).

Kunerth's article was written during the tenure of the author's predecessor as the rector, or senior pastor, of Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret. Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret is a microcosm of the local and wider Latino community in the United States. Along with the sights, sounds, and rhythms that differentiate the worship of Spanish-

speaking congregation from its counterpart is the use of Spanglish in the Church's life. In quoting Morales, Kunerth refers to the use of Spanglish in Latino diaspora communities:

> Spanglish culture spring from a reaction to racism: in the case of the Caribbean Latinos, like Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, there is the refusal to let go of an African identity…there is a profound anchoring to the roots of the indigenous soul. It is an attempt to allow for multiple identification with the cultures of multiple races. (Kunerth 52)

At this congregation, Hurricane María brought in a reversion from English and Spanglish in children's education to Spanish and the introduction of *bomba* in the church's life.

In addressing Latinization, Duany refers to local religion as "being Latinized insofar as groups of various Latin American origins contribute to the Latino mosaic" ("Mickey Ricans?" 20). Duany predicts that this with the rising public use of Spanish, other cultural frictions, and the addition of Latinos competing for scarce resources like jobs and housing in a tight market is increasingly explosive ("Mickey Ricans?" 21).

Watson describes the shift in Orlando as a transformation "from a biracial town into a multiracial city in the space of a few decades, as the area became a destination for visitors and migrants from around the globe" (Silver, "Latinization, Race, and Cultural Identification" 57). Churches in the Orlando area have been at the forefront of welcoming Puerto Rican crisis migrants. Pena and Hernández argue that Latinos find common ground in community-based social outreach programs supported by faith-based groups (93).

Church Social Outreach in Central Florida

Duany and Matos-Rodríguez write about the impact that the growing Puerto Rican community has on religious life in the area. Increasing numbers of Puerto Ricans arriving into the area are Protestant. More than 200 Pentecostal churches form the Hispanic Church Association of Central Florida. Declining established churches among the Anglo community are now offering well-attended Spanish language services. The authors write about a neighboring church in the Azalea Park community, Prince of Peace Lutheran Church, detailing their social outreach efforts (Duany and Matos-Rodríguez 25). These efforts include extensive food pantry and feeding ministries, English classes, and other interventions aimed at the local Hispanic community.

Responding to the local context, the former Rector of Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret sees Anglican via media recast into the Latino context via media between Latino Pentecostalism and Roman Catholicism (Kunerth). Duany and Matos-Rodríguez describe the added services beyond bilingual services brought into the area with Orlando's demographic change. From social programs in Spanish that range from Alcoholics Anonymous to family crisis support centers, the changing church across various denominations "have helped to reaffirm the migrants' cultural identities, as well as to adapt to a new environment" (Duany and Matos-Rodríguez 25).

Helping others adapt and respond to crises involves building capacity and resiliency. Strong social networking is a resilient characteristic of the Puerto Rican migrant and the church in helping the community be resilient. The Episcopal Church shares the following best practice for Hispanic churches responding to crisis, based on experiences in Orlando:

> I challenge all churches out there to take inventory not only of what they have to offer, but also see who is serving alongside their congregations. Don't wait until there's a disaster. That's not going to work. Be part of the community ahead of time—attend school board meetings, help children get school supplies, join community foundations as a partner, etc. (Episcopal Relief & Development)

Researchers have independently noted the role of Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret together with its sister congregation Kissimmee "as a crucial contributor to helping Hurricane María evacuees" (Silver, *Sunbelt Diaspora* 143). The local Episcopal church was prepared to respond to Hurricane María's crisis migration to the Orlando metropolitan area through social outreach programs. Through its various social outreach programs, the church could structure its resources to respond to a community crisis. In early 2020, the National Catholic Reporter covered the Orlando area's changing demographics and the religious landscape that helped newly arrived Puerto Ricans. In sharing the story of a worker fighting alongside her labor union for a living wage, Feurherd reports that the worker "found that her Pentecostal church is supportive of workers like herself who need assistance to get through the month." Feurherd also highlighted the Episcopal Church's work with Hurricane María crisis migrants. The report directly addressed the cause of the migration as a combination of natural disasters compounded with failed governance. Feurherd quotes Rodríguez-Sanjurjo, "there's a lot of anger about the abandonment of the island," and elaborates about an island "pillaged by both natural storms and rapacious corporations" (Feurherd).

Locally, the kinship and friendship networks that are hallmarks of the Puerto Rican migrant extend to the church. Firpo documents local churches as places for networking. He writes that Puerto Rican migrants found familiarity between their island worshipping communities and the communities established in Orlando. He notes, "Puerto Rican families developed friendships and communal ties with fellow Hispanics in their church" (81). Firpo chronicles the Hispanic population in another neighboring church in Azalea Park, the Good Shepherd Church (Roman Catholic). He documents that the church's demographic changed from a few families worshipping in Spanish in 1981 to about 400 by 1988, now calling their church *el Buen Pastor* (Firpo).

Firpo also re-tells El Calvario's establishment. It began with a few Hispanic members from Calvary Assembly of God in Winter Park, FL worshiping in their homes and has now spun off into its Latino megachurch. Firpo lists numerous examples of the local church being an agent for change in the lives of newly arrived Puerto Ricans and Latinos. He argues that:

> Puerto Rican religious institutions fostered communal attachments to the island through culture and traditions...Many of the congregations grew from Puerto Rican residential areas throughout Orlando and Kissimmee...They also supplied other Latin Americans with Spanish religious services, both Spanish Catholic masses and Spanish Protestant churches. As a result, many Puerto Ricans created new social ties with other local Hispanics, building friendships and a new community in their new Central Floridian home. (Firpo 82-83)

The Church Response to Hurricane María Crisis Migrants in Central Florida

In the immediate aftermath of Hurricane María, journalists focused on church communities and reporters were sent to churches in Azalea Park. In discussing the welcome the newly arrived will find in the Orlando area, the New York Times says Puerto Ricans "will see signs of home in the grocery stores, shops and churches in an area where Latino influence is abundantly evident" (Tackett). Reuters sent a reporter to Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret to document the church's distribution of aid to displaced families. They captured images of friends bringing Hurricane María crisis migrants to receive assistance and newly arrived families attending Spanish worship within days of first arriving (Baez). Upon reviewing Baez's work, it is evident that many of the crisis migrants featured in his photo essay found their way to the local church and, independently of his report, joined the same local congregation that had provided them social services early on.

A search using the Google search engine for the term "Orlando Florida Puerto Rico church" reveals that of the top ten articles, four deal with Hurricane María church partnerships and two discuss church partnerships concerning the crisis migration caused by the 2020 earthquakes in Puerto Rico. Five articles deal directly with the work of the Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret in the community. The first article addressed the local church's work representing the work various churches engaged in in the aftermath of Hurricane María. In focusing on the story of one crisis migrant, Gillespie reveals the church network in action:

> Sunday he was hoping to make connections at Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazareth's health and job fair in hopes of finding employment that would allow

> him more freedom to help raise his family, which also includes a 1-year-old daughter. (Gillespie)

The Orlando Sentinel has also been on site to document other local church initiatives to meet Hurricane María crisis migrants' needs. One effort was spearheaded by a Puerto Rican actress, now an Episcopal priest, at Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret. In addressing the needs of the most vulnerable—pregnant women and mothers with infants–the Reverend Gladys Rodríguez initiated a program to meet their needs. Rodríguez also touches on cultural stressors, acculturation, and the vulnerability present in this segment of the crisis migrant population. This was part of a broader church initiative funded by Target Corporation and other private donors to meet pregnant mothers' emotional needs.

> Families they have a lot of challenges when they come from Puerto Rico after Hurricane María. They lost everything. They are hard working people and they've lost everything in Puerto Rico and it's a challenge to adapt to a place they really don't know, not really familiar with. They need jobs. Some people are still living in motels. They need a place to live. They have children. The children have to go to school. So there's a lot – a lot – of challenges and we try to assist them the best we can. Right now, I am taking care of the families that have babies and expecting babies. So we try to welcome these new babies to our community by helping them. (Padró Ocasio)

Secular community organizations understand the importance of working with the local church in providing services to the Puerto Rican community. In the aftermath of Hurricane María, it was anticipated that those displaced would have mental health needs that include post-traumatic stress disorder and associated trauma diagnosis. To help meet

the needs of Puerto Rican crisis migrants after Hurricane María, the University of Central Florida set up counseling services at Casa Trinidad, the Hispanic Ministry of St. John's Episcopal Church in Kissimmee, and at Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret in Orlando. Regarding the church, University officials were quoted by the Orlando Business Journal as saying, "We want to respond to the needs of the community," in explaining their expansion into church facilities (Saleh).

Early on, local churches provided spiritual care for Hurricane María crisis migrants through pastoral counseling. However, the emotional and mental healthcare needs quickly overwhelmed what pastoral care the church could provide through counseling sessions. NPR affiliate WMFE documented Rodríguez-Sanjurjo elaborating:

> Typically after a disaster, I get an uptick in pastoral counseling sessions, but we've really had an overwhelming response…We first saw it in our food pantry, then my phone ringing off the hook, text messages of people just wanting to come in and talk to somebody. I can talk to somebody initially, but the ongoing care really is beyond my ability to help someone, and there's where [a resource like UCF RESTORES comes in. They really have the competency to help someone deal with trauma. (Garrett)

Knowing its limits and reaching out to others for assistance, the local Latino church served the crisis migrant by letting others step in. Speaking of their initiatives to cater to survivors of Hurricanes Irma and Maria, Garrett quotes Beidel:

> "We have actually branched out to work with people with many different types of trauma, and so certainly being in a [Category] 5 hurricane and then losing your home and having to relocate to Central Florida is a traumatic event for people,"

> Beidel says. "So we're proud to be able to help people recover from trauma." (Garrett)

Assisting migrants in distress has been a function of Latino churches in Orlando. Silver documents the story of one migrant who describes the local church in Orlando as "a place 'where you feel like you can breath' while she adjusted to her new life in Orlando" (*Sunbelt Diaspora* 148). Not only can the church be an agent to identify needs within the community, but it can help bring relief into the lives of those who are suffering. Independent research gauging the mental health of adolescents participating in Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret's social programs identified several themes among Hurricane María crisis migrants:

> They included loss of friendships from Puerto Rico, various emotions experienced during the journey to Orlando, changes in relationships with parents, language barriers, discrimination at school, peer pressure, social media harassment, as well as on specific services received in Orlando and extended family support. (Miller School of Medicine Department of Public Health Sciences)

A robust response on behalf of the church in partnership with community partners is appropriate. The mental health impact of Hurricane María on Puerto Ricans who relocated to Florida is significant. While rates of posttraumatic stress disorders (PTSD) were high in Puerto Rico and Florida, Florida had a higher instance of PTSD among crisis migrants (66.7%) compared to Puerto Ricans that stayed on the island (43.6%). Initial studies show that cultural stress related to migration has worsened Puerto Rican crisis migrants' mental health outlook post-Hurricane María (Scaramutti, Salas-Wright

and Vos 26). This area needs immediate attention to allow the local Latino church to be a refuge for all migrants.

Research Design Literature

This is a post-intervention and mixed methods research project focusing on culture stress measures that will measure the perceptions, preferences, and behaviors of Hurricane María crisis migrants. The study will use questionnaires developed by the University of Florida School of Medicine to measure perceived context of reception, perceived discrimination, cultural practices, multi-ethnic identity, and bicultural stress experienced and perceived by Hurricane María crisis migrants residing in the Metro-Orlando area. The measures previously developed by subject matter experts working with crisis migrants have already been adapted for use with the Puerto Rican migrant. These measures will require qualitative methodology. Qualitative research seeks to bring understanding to the "lived experienced of research participants and including the multiple realities, interpretations, experiences, and voices emergent from all individuals from all angles" (C. S. Davis 756).

The study is a post-intervention study on individuals receiving social support services from Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret. This study will be performed three years into the migration triggered by Hurricane María into the Orlando area. Specifically, the church initiated a relief and resiliency initiative and other outreach at the onset of the disaster displacing Puerto Ricans into the Metro-Orlando area. The goal is to learn from the crisis migrants what cultural stressors they experienced and how they have coped with acculturation. If accomplished, lessons learned can be garnered to fine-tune future

disaster response initiatives in the Metro-Orlando area concerning the Puerto Rican diaspora's particularities in the Metro-Orlando area.

Because the researcher oversaw all relief efforts, some considerations must be made; however, the research conducted at the research site is concurrent with other academic institutions' research. The research generated will be compared to the research previously completed and currently underway by others at the research site. However, this can be a strength as some researchers “suggest that experiences must be written from the inside such as through autoethnography. Others contend that it is possible to represent study participants so long as rigorous attempts are made to include their voices and interpretations” (C. S. Davis 756). Since this project is post-intervention, there is little that can be done to change past perceptions of self-reported cultural stress. However, it will be necessary during data collection and analysis to ensure that the researcher’s reality is open to be challenged by the data of other’s perceived realities.

Summary of Literature

The research on crisis migration and cultural stress usually takes on international migration. Very little research has been done on internally displaced migrants. The Puerto Rican crisis migrant and their transnational identity place United States citizen Puerto Ricans displaced by Hurricane María and the earlier economic crisis in the same category as international crisis migrants, displaced to the United States from other foreign nations. This chapter presents the biblical narrative on migration and parallels it to contemporary research on crisis migration and the Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida. This research will focus on the cultural stressors experienced by Puerto Rican crisis migrants

in Central Florida and their effect on the mental health of those being served by the local church's social outreach.

Biblical and theological foundations for understanding crisis migration and cultural stressors may help create empathy for crisis migrants from all places displaced to the United States by presenting their estrangement within the metanarrative of Christ and God's people's estrangement and sojourn. God's provision for the sojourner is woven through the biblical narrative. From humanity's initial estrangement from the Garden to Abram's call to leave his people and Israel's sojourn in the wilderness, Scripture reveals God's people as alienated, on the way, and affected by multiple stressors. The migration story culminates in God's own estrangement through the Incarnation and his path to Calvary.

Throughout the biblical narrative, God's people are called to a communal remembrance of their estrangement and promised deliverance. In commanding people to remember, God also commands his people to empathize with the sojourners and prescribes a duty of care to the foreigner. This communal remember of migration can be found in the creation myths and patriolatry of the United States. However, absent from modern discourse and political ideologies is care for the sojourner. Further complicating this negative context of reception for the migrant in the United States is the estrangement of the United States own citizens, as is seen by the multinational Puerto Rican crisis migrant displaced by Hurricane María.

In Scripture, the people of God's sojourn culminates in Christ's own sojourn. The patterns in Scripture end in an eschatological hope of redemption from the sojourn. The New Testament's early church narrative ends with the dispersal and estrangement of

early Christians across the nations. The New Testament's narrative also includes prophecies of the eventual exile of the Jewish people from Jerusalem. The New Testament narrative unites the Jews and early Christians in exile and captivity in the Roman Empire—another Babylonian captivity.

In building up to the Incarnation and God's own estrangement into human flesh, various vignettes are presented in Scripture, leading to believers' eschatological hope of Christ's return and his permanent settlement among his people in a new Jerusalem. From the Shunamite woman's foreshadowing of Mary to the varied stories of those estranged from Israel being incorporated into Christ's lineage, the biblical narrative presents sojourners in a diversity of forms: Adam and Eve as exiles, Abram as a migrant, Joseph trafficked and victim of sexual aggression, and Moses escaping justice, among many in the Old Testament alone.

Schwartz and Salas-Wright present the same cultural stressors and humanitarian crises that spur human migration present in Holy Scripture as present and visible in contemporary society. Holy Scripture's concern is for the cure of souls; modern literature presents the mental health risks that sustained cultural stressors like racism and discrimination cause the migrant. The relevant modern literature calls society to a duty of care to traumatized migrants.

The crisis migrant's sojourn is shown through the relevant literature in its four dimensions: causality, geography, temporality, and vulnerability. There is an intersection in these dimensions and seeing crisis migration in light of these dimensions also helps church leaders draw parallels to Holy Scripture. The chaos of crisis migration is

presented to bring awareness to modern leaders. The call to communal remembrance in the Holy Scriptures calls the believer to empathize and provide relief.

The complicated and "schizophrenic" transnational Puerto Rican identity is presented. The internal estrangement of the US citizen Puerto Rican nuances the difficulties of the international crisis migrant. Researchers describe crisis migration as irregular and the crisis migrant's existence as in "the shadows." Common throughout the literature is chaos, disruption of support networks, and failed intervention from authorities. The documented experiences of Hurricane María survivors in Central Florida echo much of this. All these things work together with cultural stressors to the detriment of the crisis migrant's mental health.

The existing Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida and new waves of Puerto Rican crisis migrants entering the area after Hurricane María have been researched and documented in this paper from the perspective of academics and journalists. All indicate that prior waves of migration due to the island's economic struggles are also indicative of crisis migration. However, the Hurricane María crisis migration is the best exemplar of this movement of people. It occurred quickly, chaotically, and was massive. This crisis migration also stands out in the literature. The displaced crisis migrant was displaced into a new context. Yet, this context also houses the largest Puerto Rican diaspora in the United States.

The interplay between cultural stressors in Central Florida will be nuanced by researchers' findings that Hurricane María crisis migrants have reported instances of being unwelcomed by members of the existing diaspora. The negative context of reception by one's diaspora community has not been addressed in any research pre-dating

the University of Miami's findings. It is anticipated that this study will reveal new insights into the local diaspora community that will help prepare the church to respond to future waves of migration, both Puerto Rican and from Latin America.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FOR THE PROJECT

Overview of the Chapter

This chapter describes the research methodology used for this post-intervention, mixed-methods project. The nature and purpose of the project and the research questions are presented along with the instrumentation used in similar studies to address each question for this study. The cultural context of the Puerto Rican diaspora and the crisis migration linked to Hurricane María is presented. Finally, a description of the participants in this study, the instrumentation employed, and the data analysis process are presented.

Nature and Purpose of the Project

The purpose of this project was to identify best practices that emerged from the local church's relief operations in support of Hispanics displaced to the Orlando area because of Hurricane María. Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret is one of the two inner-city churches of the Episcopal Diocese of Central Florida in Central Florida. The church is one of four Hispanic mission churches in Central Florida. Still, it is in the only position both geographically and strategically to serve the Hispanic population at the initial point of disembarkation for new Puerto Rican arrivals in Central Florida. This church has been at the center of Hurricane María relief operations in Orlando for both the Episcopal church and within a coalition of nonprofits serving Hurricane María crisis migrants

Cultural stressors are a mental health concern. Understanding the role of cultural stressors in crisis migration will help the church fine-tune its pastoral care and social programs to meet the needs of crisis migrants. Understanding cultural stressors will also

help fine-tune the church's advocacy in the community and translate over to the church's response to other Latino migrants moving through and settling in Central Florida.

Understanding how cultural stressors impact crisis migrants within the Central Florida Puerto Rican diaspora context will help inform a localized mental health response to trauma from a mental health perspective. This is not merely wishful thinking. The church is already engaged in working with various medical professionals and academics from the University of Miami School of Medicine, the University of Florida School of Medicine, the Boston University School of Social Work, and the University of Central Florida. Understanding the Puerto Rican diaspora community's nuances regarding crisis migration will improve the church's witness as a consultant to nonprofits and mental health providers serving the community.

Research Questions

RQ #1. What role does crisis migration-related stress experienced by the displaced person play in relief operations?

The purpose of this question was to explore the effect of cultural stress on the crisis migrant. This information was collected using questionnaires used by researchers studying Latino crisis migrants. These questionnaires were completed by crisis migrants who previously accessed social services at the church. The questionnaire was comprised of 47 sets of questions and measured the following:

1. Perceived context of reception (9 questions)
2. Perceived discrimination (7 questions)
3. Cultural practices (14 questions)
4. Multi-group ethnic identity (12 questions)

5. Bicultural stress (15 questions)

RQ #2. What community organizing and leadership strategies work best in relief operations in support of crisis migrants?

In order to collect data for this question, a researcher-designed focus group entitled "Relief Providers Experiences and Observations Regarding Cultural Stress" was conducted with multiple aid workers who provided support to crisis migrants at the church. The semi-structured interview questions were based on the 31 questions below related to the perceived context of reception, perceived discrimination, and bicultural stress.

The questions were adapted to prompt relief workers to observe cultural stressors impacting crisis migrants arriving in Orlando due to Hurricane María's humanitarian crisis. Examples of focus group questions based on the questionnaires:

1. Perceived context of reception (9 questions)
    - **Example Original Question**: The environment in the US mainland was what I expected.
    - **Example Focus Group Question**: Was the environment in the US mainland was what you expected?
2. Perceived discrimination (7 questions)
    - **Example Original Question**: Frequency of being treated unfairly or negatively by employers because you are Puerto Rican.
    - **Example Focus Group Question**: Have you been treated negatively by employers because you are Puerto Rican?
3. Bicultural stress (15 questions)
    - **Example Original Question**: I have been treated badly because of my accent.
    - **Example Focus Group Question**: Have you been treated badly because of your accent?

RQ #3. What best practices emerged for moving from relief to developing self-resiliency in crisis migrants?

To answer this research question, aid workers were asked the following questions in a semi-structured interview:

1. What was most helpful to you (to the crisis migrants) regain control of your (their) life (lives) after arriving in Orlando?
2. What was most helpful to you (to the crisis migrants) prepare for disaster?
3. What do you (crisis migrants) still need to recover from Hurricane María?
4. What do you (crisis migrants) still need to prepare for the next disaster?

Ministry Context

This project brought together the church's social outreach and justice work with the public health concern of mental health in the aftermath of a disaster. This project explored the changing demographics of a traditionally "white" and "Anglo" denomination in an area that question became Latino and the hub of the largest Puerto Rican diaspora in the United States. The Diocese of Central Florida is a grouping of more than 80 churches as far north as Ocala, as far south as Okeechobee, as far east as the Daytona down to Port Saint Lucie, and as far west as Lakeland. Geographically dispersed and diverse, the heart of the diocese is also the hub of the Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida.

The Diocese of Central Florida is one of the dioceses of the Episcopal Church. The bulk of the Episcopal Church are domestic (United States based) provinces, but it has dioceses in South and Central America, the Caribbean (Cuba, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Haiti), Asia, and Europe. While the Episcopal Church is part of the Anglican

Communion, it is a communion of “national” churches. Domestically, while the church is diverse and has its own transnational identity, its leadership is still dominated by American voices.

The Episcopal Church comes from a tradition and history of the establishment. Originally part of England's established Church, what became the Episcopal Church in the United States after the Revolutionary war is steeped in a history of the establishment, privilege and an “Anglican” tradition whose name is synonymous with being Anglo-Saxon and white. Still, the denomination has a social justice tradition and is progressive on many issues. Locally, the Diocese of Central Florida is not as progressive as most dioceses in the denomination. Also, the local diocese is not as diverse as the demographics of Central Florida.

Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret exists within shifting demographics and has carved a place within the Puerto Rican and Latino community. The church is a recognized advocate in the community. Church members also include prominent Latino leaders in the community including State Senators, State Representatives, community organizers, and other recognized community leaders. The church has received numerous awards for its advocacy and social outreach.

The church’s social outreach also includes extensive partnerships with academic institutions, local government, and nonprofits. Many significant universities use the church as the site for their research that has brought in Federal funding to the church’s support and participation in this research. The church also has extensive partnerships with the county government and has its county contracts funding its social outreach initiatives to the community. Along with church-government partnerships, the church also engages in

extensive outreach to local, state, and federal legislators. The church's extensive community relationships include partnerships with Vamos4PR, Pa'lante x Mas, Alianza for Progress, and the Hispanic Federation.

As the church moves forward in its mission, it relies on its two primary charitable efforts: The Episcopal Office of Latino Assistance and the Healing Hunger Food Pantry. The first houses the church's advocacy and fundraising arms' social outreach, and the latter houses the social services and hunger relief provided by the church. The church is also partnered with SOS by Urbander in a community redevelopment initiative for the Azalea Park community.

Another feature of the local ministry context is that the Hispanic church of Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret is co-located on the same property with Christ the King Episcopal Church. Both churches are fully autonomous from one another in governance but work together as they share both a denomination and church facility. Both churches also have fully independent leadership teams with minimal overlap. The church is primarily joined in mission through the shared social outreach program of the Healing Hunger Food Pantry. They are also joined in mission by being under the leadership of the same bishop, constituent members of the diocese, and geography sharing the same cure as the one Episcopal Church witness in the Azalea Park neighborhood.

Participants

Criteria for Selection

1. **Crisis Migrants**. Participants were recruited from contact lists held by Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret. Participants were chosen from lists of former

clients still in contact with the church. Participants were invited to participate through a personal invitation from the researcher via email or phone call.

2. **Volunteers**. Participants were recruited from all aid workers previously working at the church. Aid workers consisted of church lay leaders, leaders from local non-profits, elected officials, and crisis migrants who became aid workers. Participants were chosen from the church's contact lists.

Crisis migrants were surveyed. A subset of those crisis migrants who had become aid workers themselves were invited to participate in a semi-structured group interview (focus group) with other aid workers. Volunteers met in group sessions to answer questions based on questionnaires completed by crisis migrants. These participants were chosen because they received services at the local church or provided services to others.

Description of Participants

1. **Crisis Migrants.** Twenty crisis migrants completed the survey questionnaires. The participants were all Puerto Rican crisis migrants who arrived in Orlando after Hurricane María and received services at the church. Since the church's direct aid program for Hurricane María is ongoing, crisis migrants no longer currently receiving Hurricane María related aid were invited to participate in the study. The participants were all older than 18.
2. **Aid Workers**. Sixteen aid workers participated in the focus groups. The participants worked with crisis migrants who arrived in Orlando after Hurricane María and provided services at the church. Most of the volunteers were Puerto Rican. Seven of the aid workers were also displaced, crisis migrants.

Ethical Considerations

All participants were informed of the nature of the research study through informed consent. At any time, participants could withdraw from the study. The informed consent included an abstract of the project. The informed consent letter is attached as Appendix C. Participants were all informed that they could choose to withdraw without and have provided pastoral care if they become distressed during the interviews.

Confidentiality was protected. No names or any other distinguishing characteristics of individual participants are reported in the study. Pseudonyms were used for any references to individuals participating in focus group discussions in transcripts. Transcripts and other raw data were destroyed after the project was completed and will not be disclosed to anyone.

The investigator shared project findings in a colloquium with DMin cohort colleagues and ATS faculty. The investigator will also share finding with denomination and community leadership through a series of presentations. Only research findings will be shared, and all raw data will be kept confidential.

All electronic data was secured on an encrypted and password-protect Network Attached Storage (NAS) device. All transcripts or recordings (audio or visual) or proceedings were stored on the researcher's NAS. Only the investigator had access to files on the NAS. All hardcopy data like the questionnaire forms were locked in a fire safe at the investigator's office with the key in the investigator's sole possession. The NAS was wiped to delete all electronic data, and all hardcopy data was shredded after completion of the research project.

Instrumentation

The following is a list of the research instruments employed in this project and general information concerning research design:

1. **Questionnaire**. This instrument is identical to questionnaires used by researchers in Orlando studying crisis migrants in Hurricane María's aftermath. The survey was distributed in print and in person. It was anticipated that results from this study (3 years post-disaster and post-intervention) could be used to compare the perception of cultural stressors pre-intervention and post-intervention. Using already established instruments will ensure that data collected can add to the emerging data and research being completed among Hurricane María crisis migrants.
2. **Focus Group (Semi-Structured Interview)**. Focus group discussions were semi-structured and guided by questions based on questionnaires completed by crisis migrants. It was anticipated that results from focus groups could be compared to survey results to determine if volunteers identified stressors experienced by crisis migrants in their interactions with them. Mirroring focus group questions to crisis migrant questionnaires enabled better discussion and draws direct parallels between crisis migrant and volunteer worker experiences. Interview protocols can be found in Appendix B.

Finally, all lessons learned from the instrumentation were be compiled, analyzed, and discussed. These findings will then have discussed in light of the literature review and then applied to the context of Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret and the local Puerto

Rican diaspora community. There was a discussion about current research conducted at the project site and future research that others may follow up.

Expert Review

The instruments are proven instruments previously used by other researchers. The researcher participated in the formation of these instruments as a consultant and investigator on previous research. The particular instruments used were identified by Dr. Mildred Maldonado from the University of Florida School of Medicine. Initially, these instruments were adapted from existing instruments to address the Puerto Rican transnational crisis migrant's uniqueness. It is anticipated that further variations of these instruments will be used in studying other Latino diasporas in the Central Florida region. This project's researcher has already been identified as a principal investigator for a similar study with Venezuelan political refugees in Orlando.

Reliability & Validity of Project Design

Grounded theory design was employed in this project. This design ensured the project's effectiveness in generating a general explanation of perceived cultural stressors grounded in the perceptions of crisis migrants as recorded in the survey instruments. The procedures employed will parallel procedures followed for all research conducted on-site for previous and future projects. These procedures are grounded in collecting interview data, identifying themes within the data, and producing visual models of findings to present the general explanation (Creswell 21).

A questionnaire was used as the primary instrument in this project. This questionnaire was aggregated from multiple instruments measuring both cultural stressors and identity. These results yielded five generalized groupings of findings to help

synthesize a discussion on cultural stressors perceived by crisis migrants in the three years following their migration.

. The questionnaire completed by the crisis migrant was followed by a focus group with aid workers responding to a subset of questions addressed in the surveys. Focus groups were convened to determine what interventions were identified to help crisis migrants recovery from the initial crisis. The framework for these discussions closely followed the framework for the surveys completed by crisis migrants. This design will help the researcher compare and contrast findings and gain insight into how the perceptions of crisis migrants compare to relief worker volunteers' perceptions.

...... All data were analyzed to identify common themes. These common themes, as well as any disparities identified, are discussed in research findings. These findings were aggregated and discussed to make recommendations for future teams working with crisis migrants regarding cultural stressors prevalent in the local community. Hence, the teams are better equipped to anticipate and mitigate these stressors to support the mental health of future crisis migrants to the region.

Data Collection

The type of research in this project was post-intervention. This project measured the perceptions of crisis migrants regarding cultural stressors in the years following their migration to Central Florida. This project engaged in post-intervention qualitative research. This project will add to the knowledge concerning the local Puerto Rican diaspora and the newest wave of Puerto Rican arrivals.

Data concerning Puerto Rican crisis migrants were collected as naturally as possible within the community that first welcomed these crisis migrants to central

Florida. Following Denzin and Lincoln, the researcher recorded crisis migrant and volunteer aid worker perceptions of cultural stressors in an objective manner. By measuring perception, the research captured the meanings people place on the subject matter. By empirically analyzing the instrumentation, the research will present and discuss the personal experiences of crisis migrants relocating to Orlando after Hurricane María. This had added the effect of bringing light to these experiences during a moment of upheaval and trauma in this community. Demographics were collected.

The data collected will add to the body of knowledge generated concerning the Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida. This project used questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups to hear and document the Puerto Rican diaspora's history as it pertains to Hurricane María.

The qualitative instrument employed was a questionnaire. Twenty (20) individuals completed the questionnaires over two weeks. One focus group comprised of sixteen (16) individuals was held. To give this focus group structure consistent with the other components of this project, the questions used were based on the same questionnaire completed by the crisis migrants. Demographics were collected.

The focus group was conducted in person. All proceeding recordings were transcribed and manually examined to identify common themes.

Data Analysis

Questionnaire results were analyzed and presented in a way consistent with prior research. A transcript for the focus group was generated from an audio recording, examined, and organized. For the focus group and interviews, narrative analysis and coding for common themes were completed. Results were synthesized with the literature

review and the ministry context to identify cultural stressors impacting current and future crisis migration waves. Quantitative analysis for Likert scale items was completed and included in the study.

CHAPTER 4

EVIDENCE FOR THE PROJECT

Overview of the Chapter

Disaster response often occurs on location in the aftermath of a disaster. Domestically, people are assisted "in place," and responding to people's displacement across geographic boundaries is not the norm. The purpose of this project was to identify best practices that emerged from the local church's relief operations in support of Hispanics displaced to the Orlando area because of Hurricane María.

This chapter identifies the participants in the study and their demographic makeup. The chapter presents the quantitative data from various surveys and the coded qualitative data from focus group discussions with relief workers based on their observations of local Hurricane María relief operations. Chapter Four concludes with a list of significant findings from the presented data.

Participants

Invitations to complete the initial survey were sent to 50 Hurricane María survivors who received services from the Iglesia Episcopal Jesús de Nazaret in Orlando, FL. Of that number, 20 who met the qualifications filled out the survey. Invitations were also sent out to 30 volunteers who provided services to Hurricane María survivors in Orlando, FL. Of those 30, 16 volunteered to take part in a focus group. The demographic profile of those who took part in the survey is presented in Table 4.1 and Figures 4.1.1 to 4.1.3. The demographic profile of those who took part in the focus group is shown in Table 4.2.1, Table 4.2.2, and Figure 4.2, detailing themes identified in the focus group corresponding to survey questions.

Table 4.1 Respondent Survey Demographics

Age

N=20	# Responses	% Responses
18 to 24	5	25%
25 to 39	5	25%
40 to 65	8	40%
65+	0	0%
Unknown	2	10%

Gender

N = 20	# Responses	% Responses
Male	14	70%
Female	6	30%

Education

N=20	# Responses	% Responses
Less than elementary school	0	0.00%
Some high school	3	16.67%
High school diploma or GED	5	27.78%
Some college	2	11.11%
Associate's Degree	4	22.22%
Bachelor's Degree	4	22.22%
Graduate Degree	0	0.00%

Figure 4.1.1: Survey Respondent Age (N=20)

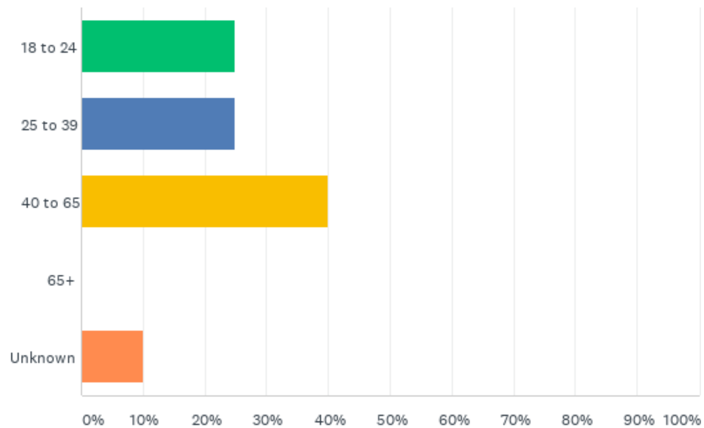


Figure 4.1.2 Survey Respondent Gender (N=20)

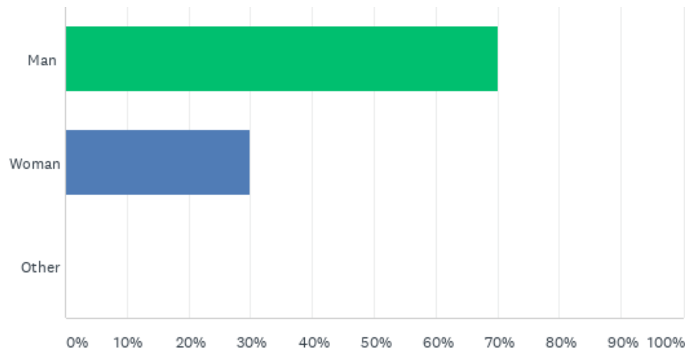


Figure 4.1.3 Survey Respondent Educational Attainment (N=18)

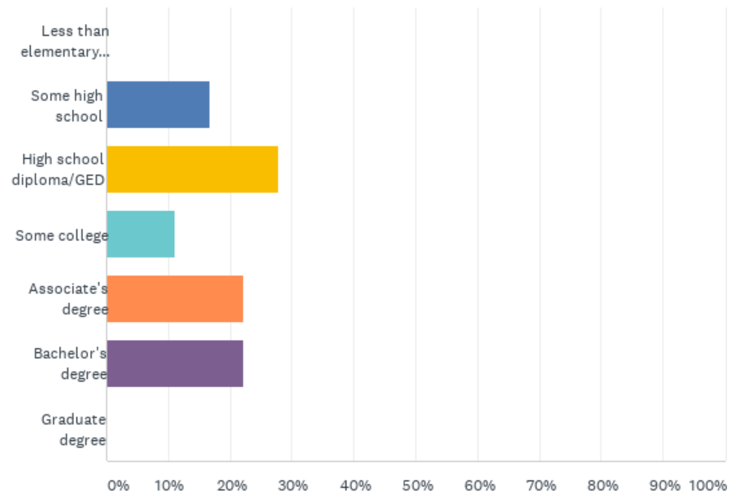


Table 4.2 Focus Group Participant Demographics

Gender	N = 16	# Responses	% Responses	Already Resident	Crisis Migrant
	Male	5	31%	3	2
	Female	11	69%	6	5

Figure 4.2.1 Focus Group Participant Demographics by Arrival

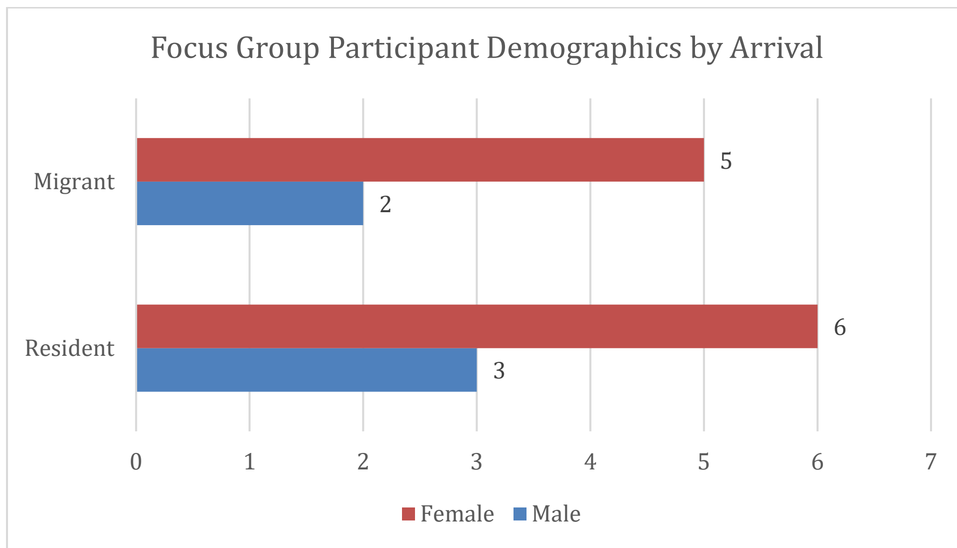
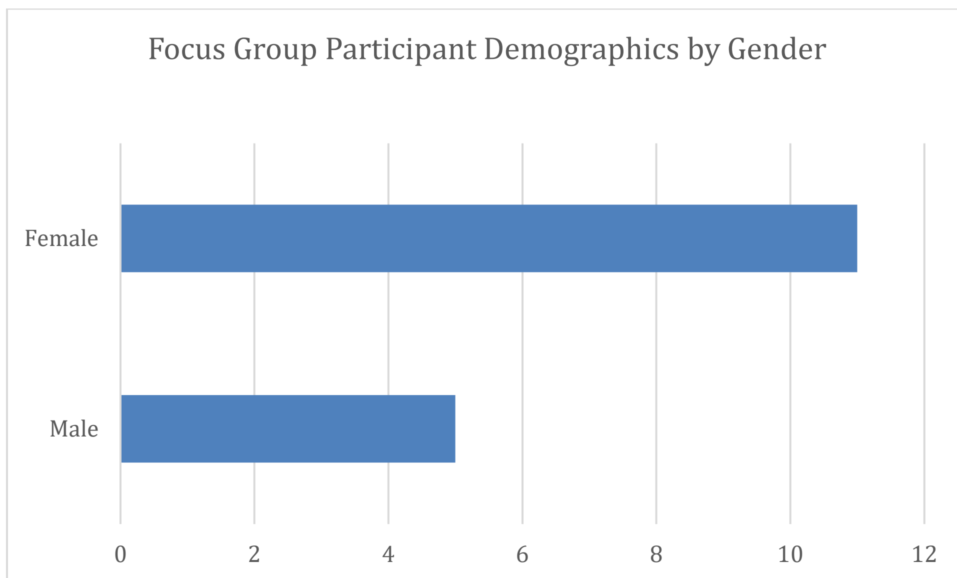


Figure 4.2.2 Focus Group Participant Demographics by Gender



Research Question #1: Description of Evidence

What role does crisis migration-related stress experienced by the displaced person play in relief operations?

The survey had ten optimism questions, eight conflict questions; six context of reception questions; and seven perception questions. Of these questions, nine optimism questions (See Table 4.3.1), two conflict questions (See Table 4.3.2), three contexts of reception questions (See Table 4.3.3), and five perception questions (See Table 4.3.4) provided information for research question one.

There is a connection between optimism and subjective well-being and socioeconomic status and social resources (Carver and Scheier 402, 408). Understanding the optimistic outlook of displaced persons can help relief operations—optimism measure nine measured optimism and fatalism. Optimism measure eight measured self-reported negative emotional response to stimuli. Optimism measure five addressed the impact of friendship groups on the displaced. Optimism measure four and one measured the overall optimistic outlook of the displaced person. All questions recorded a positive, optimistic outlook.

Optimism measure five reported a very tight range of responses with a standard deviation of .67 with a majority of 88.89, agreeing with the statement "I enjoy my friends a lot." Both optimism measure four and nine had tight standard deviations near one. They recorded a majority affirmatively stating they are always optimistic about their future and conversely showing that a minority (38.89%) of respondents agree to have a pessimistic outlook. All five optimistic measures explored are positively skewed towards displaced persons having an optimistic outlook (See Table 4.3.1 and Figure 4.3.1).

Strengthening family support and reducing stress in the aftermath of a disaster go hand in hand in responding to disaster (World Health Organization and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 8). Conflict measures four and six both explored conflict within the family. Both measures (See Table 4.3.2 and Figure 4.3.2) report low instances of family conflict. Measure four said a majority of respondents reporting that hardly ever (11.11%) or never (50%) had family members "lose their temper" with a standard deviation of 1.28. With a similar standard deviation of 1.35, measure six reported most respondents as self-reporting instances of hitting as never (52.94%) and hardly ever (23.53%). However, 11.76% report hitting sometimes and always 11.76%.

A negative context of reception leads to acculturative and bicultural stress (Lorenzo-Blanco and Schwartz 118). The survey had three questions that explored the negative context of reception related to Puerto Rican identity (See Table 4.3.3 and Figure 4.3.3). The mean response of all three questions skewed towards perceived lack of equity, inhospitality, and rejection of Puerto Rico people. Reception measure one showed a tight range of responses with a standard deviation of 1.2, with the plurality of respondents (33.33%) having a neutral view on perceived equity between Puerto Ricans and "people from other backgrounds." A combined majority of 50% either agree (22.22%) or strongly agree (27.78%) inequity exists. Context measure two addresses if Puerto Ricans perceive the local context of reception as unwelcoming. This measure had a tight standard deviation close to one (1.05) with 22.22% of respondents disagreeing that Puerto Ricans are unwelcomed, a plurality reporting a neutral response (44.44%), and a third (33.34%) agreeing that Puerto Ricans are unwelcomed.

Context measure six had a wider range of responses with a standard deviation of 1.5 but had a clear majority of the respondents (52.94%) either agreeing (23.53%) or strongly agreeing (29.41%) that the local community criticizes people from Puerto Rico. This response had a strong skew towards a perception of a strongly critical voice against Puerto Ricans in the local community. It was the one measure that had the lowest neutral (17.65%) response concerning the measure.

Five measures concerning the perceived negative context of reception were asked (See Table 4.3.4 and Figure 4.3.4). In all measures, less than a quarter of respondents expressed that they rarely perceived unfair treatment because of their Puerto Rican identity. The standard deviations for all measures ranged from 1.07 to 1.27. Perception measures one, four, and five recorded a least a third of respondents feeling often or almost always being treated unfairly for being Puerto Rican. Perception measures six reported at least a quarter of respondents reporting being treated unfairly for being Puerto Rica. All measures towards often or almost always feeling unfair treatment for being Puerto Rican.

Table 4.3.1 Optimism Survey Measures

Optimism Measures	Question	Mean	SD	I disagree a lot	I disagree a little	Neutral	I agree with a little	I agree with a lot
1	*Q23: Optimism 1- In uncertain times, I usually expect the best*	3.88890	1.23140	0.00%	22.22%	11.11%	22.22%	44.44%
4	*Q26: Optimism 4- I'm always optimistic about my future*	4.00000	1.02899	0.00%	11.11%	16.67%	33.33%	38.89%
5	*Q27: Optimism 5- I enjoy my friends a lot*	4.27780	0.66911	0.00%	0.00%	11.11%	50.00%	38.89%
8	*Q30: Optimism 8 - I don't get upset too easily*	3.05560	1.34917	16.67%	16.67%	27.78%	22.22%	16.67%

9	*Q31: Optimism 9 - I rarely count on good things happening to me*	3.16670	1.09813	5.56%	22.22%	33.33%	27.78%	11.11%

Table 4.3.2 Conflict Survey Measures

Conflict Measures	**Question**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Never**	**Hardly Ever**	**Sometimes**	**Most of the time**	**Always**
4	*Q42: Conflict 4- Family members hardly ever lose their tempers in my family*	2.0000	1.13759	50.00%	11.11%	27.78%	11.11%	0.00%
6	*Q44: Conflict 6- In my family, family members sometimes hit each other*	1.9412	1.34493	52.94%	23.53%	11.76%	0.00%	11.76%

Table 4.3.3 Context of Reception Survey Measures

Reception Measures	**Question**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Strongly Disagree**	**Disagree**	**Neutral**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**
1	*Q48: Reception 1- I don't have the same chances in life as people from other backgrounds*	3.5556	1.19913	5.56%	11.11%	33.33%	22.22%	27.78%
2	*Q49: Reception 2- People from Puerto Rico are not welcome here*	3.0556	1.05564	11.11%	11.11%	44.44%	27.78%	5.56%
6	*Q53: Reception 6- People in this country often criticize people from Puerto Rico*	3.3529	1.49755	17.65%	11.76%	17.65%	23.53%	29.41%

Table 4.3.4 Perception Survey Measures

Perception Measures	Question	Mean	SD	Not At All	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Almost Always
1	*Q60: Perception 1- How often do employers treat you unfairly or negatively because you are Puerto Rican?*	2.8889	1.27827	16.67%	22.22%	27.78%	22.22%	11.11%
2	*Q61: Perception 2- How often do people you don't know treat you unfairly or negatively because you are Puerto Rican?*	2.8889	1.23140	16.67%	16.67%	38.89%	16.67%	11.11%
4	*Q63: Perception 4- How often do you feel that others behave in an unfair or negative way toward Puerto Ricans?*	2.8889	1.18266	16.67%	16.67%	33.33%	27.78%	5.56%
5	*Q64: Perception 5- To what extent do you feel that you are not wanted in US society?*	2.8750	1.14746	18.75%	12.50%	31.25%	37.50%	0.00%
6	*Q65: Perception 6- To what extent do you feel that you are not accepted by other Americans?*	2.7222	1.07406	16.67%	22.22%	33.33%	27.78%	0.00%

Figure 4.3.1 Optimism Survey Measures

Optimism Measures

Q31: Optimism 9 - I rarely count on good things happening to me
11.11%
27.78%
33.33%
22.22%
5.56%

Q30: Optimism 8 - I don't get upset too easily
16.67%
22.22%
27.78%
16.67%
16.67%

Q27: Optimism 5- I enjoy my friends a lot
38.89%
50.00%
11.11%
0.00%
0.00%

Q26: Optimism 4- I'm always optimistic about my future
38.89%
33.33%
16.67%
11.11%
0.00%

Q23: Optimism 1- In uncertain times, I usually expect the best
44.44%
22.22%
11.11%
22.22%
0.00%

0.00% 10.00% 20.00% 30.00% 40.00% 50.00% 60.00%

I agree a lot / I agree a little / Neutral / I disagree a little / I diasagree a lot

Figure 4.3.2 Conflict Survey Measures

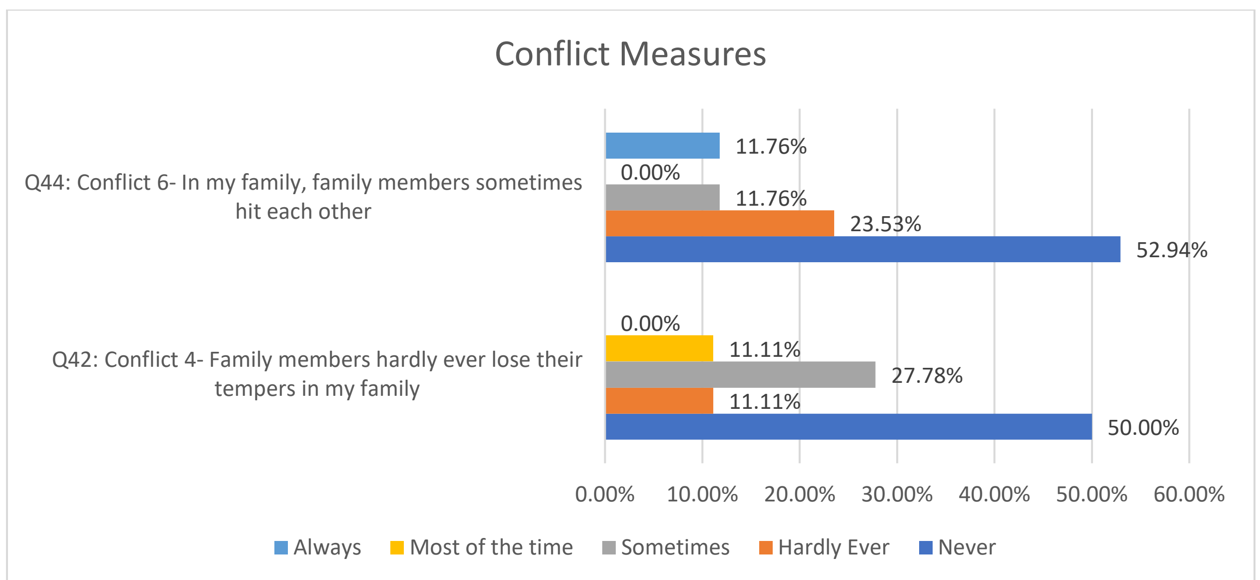


Figure 4.3.3 Context of Reception Survey Measures

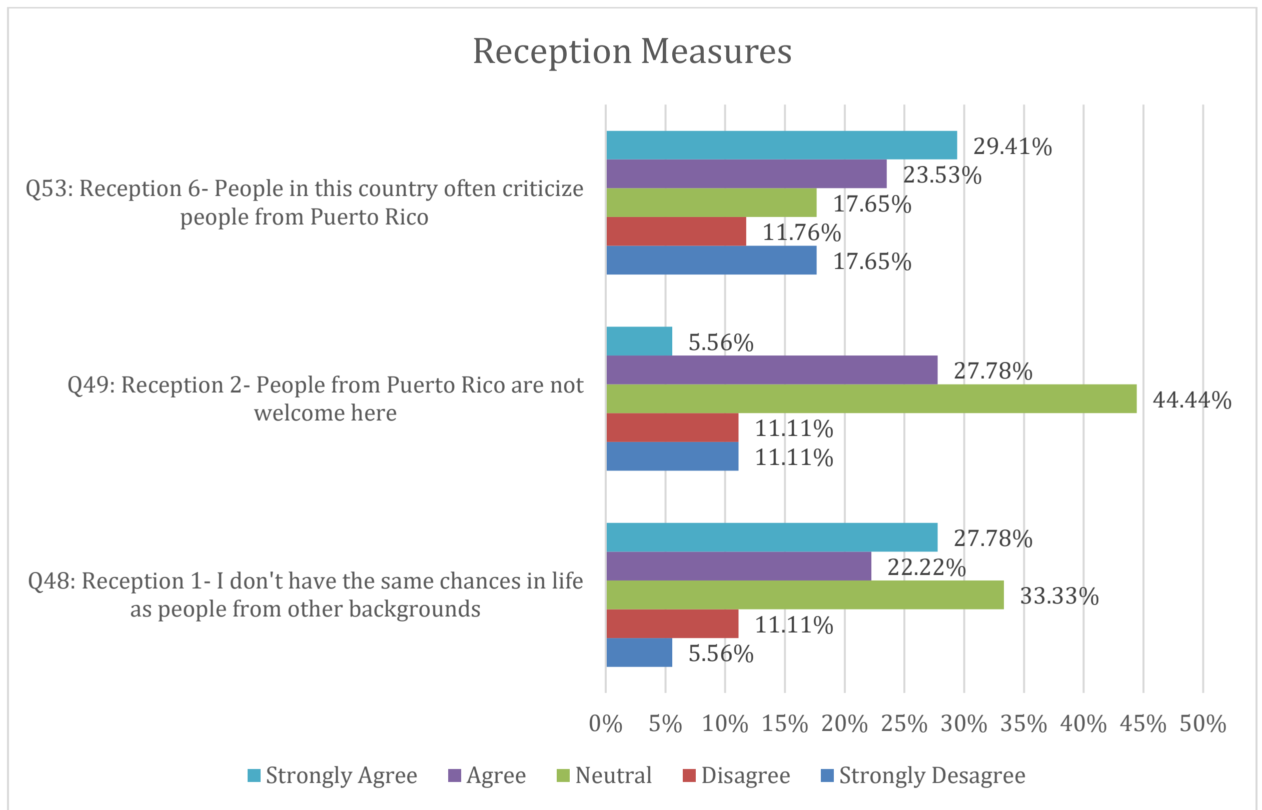


Figure 4.3.4 Perception Survey Measures

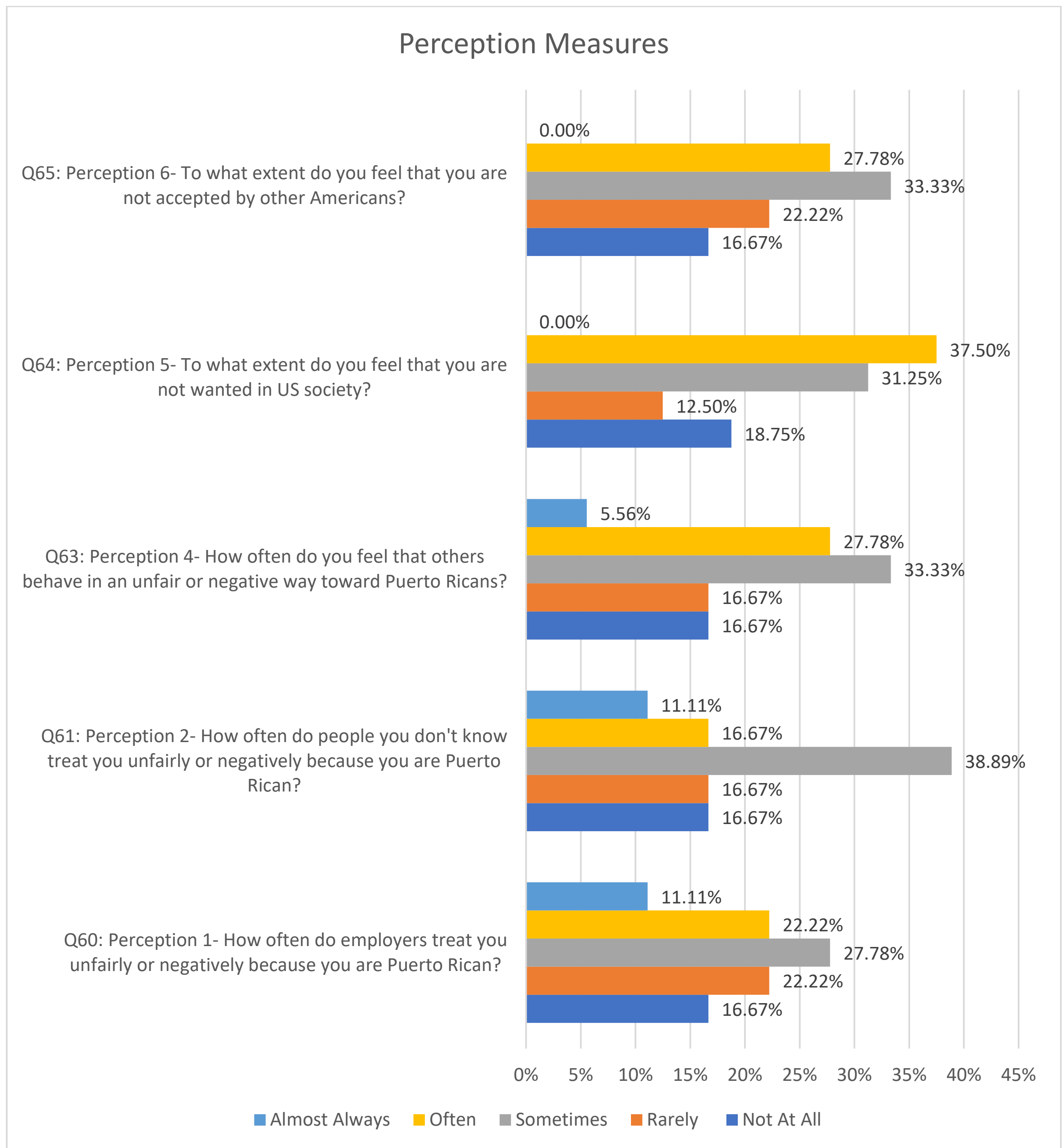


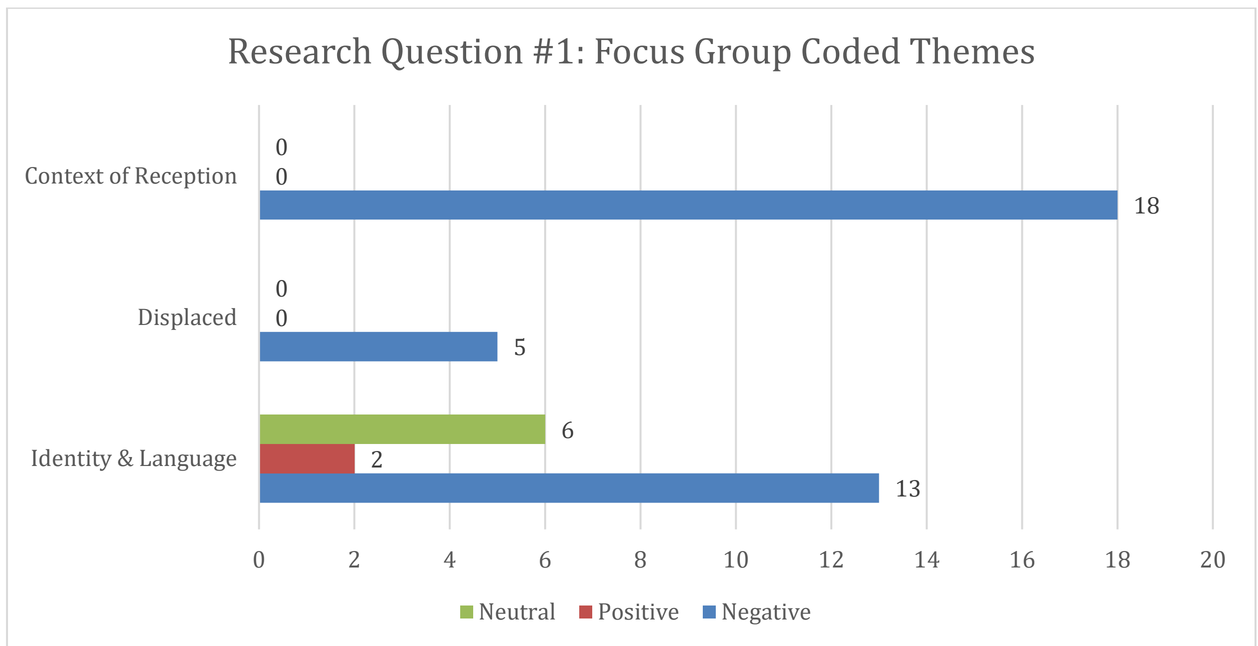
Table and Figure 4.3.5 present qualitative data observed in the focus group discussion recorded conversations on identity, displacement, and a negative context of reception in Central Florida. A total of 28 distinct comments were observed. The conversation was fluid, with almost equal participation of all respondents. Observations

include a comment of already resident aid workers and Hurricane María survivors who joined relief efforts as newly arrived aid workers themselves.

Table 4.3.5 Research Question 1: Focus Group Coded Themes

Theme	Negative	Positive	Neutral
Context of Reception	18	0	0
Displaced	5	0	0
Identity & Language	13	2	6

Figure 4.3.5 Research Question #1: Focus Group Coded Themes



Refugee Identity and Migration-related Stress

Three negative responses concerning being refugees and seven negative responses regarding newly arrived Puerto Ricans as second-class citizens were included in the respondents' discussions. Upon arrival, the focus group discussion revealed contrasts regarding respondents struggling to identify newly arrived families as "resident or refugee" and discussed the "shock" the newly arrived had in seeing themselves as

"foreign." These comments were made both by already resident aid workers and newly arrived aid workers.

These comments were separate from repeatedly shared views of the newly arrived as either "second class citizen[s]" or "not part of this country" and "not like citizen." Two resident aid workers made political references to second-class citizenship. The rest of the comments in this category were made by a combination of already-resident and newly arrived aid workers. No positive comments were recorded concerning identity as a refugee or feelings coded as second-class citizenship.

Displacement and Migration-related Stress

Comments associated with contrasts between Florida and home served as the differentiation between five comments on displacement with those concerning refugee identity. Comments were twice made by newly arrived aid workers that then Florida Governor Rick Scott's welcome of the newly arrived stressed that Florida's welcome indicated that Florida is not "home." These comments were echoed by others that stressed that displacement was caused by not being "taken in by family." Twice displacement was referred to as departure from Puerto Rico by newly arrived aid workers. No positive comments were recorded concerning displacement.

Negative Context of Reception and Migration-related Stress

Qualitative data observed in the focus group discussion recorded eighteen negative responses concerning the context of reception among aid workers and volunteers. Already resident aid workers discussed "problems and difficulties," to include "many limitations" and "systematic marginalization," faced by newly arrived families. Newly arrived aid workers reported instances of overwhelming bureaucracy with no to

little follow up as well as bias and feelings that the displaced were up against a "system." Statements like "the criticism is always palpable against Puerto Ricans" were made by already resident aid workers. Follow-up statements were made by newly arrived aid workers that there was "rejection," "no heart," "no compassion," and "no desire to fight for me as a Puerto Rican" dominated the conversation. No positive comments were recorded concerning the context of reception.

Research Question #2: Description of Evidence

What community organizing and leadership strategies work best in relief operations in support of crisis migrants?

Displaced families from collectivistic cultures emphasize family cohesion over individual development (Özkan and Belz 84). Family measures survey questions one through six explored family dynamics and cohesion among respondents. The range of responses is distributed tightly with a standard deviation below 1 for family measures one through five and 1.2 for family measure six (See Table 4.4.1 and Figure 4.4.1).

Family measures three through five show the majority of respondents always seeking help from family members (50%), listening to family even in times of disagreement (55.56%), preferring to spend free time among family members (50%), and making one's self available to support family members (55.56%). For measures one and two, family members feel close to each other most of the time (33.89%) and always (33.33%), and they also "easily think of things to do together as a family" most of the time (27.78%) and always (44.44%). The data shows a strong right skew towards family orientation in respondents.

The perception and reality of inequality are both a marker and product of trauma (Pedersen 18). Fairness measures five and six have a standard deviations close to 1 (See Table 4.4.2 and Figure 4.4.2). Both measures record 22.22% of respondents often feeling "not wanted" and "not accepted" by those on the mainland. For the same measures, 38.89% of respondents reported felt "not wanted" and 33.33% felt "not accepted." For both measures, only 16.67% of respondents reported never feeling "not wanted" and "not

accepted." Together, 83.3% of all respondents for both measures reported varying degrees of feeling "not wanted" and "not accepted."

Table 4.4.1 Family Measures

Family Measures	***Question***	**Mean**	**SD**	**Never**	**Hardly Ever**	**Sometimes**	**Most of the time**	**Always**
1	*Q33: Family 1-Family members feel very close to each other*	4.0556	0.80237	0.00%	0.00%	27.78%	38.89%	33.33%
2	*Q34: Family 2-We can easily think of things to do together as a family*	4.1667	0.85749	0.00%	0.00%	27.78%	27.78%	44.44%
3	*Q35: Family 3-Family members ask each other for help*	4.1667	0.98518	0.00%	5.56%	22.22%	22.22%	50.00%
4	*Q36: Family 4-I listen to what other family members have to say, even when I disagree*	4.2778	0.95828	0.00%	5.56%	16.67%	22.22%	55.56%
5	*Q37: Family 5-Family members like to spend free time with each other*	4.4444	0.61570	0.00%	0.00%	5.56%	44.44%	50.00%
6	*Q38: Family 6-I am available when others in the family want to talk to me*	4.1667	1.20049	5.56%	5.56%	11.11%	22.22%	55.56%

Table 4.4.2 Fairness Measures

Fairness Measures	**Question**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Not At All**	**Rarely**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Almost Always**
5	*Q71: Fairness 5-To what extent did you feel that you are not wanted in US society?*	2.6667	1.02899	16.67%	22.22%	38.89%	22.22%	0.00%

6	*Q72: Fairness 6- To what extent did you feel that you were not accepted by other Americans?*	2.6111	1.0369 0	16.67 %	27.78 %	33.33 %	22.22 %	0.00%

Figure 4.4.1 Family Measures Survey

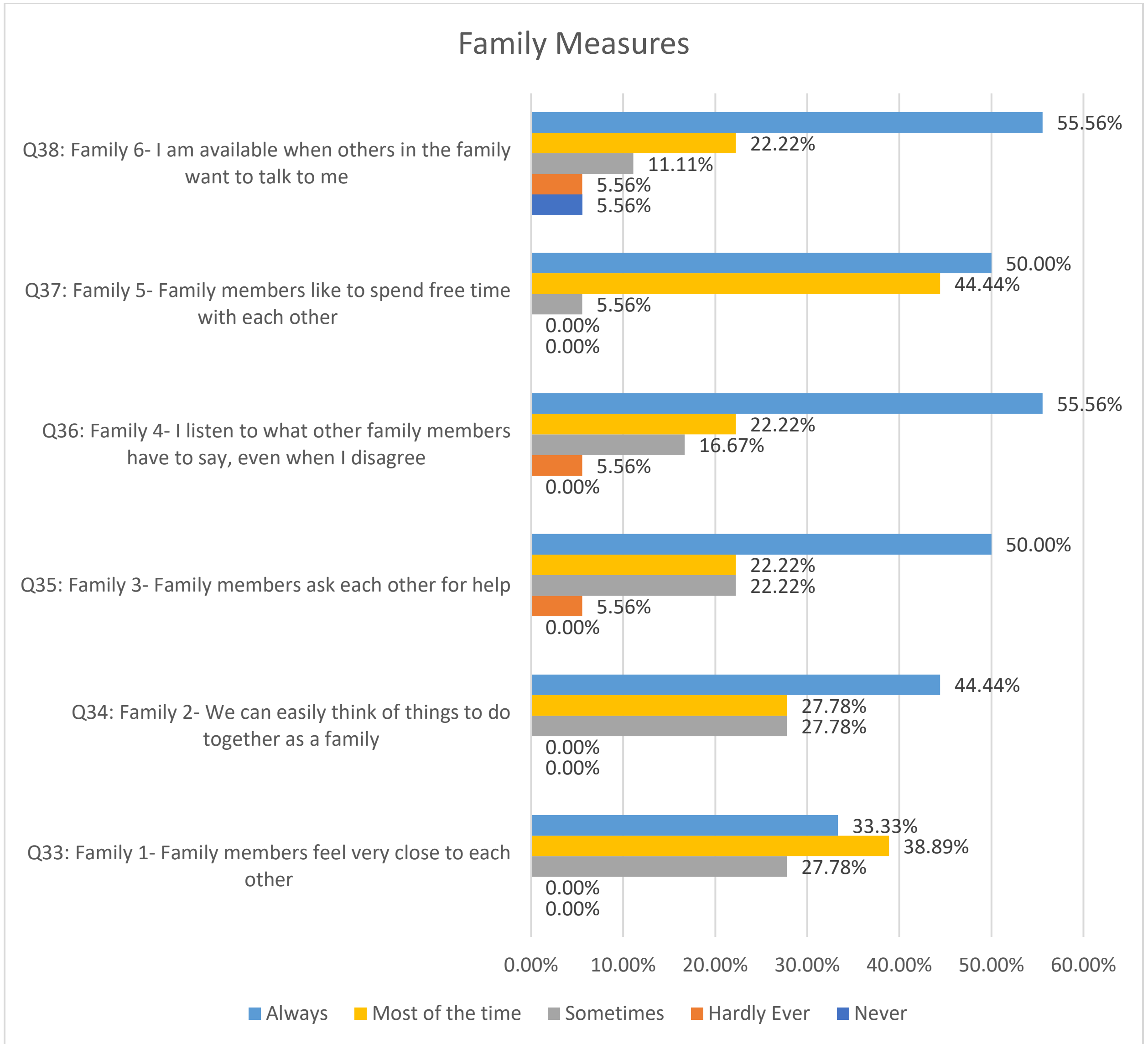


Figure 4.4.2 Fairness Measures Survey

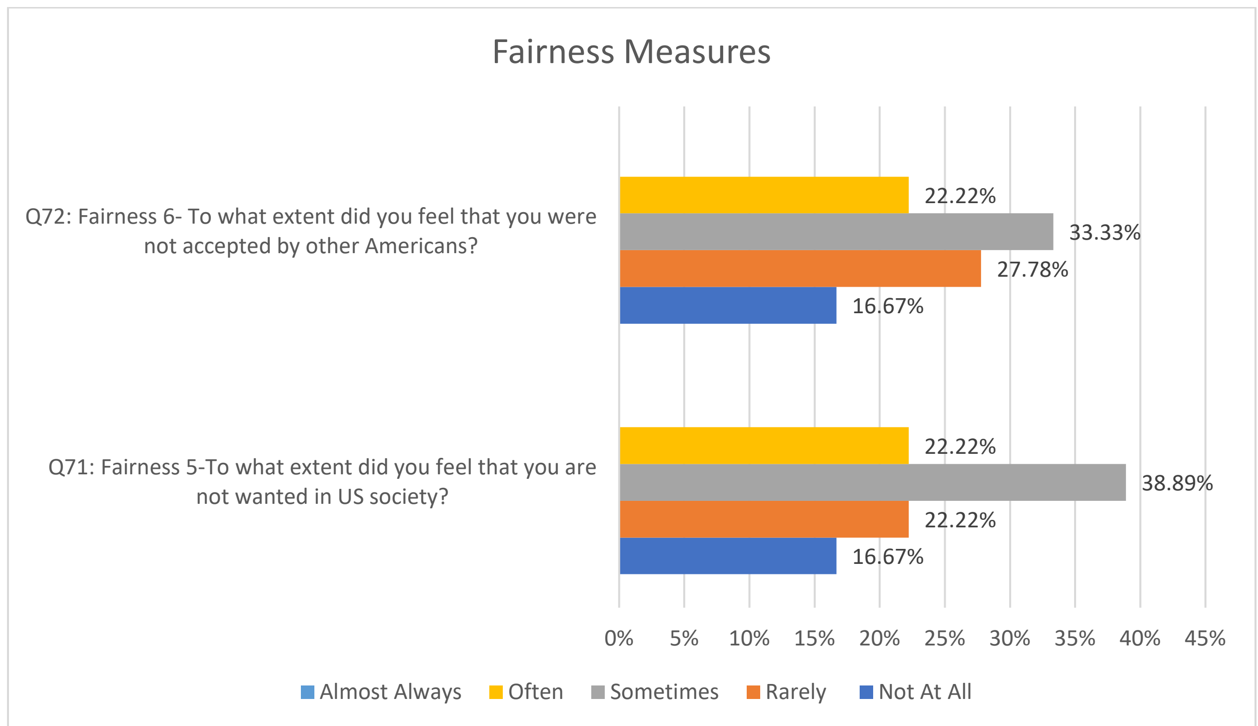
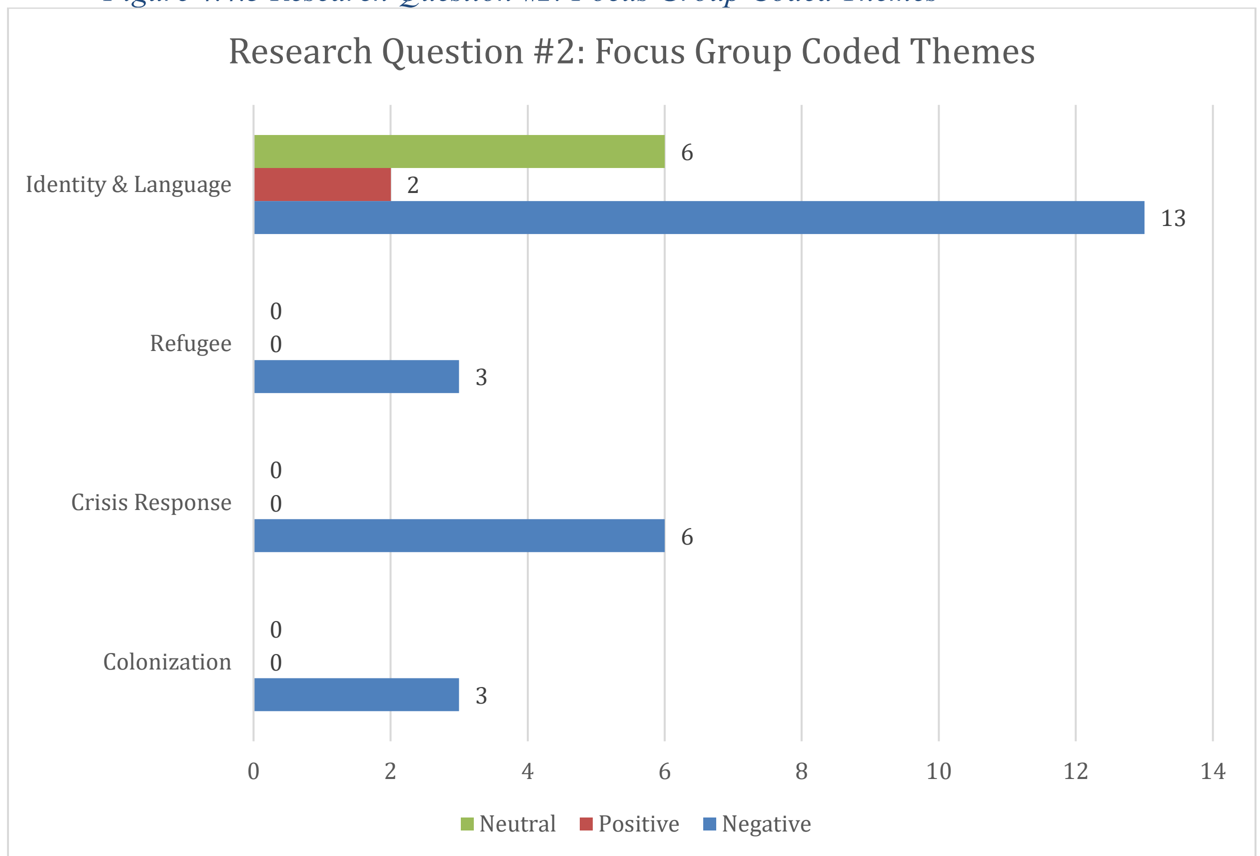


Table and Figure 4.4.3 present qualitative data observed in the focus group discussion and recorded responses concerning colonization themes crisis response, refugee status, and language and identity. A total of 33 distinct comments were observed. The conversation was fluid, with almost equal participation of all respondents. Observations include a comment of already resident aid workers and Hurricane María survivors who joined relief efforts as newly arrived aid workers themselves. All discussions, except two statements regarding language and identity, were comprised of negative comments.

Table 4.4.3 Research Question 2: Focus Group Coded Themes

Theme	Negative	Positive	Neutral
Colonization	3	0	0
Crisis Response	6	0	0
Refugee	3	0	0
Identity & Language	13	2	6

Figure 4.4.3 Research Question #2: Focus Group Coded Themes



Crisis Migrant Perceptions of Relief Operations

As focus group discussions transitioned into talking about the coordinated Federal Government and State of Florida response to displaced persons from Puerto Rico to Orlando, there was an overwhelming perception observed by aid workers and volunteers. Already resident aid workers used terms like "failure in the system" and "haphazard response" to describe the experiences of those displaced to Orlando. Newly arrived participants in the focus groups referred to a "complicated state [of Florida]" aid offered as of "no help." In comparing the island's situation to Florida's crisis response, newly arrived aid workers shared that the "State [of Florida] does not provide a better situation." No positive comments were made regarding the crisis response of the Federal Government and the State of Florida.

Marginalization, Identity Crisis, and Language Limitations as Impediments

Respondents in focus group discussions consistently combined marginalization themes, identity, and language in comments about community organizing and leadership strategies. In terms of fairness and equity, those participating in the focus group made three specific comments were made by the newly arrived aid workers concerning the colonial nature of the political relationship between Puerto Rico and the Federal Government as "colony," "occupied," and "invaded." No positive comments were made in regards to the political relationship between Puerto Rico and the Federal Government.

Respondents in the focus group discussions made twenty-one comments regarding identity and language. The newly arrived aid workers mostly drove these comments. Thirteen negative comments were made concerning identity and language. These comments included statements like "we have to mix to survive," and a reference to "identity confusion" was made. Twice comments on adaption were made and a reference to cultural problems among those newly arrived in Orlando.

Six neutral statements were made concerning language as part of cultural identity; however, multiple comments were made addressing the limitations of not speaking English and the marginalizing effect of speaking Spanish or having an accent had on the newly arrived. In all, only two positive comments were made in this category. These two positive categories were made as an affirmation of personal growth and cultural identity. Both newly arrived and already resident respondents commented about the importance of overcoming language impediments and cultural barriers in relief operations.

Research Question #3: Description of Evidence

What best practices emerged for moving from relief to developing self-resiliency in crisis migrants?

Crisis migrants are both among the highest-risk groups for developing mental health issues who jointly are unlikely to have access to social networks and the support necessary to address mental health issues (Schouler-Ocak 5). Depression measures two through five and anxiety measure 1 explored respondent's self-reported feelings of depression and anxiety. All measures had a tight range of responses close or below to a standard deviation of one (See Tables 4.5.1-2 and Figures 4.5.1-2).

Both depression measures two and three had a majority feeling that everything they did required efforts "frequently or often" (50%) and "almost always" (16.67%), and reported restless sleep "frequently or often (38.89%) and "almost always" (22.22%). Both these measures had a strong right skew of affirmative response for these depression indicators. Measure four measured feelings of happiness, which skewed towards affirmative response with only 16.67% of respondents reporting never feeling happiness. Measure five skewed towards feelings of loneliness; however, a majority of respondents reported this as "rare or never" (27.78%) or only "sometimes or a few times" (38.89%).

The tightest range of responses between the depression and anxiety measures was for anxiety measure one, with a majority reporting feelings of anxiety "most days" (61.11%) and a smaller proportion of respondents reporting feeling anxious "more than half the days" (11.11%) and "almost every day" (5.56%). The mean response of two coincided with feelings of anxiety "most days."

Research on faith and religion's supportive role among crisis migrants is limited, but existing research supports faith as an essential source of resilience in refugees (Laban 202). Faith measures one through ten explored the importance and role of religion in respondents (See Table 4.5.4 and Figure 4.5.4). In all measures except faith measure two, most respondents selected "strongly agree" to the faith measure. Respondents to faith measure two self-reported 27.78% agreement and 44.44% strong agreement to the statement "I pray daily."

All faith measures recorded most respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing to faith statements with a range of 72.22% to 100%. All faith measures showed strong skew towards strong agreement on all faith measure statements. Conversely, disagreement and strong disagreement to faith measures ranged from 0% to 27.78%. Standard deviations ranged from .24 to 1.18. There was near unanimity of strong agreement (94.44%) on the statement, "I enjoy being around others who share my faith."

Table 4.5.1 Depression Measures

Depression Measures	Question	Mean	SD	Rare or never	Sometimes or a few times	Frequently or often	Almost Always
2	*Q106: Depression 2- I felt everything I did required effort*	2.7222	0.89479	11.11%	22.22%	50.00%	16.67%
3	*Q107: Depression 3- My sleep was restless*	2.6667	1.02899	16.67%	22.22%	38.89%	22.22%
4	*Q108: Depression 4- I was happy*	2.4444	0.98352	16.67%	38.89%	27.78%	16.67%
5	*Q109: Depression 5- I felt alone*	2.1111	0.90025	27.78%	38.89%	27.78%	5.56%

Table 4.5.2 Anxiety Measures

Anxiety Measures	Question	Mean	SD	Not at all	Most days	More than half the days	Almost every day
1	*Q115: Anxiety 1- Feeling nervous, anxious or tense*	2	0.76696	22.22%	61.11%	11.11%	5.56%

Table 4.5.3 Faith Measures

Faith Measures	Question	Mean	SD	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	*Q122: Faith 1- My religious faith is extremely important to me*	3.2778	1.17851	16.67%	5.56%	11.11%	66.67%
2	*Q123: Faith 2- I pray daily*	3.0000	1.13759	16.67%	11.11%	27.78%	44.44%
3	*Q124: Faith 3- I look to my faith as a source of inspiration*	3.5556	0.98352	11.11%	0.00%	11.11%	77.78%
4	*Q125: Faith 4- I look to my faith as providing meaning and purpose in my life*	3.3889	1.09216	11.11%	11.11%	5.56%	72.22%
5	*Q126: Faith 5- I consider myself active in my father or church*	3.2778	0.95828	5.56%	16.67%	22.22%	55.56%
6	*Q127: Faith 6- My faith is an important part of who I am as a person*	3.6250	0.88506	6.25%	6.25%	6.25%	81.25%
7	*Q128: Faith 7- My relationship with God is extremely important to me*	3.7778	0.42779	0.00%	0.00%	22.22%	77.78%
8	*Q129: Faith 8- I enjoy being around others who share my faith*	3.9444	0.23570	0.00%	0.00%	5.56%	94.44%
9	*Q130: Faith 9 - I look to my faith as a source of comfort*	3.6111	0.84984	5.56%	5.56%	11.11%	77.78%
10	*Q131: Faith 10- My faith impacts many of my decisions*	3.6111	0.77754	5.56%	0.00%	22.22%	72.22%

Figure 4.5.1 Depression Measures

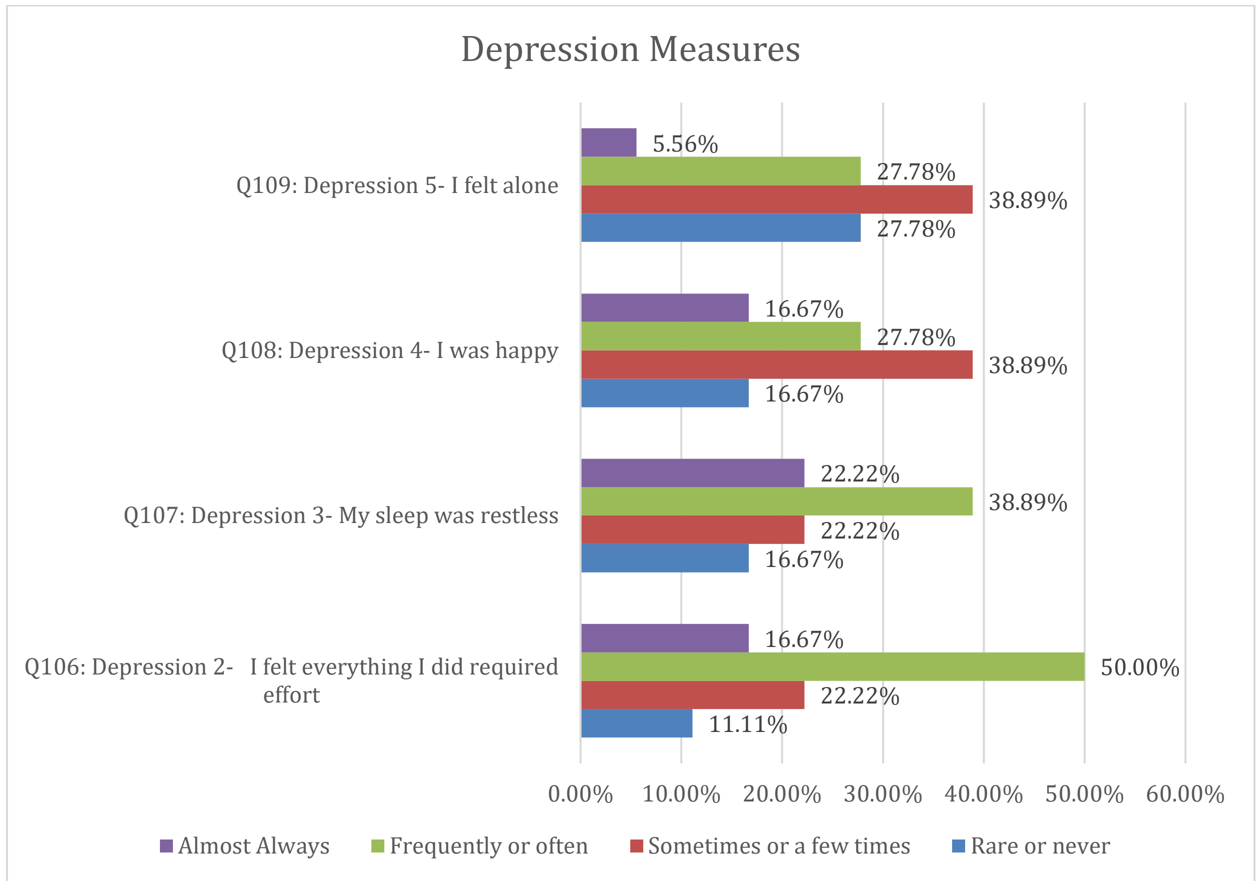


Figure 4.5.2 Anxiety Measure

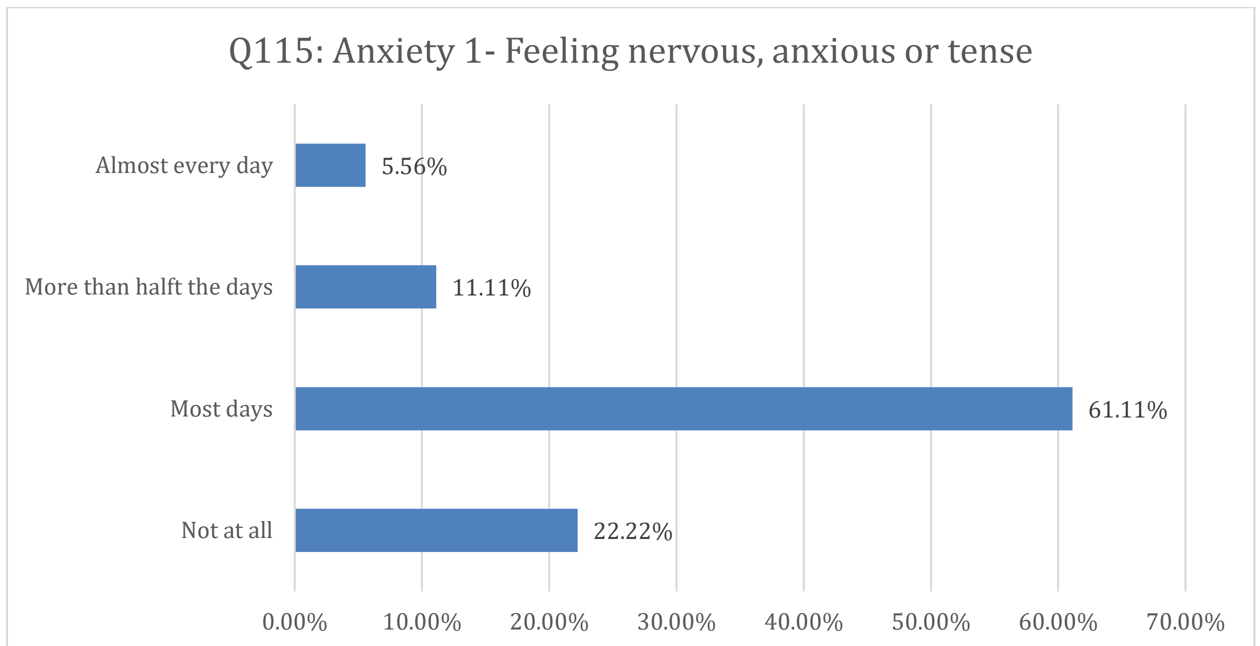


Figure 4.5.3 Faith Measures

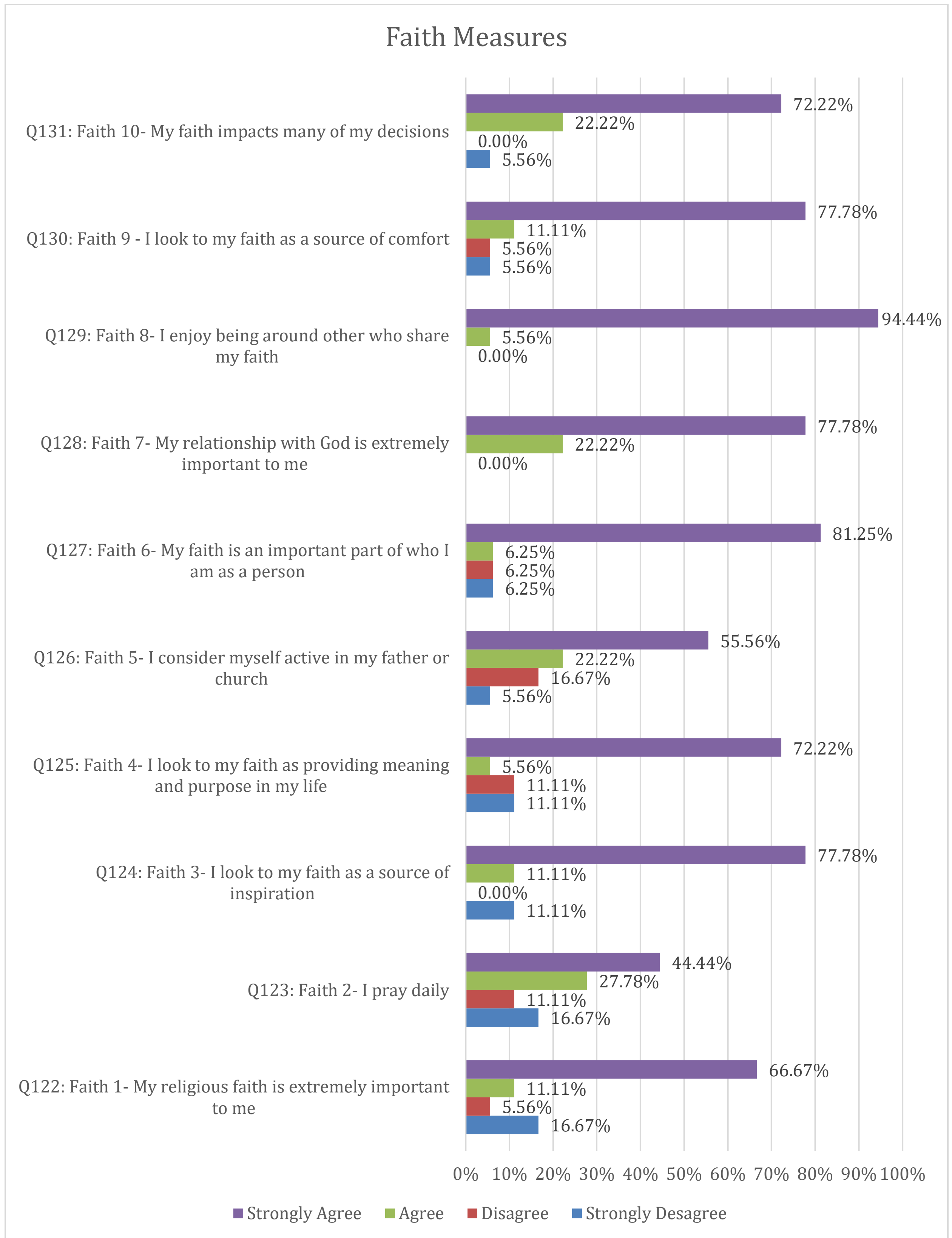
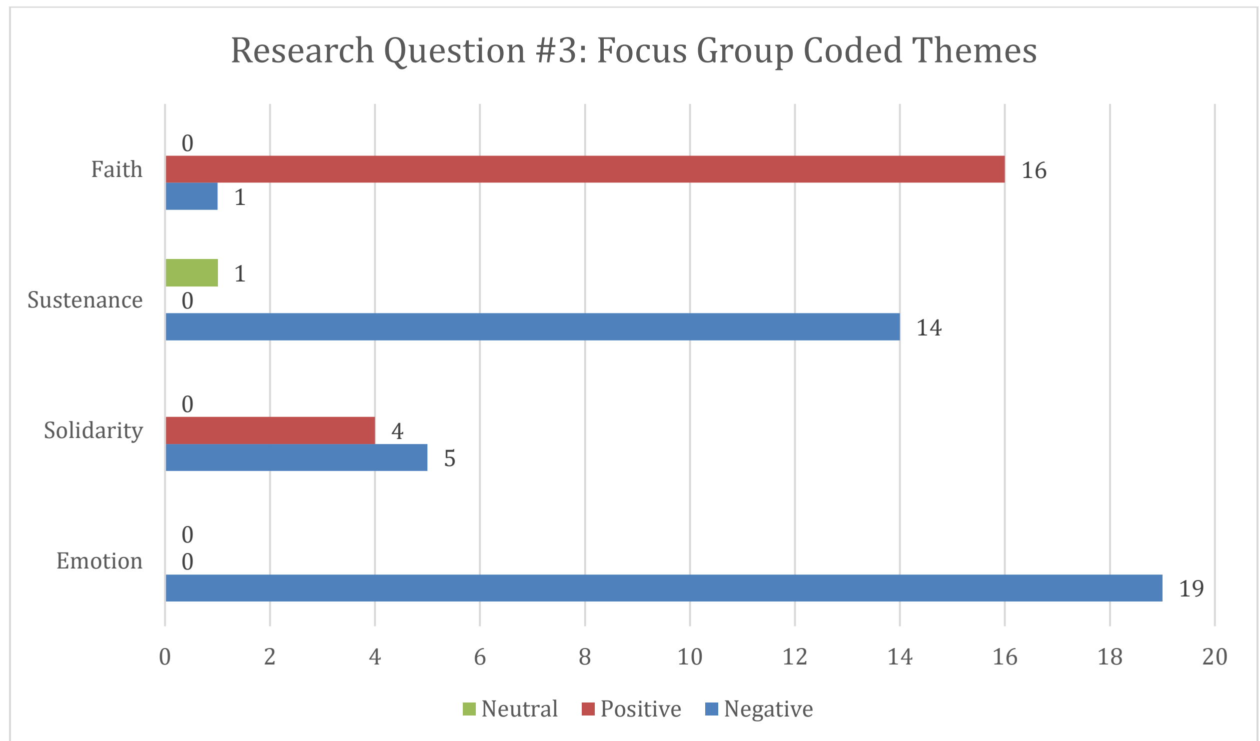


Table 4.2.2 and Figure 4.5.4 present qualitative data obtained through focus group interviews which was coded and identified with emotions, solidarity, sustenance, and faith. A total of 60 distinct comments were observed. The conversation was fluid, with almost equal participation of all respondents. Observations include a comment of already resident aid workers and Hurricane María survivors who joined relief efforts as newly arrived aid workers themselves.

Table 4.2.2 Research Question 3: Focus Group Coded Themes

Theme	Negative	Positive	Neutral
Emotion	19	0	0
Faith	1	16	0
Solidarity	5	4	0
Sustenance	14	0	1

Figure 4.5.4 Research Question #3: Focus Group Coded Themes



Emotion and Resiliency

A total of nineteen negative comments were made by both already resident aid workers and newly arrived aid workers. Comments by already resident aid workers included comments of "mental health crisis," "mental health" concerns, needs for "therapy," and concerns for "chronic disease" among the newly arrived. Newly arrived aid workers commented on being uncomfortable and shared feelings of being "helpless" and "hopeless." Newly arrived aid workers also spoke of "crisis," lives in danger, and "death." The need for pastoral support as emotional support was included in these observations. These included references to "spiritual void" and the need for "spiritual help" were made. No positive comments were made in regards to emotions.

Solidarity and Resiliency

A total of four positive and five negative comments concerning solidarity were made by both already resident aid workers and newly arrived aid workers. Comments from both already resident and newly arrived aid workers were similar. Both groups made negative comments regarding the conflicts between newly arrived Puerto Ricans and already resident Puerto Ricans. Both groups made positive comments about solidarity, leading to resiliency in the Puerto Rican community. The already resident Puerto Rican aid workers detailed how the Puerto Rican community could quickly mobilize to help newly arrived Puerto Ricans.

Sustenance and Resiliency

A total of thirteen positive and one neutral comment concerning resources were made by both already resident aid workers and newly arrived aid workers. All comments were based on "socioeconomic difficulties" and touched on quality of life, housing,

transportation, food, and shelter. The neutral comment addressed how these issues were related to the "American Dream." No positive comments were made in regards to sustenance.

Sustenance and Resiliency

A total of sixteen positive and one negative comment concerning faith were made by both already resident aid workers and newly arrived aid workers. Multiple comments were made by both already resident aid workers and newly arrived aid workers on the role of faith to help displaced families. The church was referred to as "place," "community," and "institution not religion." Already resident aid workers referred to the "religious base" of the crisis migrant, and those who arrived expressed knowing that the "Church will support us." One negative comment was made by a newly arrived aid worker regarding "wandering church to church" was made in regards to newly-arrived seeking and unable to find assistance. An already resident aid worker commented on the Church as having "value and weight."

Summary of Major Findings

Several major findings became clear from the data analysis of both research tools. I have listed them here in a numbered list.

1) High optimism and hope on behalf of newly arrived crisis migrants from Puerto Rico can be leveraged to mitigate cultural stressors triggered by relief operations
2) Interventions must take into account family and kinship networks to be effective.
3) Negative context of reception and cultural stressors are experienced by crisis migrants and are detrimental to mental health.
4) Puerto Rican crisis migrants resist assimilation as a means to cope with cultural stressors.
5) The Church as a pastoral shelter and social institution is perceived as positive and is sought by crisis migrants.

CHAPTER 5

LEARNING REPORT FOR THE PROJECT

Overview of the Chapter

The majority of Puerto Rican crisis migrants in Orlando experienced migration-related stress that created challenges for relief operations. This research project investigated the self-reported experiences of crisis migrants and the observations and experiences of those who assisted them through relief operations.

This chapter identifies five findings from this research project and explains how they correspond to personal observations, the literature survey, and the project's biblical framework. Then, the limitations of the research study, unexpected observations, and recommendations for further study are explored.

Major Findings

High optimism and hope on behalf of newly arrived crisis migrants from Puerto Rico can be leveraged to mitigate cultural stressors triggered by relief operations

I have observed the hope that crisis migrants express. Furthermore, I have seen how hope and optimism can be leveraged in relief operations to implement interventions. This hope and optimism are self-reported by crisis migrant and aid workers alike and help mitigate migration-related trauma relief operations.

During my research, the majority of crisis migrants reported high levels of optimism. These measures help mitigate the negative context of reception that was self-reported by many respondents. While many indicated feelings of unfair treatment in the surveys, it seems that a high level of optimism has kept people optimistic about their future even during uncertain times.

In the literature review, the response in the aftermath of a disaster and how the community responds to the crisis migrants is an integral part of disaster response. Duany's research notes that Puerto Ricans moving to Orlando come here to "echar la familia pa'lante." While they can keep their social networks intact, they often sell everything they have on the island to facilitate their move to the mainland (Duany, *Blurred Borders* 121).

Even in natural disasters, stressors can originate from human intervention. Peter Dreier considers disasters more "human-made more than natural" (528). García-López argues that "the hurricane was destructive, but it is what happened since then which has been the real catastrophe" (101). Social vulnerability and disparities significantly contribute to crisis migrants being adversely affected in the recovery period after a disaster (Wisner, Gaillard, and Kelman).

The image of the hope of deliverance is pervasive in the biblical narrative. Concepts of hope and optimism are interrelated. The duty of care residents have to the foreigner is a powerful symbol of hope. Scripture is clear on society's obligation to provide fair treatment to immigrants. Immigrants must be met with an outstretched arm (2 Chron. 6.32-33) and must be rescued from the power of the oppressor. They should neither be mistreated nor exploited (Jer. 22.3). They must be met with bread (Isa. 21.14).

In the Gospel's childhood narratives of Christ, the promised Deliverer was not rescued from danger in a foreign land. He was delivered from danger in the Promised Land into a foreign land. According to Rivera, Jesus "became a migrant and is present in the lives of foreigners and strangers calling people to their service" (148). Szypula writes that "redemption expects deliverance from the mortal aspect of existence" (295). Like

Israel captive in Egypt, the Christian sojourner is held captive and is waiting for deliverance. The Christian sojourner waits for the *Parousia* with great anticipation and hope.

Interventions must take into account family and kinship networks to be effective.

I observed that all family measures indicated closeness and a desire to work as a family unit. Respondents self-reported a preference to seek assistance from family first and receiving wisdom from within the immediate family unit. Focus group discussions also showed displacement caused by estrangement from the extended family unit unable to assist in Hurricane María's aftermath. Displacement was tied to family separation by respondents.

In my literature review, I showed that strengthening family support and reducing stress in the aftermath of a disaster go hand in hand in responding to disaster (World Health Organization and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 8). The literature shows that collectivistic cultures will value family function over individual functioning. Family survey measures indicate a collectivistic culture regarding family dynamics with Hurricane María crisis migrants to Central Florida.

In the research, Duany emphasizes kinship and friendship networks as an essential factor in the Orlando diaspora. Duany found that those settled in Orlando maintained an emotional connection to the island. Members of the Orlando diaspora before Hurricane María were noted as keeping friendship networks intact on both the island and Orlando. Puerto Ricans in Orlando have traditionally been able to keep their kinship and family networks intact between Central Florida and Puerto Rico (Duany, *Blurred Borders* 120-121).

While a draw to Central Florida includes the ability to maintain existing kindship and friendship networks, the research also shows that Puerto Ricans are drawn to the area for retirement, a better quality of life, better working conditions, and higher wages (Aranda and Rivera 71). The move is not without built-in challenges. The challenges facing Puerto Rican youth, in particular, leave them struggling to acquire English proficiency. They also have other stressors that put them at risk of marginalization and exclusion from opportunity (Ariza 131).

The Old Testament narrative evokes images of families on the move. There are themes of alienation and displacement in the movement of people in the biblical narrative. These can be found as early as the forced expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3.23) and the great flood's displacement of Noah and his family (Gen. 6.9-22). Despair leaving the garden and calamity surrounding the great flood are mythological images that are energy-evoking and energy-directing signs (Campbell 86).

Kin is an important theme in the biblical narrative. Rahab's shrewdness saves her household from the Israelite incursion into her homeland (Josh. 2; 6.22-25). She enters her own story of migration with her family, stepping down from her palatial home and position to the uncertainty of joining a conquering and nomadic army in the wilderness (Josh. 6.23). Rahab assimilates but marries into Israel (Josh. 6.25) at a critical time in its history.

Firth writes that "readers are meant to be disorientated by the presence of a Canaanite prostitute who expresses Israel's faith with more clarity than any other, [and] who has received an oath promising protection for both herself and her family" (22). This

assimilation is later celebrated in her being named in Jesus Christ's genealogy as not only one of his forebears but as mother Ruth's kinsman-redeemer (Ruth 4; Matt. 1.5).

Negative context of reception and cultural stressors are experienced by crisis migrants and are detrimental to mental health

I observed survey measures regarding the context of reception in which the majority felt they didn't have equal opportunity as others from different backgrounds and that Puerto Ricans were often criticized by "people in this country." The negative context of reception was reported in focus groups as a "shock" to crisis migrants. The focus groups recorded awareness of being colonized and feelings of second-class citizenship. Inequities felt were nuanced because the crisis migrants were aware of their political enfranchisement as United States citizens. The former Florida governor's welcome message to newly-arrived crisis migrants was rejected as unwelcoming. The focus groups revealed numerous deficiencies in the context of reception, from "problems and difficulties" to "many limitations." Follow-up statements were made describing the local context of reception as having "no heart," "no compassion," and there being "no desire to fight for me as a Puerto Rican."

The literature review details "experiences with discrimination in the lives of Puerto Ricans area likely pervasive, regardless of where they settle in Central Florida" (Aranda and Rivera 79). The authors are unable to conclude if these experiences of negative reception have an effect on socioeconomic standing and also note that "much of what we know about Puerto Ricans is based on research about older communities in the northeastern and Midwestern United States (81).

The literature shows that crisis migrants may experience defensiveness exhibited by destination community members as cultural stress. Discrimination, negative context of reception, and bicultural stress can occur in parallel. Their presence can be used to predict depressive symptoms, low-income family functioning, and other challenges faced by crisis migrants (Psychology of Migration Working Group).

Salas-Wright, Vaughn, and Clark Goings' research indicate that sustained exposure to cultural stressors like racism and discrimination is associated with increased risk to the mental and physical health of crisis migrants. Discrimination often complicates multiple sources of cultural stress simultaneously experienced by the crisis migrant. These sources include, but are not limited to, discrimination, adjustment difficulties like learning a new language, acculturation, and disruption to kindship and friendship networks.

Condescension is "the notion that one person or culture has more of a right to exist than other, or than all others" (Woodley 23). It is a cultural stressor that the Puerto Rican crisis migrant must endure. Condescension is related to the phenomenon known as *perpetual foreigner syndrome*. Schwartz discusses research indicating that those perceived as White are more likely than ethnic minorities to be considered "American." He notes research where Hispanic and Asian celebrities were less likely to be identified as American when compared to foreign celebrities of European descent. Immigrants who can pass as white are treated differently than ethnic immigrants. While prior waves of migrants were of White European descent, contemporary immigrants are perceived as ethnic.

The Old and New Testament foundations for crisis migration and cultural stressors weave a narrative that reveals hope for all believers on their sojourn. The sojourn is a central and unifying theme through Scripture, as is Christ's own self-identification with the sojourner and the Christian's identification as a spiritual sojourner. The sojourn, or the Christian wilderness experience, is a burdened existence. Szypula explores the afflictions experienced by Paul (Szypuła 156-157). Paul's own sojourn was harsh and burdened by "persecutions, dangers, physical punishments, tensions, hunger, and labors" (157). Szypula quotes Lambert in referring to the sojourner's "momentary affliction" (2 Cor. 4.17) and "sufferings of this present time."

Instead of integrating and adopting foreign customs, the Christian sojourner is commanded to the diaspora: the Church, the Body of Christ where there are no distinctions (Gal. 3.28). In our sojourn, we are called to resist patriolatry as Jesus' resisted Satan's temptation to be given all the "kingdom of the world and their authority" (Luke 4.5-6). The Christian sojourner is called to pray for those in authority (1 Tim. 2.1-4). The believer is also encouraged to be active and faithful to God (Acts. 16.13-15) and join a faith community (Acts. 2.42,46,27).

Puerto Rican crisis migrants resist assimilation as a means to cope with cultural stressors.

I observed that most Puerto Rican crisis migrants felt unwelcomed and rejected by other Americans on the mainland. Feelings of unfair treatment were reported in the workplace, among strangers, and towards Puerto Ricans at large. Reception measures also detail crisis migrants feeling criticized for being Puerto Rican.

Many cultural stressors around issues of language and identity were reported in focus group discussion. Negative feelings attached to refugee status and feelings of second-class citizenship were also reported. Lack of access to resources from transportation to housing was present in focus group discussion.

The literature review detailed the Puerto Rican crisis migrant's multiple identities "a person of color, poor, and a colonial migrant" (Asencio 2). With other diverse categories to describe the crisis, migrants like sexual orientation, gender expression, age, disability, and identity are further complicated. These multiple identities may contribute to difficulties navigating new homes. Each status can create its own stressors. Together, the multiplicity of Puerto Rican identity requires resiliency in the individual and the development of "strategies to negotiate their multiple identities and sources of oppression" (Asencio 2).

Despite this, Puerto Rican crisis migrants are "not used to being minorities" (Aranda and Rivera 59). The shared experiences of the Puerto Rican crisis are thought by some to be "part of the narrative of being a minority" (79). Another reality that Puerto Ricans and other Latinos cannot escape is how they are perceived by others regardless of how they perceive themselves. Categories of exile and alien will always apply to Latinos no matter were born or how many generations they have been in the United States. Instead of demanding assimilation, Ahmed describes the duty of the host nations to "welcome the unassimilable" ad instead says that the "very act of welcoming already assimilates others into an economy of difference" (151).

González speaks of Puerto Ricans as "citizens yet foreigner" (81). The Puerto Rican crisis migrant is not an immigrant but experiences the same negative context of

reception as the international crisis migrant. While still a citizen of the United States, the Puerto Rican crisis migrant has an estranged and unusual relationship with their citizenship. Aranda argues for the uniqueness of the Puerto Rican migrant as having second-class citizenship. Their migration—or move from one part of the country to another—occurs within unequal contexts where "similar transitions upon migration regarding cultural and linguistic barriers as well as racialization" exist (E. M. Aranda 23).

While this project focuses on the crisis migrant, Aranda conceptualizes the Puerto Rican as an institutionally marginalized "internal migrant" whose experiences influenced conquest and colonization (23). Fernández argues that Puerto Ricans are "subordinate citizens" that are perceived as "exploitable, low-wage labor both on the island and the mainland" (8). To Fernández, the commonalities are not limited to mutual exploitation. Still, both communities enrich each other by being "neighbors in the same communities, worshippers in Spanish-language churches, patrons of the same ethnic businesses, and ultimately, even relatives in blended families" (9).

These stressors' biblical and theological truth can be seen in Israel's estrangement from their homeland and the Almighty. The Israelites are concerned for and establish a duty of care for foreigners. The narrative clarifies that immigrants must not be cheated and treated as the community's own citizens (Lev. 19.33-34). This assimilation of difference is seen in Myer's "cosmology of grace." Ruth's gleanings rights in Boaz's fields ensures that sojourners earn a living wage or are otherwise able to provide for basic needs is seen in (Ruth 2.1-13).

The Old Testament narrative reminds the reader that they too were once foreigners in a foreign land (Exod. 22.21) and that before God's sight, they are all

foreigners and strangers (1 Chron. 29.14-16). The New Testament narrative's point of view is to help the sojourner with hope and words of encouragement along the way. John's Gospel begins with Christ's self-humiliation in his Incarnation and owns earthly pilgrimage. Tillich refers to his self-humiliation as "existential estrangement" (159). In Eternal Word becoming flesh and dwelling among us (John. 1.14), the Almighty identifies with us not only with our human weakness (Heb. 4.14) but as a sojourner.

The Church as a pastoral shelter and social institution is perceived as positive and is sought by crisis migrants

I have observed a strong affinity by crisis migrants towards faith as a source of inspiration. All measures were heavily skewed towards a strong agreement with statements affirming religious faith, activity, comfort, and inspiration. The highest measures showed respondents as "strongly agreeing" that faith is an essential part of their identity (81.25%) and they enjoy keeping company with people of the same faith (94.44%). Faith is also an essential part of the decision-making for crisis migrants.

Crisis migrants search out the church not only as a source of spiritual comfort but also as an institution they could trust to provide support. The focus group showed that the Church was a welcomed source of authority in the chaos of unorganized Government disaster relief efforts. There is a contrast between the failed government response to crisis migration and the spiritual void and safety that the church response provided to crisis migrants. The church had fewer economic resources to share with crisis migrants. Still, the many attractive qualities of a faith response in disaster relief provided both a trusted agent and a culturally competent response that served other social support needs.

The literature shows a historical function of Latino churches in Orlando as assisting migrants in distress. Silver documents the story of one migrant who describes the local church in Orlando as "a place 'where you feel like you can breath' while she adjusted to her new life in Orlando" (*Sunbelt Diaspora* 148). Not only can the Church be an agent to identify needs within the community, but it can help bring relief into the lives of those who are suffering. The role of the worshipping community and the Latino migrant is a reoccurring theme in the literature. Early on, the project site has received special interest from academics and researchers who understand the worshiping community's unique role within the Latino and Puerto Rican migrant.

Locally, the kinship and friendship networks that are hallmarks of the Puerto Rican migrant extend to the church. Firpo documents local churches as places for networking. He writes that Puerto Rican migrants found familiarity between their island worshipping communities and the communities established in Orlando. He notes, "Puerto Rican families developed friendships and communal ties with fellow Hispanics in their church" (Firpo 81). Cultural stressors include alienation from kinship and friendship networks. Their absence leaves migrants to their own devices in dealing with discrimination and other stressors. The literature shows that Latinos' pre-existing marginalization leaves the migrant vulnerable to crime and violence (Cepeda, Negi, and Nowony 210).

The biblical and theological foundations of the Church providing shelter to the needy are seen in the wilderness Tabernacle experience. Tent imagery in Hebrews 11 shows the sojourner's call to live in a provisional shelter. This temporary dwelling and existence have a threefold purpose: (1) the journey's origin in God's election and promise;

(2) the journey's temporary character; (3) the journey's end in the promised *Parousia*. The provision of shelter in Hebrews is an allegorical call back to the Tabernacle and the Almighty's continual presence with the Israelites on the move in the wilderness. This is a reminder that the sojourner's existence is not outside of God's influence, nor is it alienated from God's presence (156).

Living in the earthly tent is not free of its stressors. The sojourn is a burdened existence. In the New Testament, the sojourn was harsh and burdened by "persecutions, dangers, physical punishments, tensions, hunger, and labors" (Szypuła 157). The sojourn is a "momentary affliction" (2 Cor. 4.17) and "sufferings of this present time." "Paul quite easily regards the negative aspects inherent to human nature or God's creation as part of that suffering: frictions and adversities, wind and weather, illness and decay, robbers and numerous dangers" (157).

Ministry Implications of the Findings

The first implication concerns the need to provide mental health and other pastoral support at the onset of a crisis response. The literature addresses the cumulative effect of cultural stressors on crisis migrants. High measures of optimism may allow for early successes and be leveraged for successful programs. However, cultural stressors must be addressed early on and must be part of a crisis response. The church's crisis response included advocacy work for the crisis migrants. The response itself was born out of existing advocacy work in the community. The advocacy work itself addresses cultural stressors and seeks to minimize them, but they are not an intervention to help cope. Faith-based crisis response needs to provide for the pastoral and mental health needs of crisis migrants.

My findings also indicate a negative context of reception for Puerto Rican crisis migrants displaced to Florida in Hurricane María. These feelings were observed in the survey and focus group discussions alongside language and cultural identity issues. The literature shows that people selectively assimilate. There is no one prevailing opinion on assimilation from the study other than a wide range of assimilation and identity views. Providing social support through culturally appropriate programming and projects is an essential component of a crisis response. In the field, our response by spearheaded by a variety of Puerto Rican and Latino organizations, and most events were part cultural celebration and part disaster response. Faith-based crisis response needs to affirm the cultural values and identity of the displaced person. Crisis response should offer people the tools to acculturate on their terms without prescribing any particular path towards acculturation.

Also, crisis response is a family affair. Events, services, and interventions must holistically address the entire household and provide space for the whole household to be present. Crisis response must also provide space and honor the voices of different family members that may provide advice contrary to the processes and stated goals of the church's crisis response. Crisis response must respect individual autonomy and respond to the collective autonomy of the crisis migrant's household. In the field, we learned to always have activities for children and childcare available to crisis migrants.

We learned that our own bias in designing our programming focused on the "head of the house" as a unitary decision-maker when decision-making was distributed across the household. Decision-making on essential issues was impacted and sometimes delayed by having to process choices and alternatives as a family group. Crisis response should design processes that allow for collectivistic cultures and households and make provision for the child and elder care and assistance. Faith-based crisis response needs to affirm the family unit's centrality to the crisis migrant and design programs that holistically deal with families and affirms collective decision making.

The church's role in crisis response evolved and was more significant than just providing pastoral support or a place of encounter. Crisis migrants viewed houses of worship as trusted agents. Crisis migrants also saw ethnic houses of worship as extensions of kinship and friendship networks. The church provided not only spiritual support and its facilities but also provided social support. In the field, the church's intended roles were initially pastoral but quickly evolved to a cultural center. As a nonpartisan and nongovernmental entity, the church's role created a safe place for those who viewed the Federal response as failed or reported being treated as second-class

citizens. It is essential for faith-based crisis response to beyond the pastoral and sacramental and embrace all aspects of being a church from assets, facilities, being an institution, and a trusted agent in the community.

Limitations of the Study

Although I faced some limitations during my research, I do not believe that they impacted the study findings' generalization. Numerous entities are using similar survey measures among the same crisis migrant population, and my results were consistent with findings already established by many of our partners.

A noticeable limitation was my time restraint and the numerous complications and delays caused by the fact that our crisis response is still ongoing and the project's end occurred during the pandemic. Because the surveys were conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic and the target crisis migrant population was resistant to technology, it undoubtedly affected the number of crisis migrant participants who could come to our facilities to complete their surveys.

Also, there were several concerns by our mental health providers about having a focus group for crisis migrants as some exhibited mild distress filling out their survey. Because of these concerns, the second focus group discussion was canceled. However, because many displaced migrants also became aid workers, it was felt that the focus group was representative of both groups.

One difference I might consider if I were to conduct this study again would be to choose fewer measures and significantly shorten the survey. A shorter survey would have been manageable on a mobile device as most crisis migrants would have smartphones in

their possession. The volume of questions in this survey was too bulky to have been offered via mobile device.

Unexpected Observations

One unexpected observation I had was the collective perception of the Church's role as not only a worshipping body but as a facility, institution, a place with "value," an entity with "weight," and a place that not only provided spiritual support but social support. Another surprise was the reports of crisis migrants experiencing a "spiritual void." In our response, we anticipated temporal needs over spiritual emptiness. Moreover, the church as an extension of kindship and friendship groups should have been self-evident from the onset but was not explored in greater depth.

The high levels of optimism despite many cultural stressors and a Central Florida negative context of reception were surprising. Respondents coped with cultural stressors as they occurred, but nearly four years post-crisis, the respondents were self-reporting optimism. Also, observations in the focus group that the Puerto Rican community formed its ecosystem of help needs its ethnographic study as this crisis response existed alongside many others that may have had an accumulative effect on the lives of crisis migrants

Furthermore, although the sample size was limited due to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, those who completed surveys were majority males in a displaced community known to be majority female. While the survey responses were consistent with other studies, it did reveal an unexpected observation concerning the effects of the pandemic on crisis migrants. Follow-up measures may need to be completed to explore and make inferences on the pandemic's impact on the crisis migrant population.

Recommendations

This study produced results consistent with the observations and results of other studies performed on-site by other researchers over the past four years. Based on the study, I offer the following recommendations for future faith-based crisis response to mitigate the effects of cultural stressors:

1) Take an inventory of existing assets, capacities at your church, and existing disparities impacting the worshipping and surrounding community. Typically disaster recovery plans explore human and social gifts that each entity has to offer. Expand upon human and social categories. Explicitly include an ethnography of the immediate context of reception near the church. In detail, describe existing cultural competency to serve diverse communities.

2) Build capacity within existing church programs to respond to crises and increase the church and surrounding community's resiliency. Do not silo disaster recovery plans and newly created capacity. Capacity should be built across all ministries within a church to scale up and mobilize existing resources quickly. For example, creating a contingency plan to increase the size of a church's Sunday school program or vacation Bible school program can engage the church in disaster recovery.

3) Develop a pastoral care plan and use continuing education opportunities to train clergy and church leaders on mental health first aid. Pastoral care should be limited to helping stabilize crisis migrants suffering from emotional trauma. A pastoral care plan should have clear boundaries that help people spiritually and refers out acute mental health traumas to specialized licensed care.

Postscript

My journey through this research project is not over. Four years after Hurricane María, we are still implementing strategies for crisis migrants. Our program has been challenged by the earthquakes of 2020 in Puerto Rico and the COVID-19 pandemic that has had exaggerated disparities in the Central Florida Hispanic community. I have also moved churches, taken on additional ministerial leadership positions, grown my family, and managed a social justice ministry that has grown out of our advocacy for crisis migrants displaced to Central Florida by Hurricane María.

APPENDIXES

A. Survey/Interview Schedule and questions

B. Observation Schedule (if applicable)

C. Ministry Intervention (if applicable)

D. Ethical Considerations Worksheet

Consent Forms Template

Confidentiality/Anonymity

E. Other

Appendix A: Survey/Interview Schedule and questions

Questionnaire for Survey

How old are you?

Are you a man or a woman?

- ○ Man (1)
- ○ Woman (2)
- ○ Other (3)

How well do you *speak* English?

- ○ Very poorly (1)
- ○ Poorly (2)
- ○ Well (3)
- ○ Very well (4)

How well do you *read* English?

- ○ Very poorly (1)
- ○ Poorly (2)
- ○ Well (3)
- ○ Very well (4)

Prior Hurricane Maria, had you ever lived in the United States?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

For how long did you live in the United States? (select all that apply)

- ☐ For work (1)
- ☐ For vacation (2)
- ☐ I lived in the United States for less than 1 year (3)
- ☐ I lived in the United States for more than 1 year (4)

How many years of education have you completed?

- ◯ Less than elementary school (1)
- ◯ Some high school (2)
- ◯ High school diploma/GED (3)
- ◯ Some college (4)
- ◯ Associate's degree (5)
- ◯ Bachelor's degree (6)
- ◯ Graduate degree (7)

Please tell us which of these statements best describes your present work situation.

- ◯ Working full time, that is, 35 hours or more per week. (1)
- ◯ Working part time, that is, less than 35 hours per week. (2)
- ◯ Have a job or business, but absent from work without pay. (3)
- ◯ Unemployed or laid off and looking for work. (4)
- ◯ Unemployed or laid off and not looking for work. (5)
- ◯ Unemployed and permanently disabled. (6)
- ◯ Retired (7)
- ◯ In school, full time (8)
- ◯ In school, part time (9)
- ◯ Full-time homemaker (10)
- ◯ Something else (specify) (11) ____________________

What is your current occupation? What type of work do you do?

- ◯ Higher executive, major professional, owner of large business (1)
- ◯ Business manager of medium sized business, lesser professionals, i.e. nurses, teachers (2)
- ◯ Administrative personnel, manager, minor professionals, owner/proprietor of small business (3)
- ◯ Clerical and sales, technicians, small businesses (bank teller, secretary) (4)
- ◯ Skilled manual-usually having had training (barber, electrician, mechanic, plumber) (5)
- ◯ Semi-skilled (painter, bus driver, cook, waiter, machine operator) (6)
- ◯ Unskilled (attendant, janitor, unspecified labor, include unemployed) (7)
- ◯ Homemaker (8)
- ◯ Unemployed and permanently disabled (9)
- ◯ In school, full-time (10)
- ◯ In school, part-time (11)
- ◯ Unemployed (12)

How many hours do you work a week?

- ◯ I don't work outside home (1)
- ◯ Less than 10 hours (2)
- ◯ 10-30 hours (3)
- ◯ 31-40 hours (4)
- ◯ 41-60 hours (5)
- ◯ More than 60 hours (6)

This next section is about your employment when you lived in Puerto Rico. What was your occupation before you left? What type of work did you do?

- ◯ Higher executive, major professional, owner of large business (1)
- ◯ Business manager of medium sized business, lesser professionals, i.e. nurses, teachers (2)
- ◯ Administrative personnel, manager, minor professionals, owner/proprietor of small business (3)
- ◯ Clerical and sales, technicians, small businesses (bank teller, secretary) (4)
- ◯ Skilled manual-usually having had training (barber, electrician, mechanic, plumber) (5)
- ◯ Semi-skilled (painter, bus driver, cook, waiter, machine operator) (6)
- ◯ Unskilled (attendant, janitor, unspecified labor, include unemployed) (7)
- ◯ Homemaker (8)
- ◯ Unemployed and permanently disabled (9)
- ◯ In school, full-time (10)
- ◯ In school, part-time (11)
- ◯ Unemployed (12)

Do you have a significant other or partner (such as husband/boyfriend or wife/girlfriend).

- ◯ Yes (2)
- ◯ No (3)

Is there someone who is like that for you and lives in the home with you and helps you with living expenses and caring for the child in this study?

- ◯ Yes (1)
- ◯ No (2)

How many years of education has your partner completed?

- ◯ Less than elementary school (1)
- ◯ Some high school (2)
- ◯ High school diploma/GED (3)
- ◯ Some college (4)
- ◯ Associate's degree (5)
- ◯ Bachelor's degree (6)
- ◯ Graduate degree (7)

Please tell us which of these statements best describes your partner's present work situation.

- ◯ Working full time, that is, 35 hours or more per week. (1)
- ◯ Working part time, that is, less than 35 hours per week. (2)
- ◯ Have a job or business, but absent from work without pay. (3)
- ◯ Unemployed or laid off and looking for work. (4)
- ◯ Unemployed or laid off and not looking for work. (5)
- ◯ Unemployed and permanently disabled. (6)
- ◯ Retired (7)
- ◯ In school, full time (8)
- ◯ In school, part time (9)
- ◯ Full-time homemaker (10)
- ◯ Something else (specify) (11) ____

What is your partner's current occupation? What type of work does you partner do?

- ◯ Higher executive, major professional, owner of large business (1)
- ◯ Business manager of medium sized business, lesser professionals, i.e. nurses, teachers (2)
- ◯ Administrative personnel, manager, minor professionals, owner/proprietor of small business (3)
- ◯ Clerical and sales, technicians, small businesses (bank teller, secretary) (4)
- ◯ Skilled manual-usually having had training (barber, electrician, mechanic, plumber) (5)
- ◯ Semi-skilled (painter, bus driver, cook, waiter, machine operator) (6)
- ◯ Unskilled (attendant, janitor, unspecified labor, include unemployed) (7)
- ◯ Homemaker (8)
- ◯ Unemployed and permanently disabled (9)
- ◯ In school, full-time (10)
- ◯ In school, part-time (11)
- ◯ Unemployed (12)

How many hours does your partner work a week?

- ◯ Does not work outside of the home (1)
- ◯ Less than 10 hours (2)
- ◯ 10-30 hours (3)
- ◯ 31-40 hours (4)
- ◯ 41-60 hours (5)
- ◯ More than 60 hours (7)

Please indicate your agreement with each item by selecting one of the response options ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". There are no "correct" or "incorrect" answers. Answer according to your own feelings, rather than how you think "most people" would answer.

	Strongly disagree (1) (1)	Disagree (2) (2)	Somewhat disagree (3) (3)	Neutral (4) (4)	Somewhat Agree (5) (5)	Agree (6) (6)	Strongly Agree (7) (7)
In most ways my life is close to my ideal (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The conditions of my life are excellent (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am satisfied with my life (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Below are several statements that you may agree or disagree with. Please indicate your agreement with each item by selecting one of the response options ranging from "I disagree a lot" to "I agree a lot". Answer as honestly as you can.

	I disagree a lot (1) (1)	I disagree a little (2) (2)	Neutral (3) (3)	I agree a little (4) (4)	I agree a lot (5) (5)
In uncertain times, I usually expect the best (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
It's easy for me to relax (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
If something can go wrong for me, it will (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
I'm always optimistic about my future (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
I enjoy my friends a lot (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
it's important for me to keep busy (6) (6)	○	○	○	○	○
I hardly ever expect things to go my way (7) (7)	○	○	○	○	○
I don't get upset too easily (8) (9)	○	○	○	○	○
I rarely count on good things happening to me (9) (10)	○	○	○	○	○
Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad (10) (12)	○	○	○	○	○

We are now going to ask you a series of questions about your family. Please respond to the following: In my family ...

	Never (1) (1)	Hardly Ever (2) (2)	Sometimes (3) (3)	Most of the time (4) (4)	Always (5) (5)
Family members feel very close to each other (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
We can easily think of things to do together as a family (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Family members ask each other for help (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
I listen to what other family members have to say, even when I disagree (4) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Family members like to spend free time with each other (5) (6)	○	○	○	○	○
I am available when others in the family want to talk to me (6) (7)	○	○	○	○	○

Please respond to the following: And remember, please answer according to your own feelings and experience, rather than how you think "most people" would or should answer

	Never (1) (1)	Hardly Ever (2) (2)	Sometimes (3) (3)	Most of the time (4) (4)	Always (5) (5)
We fight a lot in our family (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
In our family, family members rarely show anger (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Sometimes, people in my family get so angry that they throw things (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Family members hardly ever lose their tempers in my family (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
In my family, family members often criticize each other (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
In my family, family members sometimes hit each other (6) (6)	○	○	○	○	○
In my family, family members try to smooth things over and keep peace (7) (7)	○	○	○	○	○
In my family, family members try to out-do each other (8) (8)	○	○	○	○	○
In my family, we don't get anywhere by raising our voices (9) (9)	○	○	○	○	○

The next questions are about you and your experiences on the United States mainland. Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following questions

	Strongly Disagree (1) (1)	Disagree (2) (2)	Neutral (3) (3)	Agree (4) (4)	Strongly Agree (5) (5)
I don't have the same chances in life as people from other backgrounds (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
People from Puerto Rico are not welcome here (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
My family and I would be treated better if we were more like other migrant groups (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
It is hard for me to do well at work because of where I am from (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Employers treat people from Puerto Rico differently than they treat people from other countries (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
People in this country often criticize people from Puerto Rico (6) (6)	○	○	○	○	○

Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following questions

	Strongly Disagree (1) (1)	Disagree (2) (2)	Neutral (3) (3)	Agree (4) (4)	Strongly Agree (5) (5)
I didn't have the same chances in life as people from other backgrounds (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
People from Puerto Rico were not welcome here (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
My family and I would have been treated better if we were more like other migrant groups (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
It was hard for me to do well at work because of where I was from (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Employers treated people from Puerto Rico differently than they treat people from other countries (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
People in the US often criticized people from Puerto Rico (6) (6)	○	○	○	○	○

Please indicate how often you experience the following

	Not at all (1) (1)	Rarely (2) (2)	Sometimes (3) (3)	Often (4) (4)	Almost Always (5) (5)
How often do employers treat you unfairly or negatively because you are Puerto Rican? (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
How often do people you don't know treat you unfairly or negatively because you are Puerto Rican? (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
How often do people (such as police and shopkeepers) treat you unfairly or negatively because you are Puerto Rican? (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
How often do you feel that others behave in an unfair or negative way toward Puerto Ricans? (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent do you feel that you are not wanted in US society? (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent do you feel that you are not accepted by other Americans?(6) (6)	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent do you feel that other Americans have something against you? (7) (7)	○	○	○	○	○

Please indicate how often you experienced the following when you were in the US ?

	Not at all (1) (1)	Rarely (2) (2)	Sometimes (3) (3)	Often (4) (4)	Almost Always (5) (5)
How often did employers treat you unfairly or negatively because you were Puerto Rican? (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
How often did people you didn't know treat you unfairly or negatively because you were Puerto Rican? (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
How often did people (such as police and shopkeepers) treat you unfairly or negatively because you were Puerto Rican? (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
How often did you feel that others behaved in an unfair or negative way toward Puerto Ricans? (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent did you feel that you are not wanted in US society? (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent did you feel that you were not accepted by other Americans?(6) (6)	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent did you feel that other Americans have something against you? (7) (7)	○	○	○	○	○

When did you first move to Florida after the hurricane? If you do not remember the month, please choose the month you think is correct. Please write month day and year

____

What city or town were you in when the hurricane hit Puerto Rico?

____

Please respond to the following questions

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Did windows or doors break in the place you stayed during the hurricane? (1) (1)	○	○
Did you get hurt during the hurricane? (2) (2)	○	○
Did you see anyone else get hurt badly during the hurricane? (#) (4)	○	○
Did a pet you liked get hurt or die during the hurricane? (4) (5)	○	○
Did you get hit by anything falling or flying during the hurricane? (5) (6)	○	○
Was your home badly damaged or destroyed by the hurricane? (6) (7)	○	○
Were your possessions ruined by the hurricane? (7) (8)	○	○
Did you or your family have trouble getting enough food or water after the hurricane? (8) (9)	○	○
Did you have to live away from your family members for a week or more because of the hurricane?(9) (10)	○	○
Did you or your spouse lose their job because of the hurricane? (10) (11)	○	○
Did your pet run away or have to be given away because of the hurricane? (11) (12)	○	○
At any time during the hurricane, did you think you might die? (12) (13)	○	○

Below is a list of problems and complaints that some people have in response to stressful life experiences, including natural disasters. Please read each one carefully, and check the box to indicate how much you have been bothered by memories or thoughts related to the hurricane over the course of the PAST 30 days.

	Not at all (1) (1)	A little bit (2) (2)	Moderately (3) (3)	Quite a bit (4) (4)	Extremely (5) (5)
Repeated disturbing memories, thoughts, or images of the hurricane (1) (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Repeated, disturbing dreams about the hurricane (2) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Suddenly acting or feeling as if the hurricane were happening again (as if you were reliving it) (3) (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Feeling very upset when something reminded you of the hurricane (4) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Having physical reactions (e.g. heart pounding, trouble breathing, or sweating) when something reminded you of the hurricane (5) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Avoid thinking about or talking about the hurricane (6) (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Avoid activities or situations because they remind you of the hurricane (7) (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Trouble remembering important parts of the hurricane (8) (8)	○	○	○	○	○

Loss of interest in things that you enjoy (9) (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Feeling distant or cut off from other people (10) (10)	○	○	○	○	○
Feeling emotionally numb or being unable to have loving feelings for those close to you (11) (11)	○	○	○	○	○
Feeling as if your future will somehow be cut short (12) (12)	○	○	○	○	○
Trouble falling or staying asleep (13) (13)	○	○	○	○	○
Feeling irritable or having angry outbursts (14) (14)	○	○	○	○	○
Having difficulty concentrating (15) (15)	○	○	○	○	○
Being "super alert" or watchful on guard (16) (16)	○	○	○	○	○
Feeling jumpy or easily startled (17) (17)	○	○	○	○	○

Below is a list of how one may feel or behave. Please indicate how often you have felt the following over the last week

	Rare or Never (1) (1)	Sometimes or a few times (2) (2)	Frequently or often (3) (3)	Almost Always (4) (4)
I felt depressed (1) (1)	○	○	○	○
I felt everything I did required effort (2) (2)	○	○	○	○
My sleep was restless (3) (3)	○	○	○	○
I was happy (4) (4)	○	○	○	○
I felt alone (5) (5)	○	○	○	○
People were not nice to me (6) (6)	○	○	○	○
I enjoyed life (7) (7)	○	○	○	○
I felt sad (8) (8)	○	○	○	○
I felt people did not like me (9) (9)	○	○	○	○
I did not feel like doing anything (10) (10)	○	○	○	○

In the last 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by the following

	Not at all (1) (1)	Most days (2) (2)	More than half the days (3) (3)	Almost every day (4) (4)
Feeling nervous, anxious or tense (1) (1)	○	○	○	○
Unable not stop or control your worries (2) (2)	○	○	○	○
Worrying about many different things (3) (3)	○	○	○	○
Having difficulty relaxing (4) (4)	○	○	○	○
Being so restless it is difficult to sit calmly (5) (5)	○	○	○	○
Becoming bothered or irritated easily (6) (6)	○	○	○	○
Being fearful, as if something terrible could happen (7) (7)	○	○	○	○

Please answer the following questions about religious faith using the scale below. Indicate the level of agreement (or disagreement) for each statement.

	Strongly disagree (1) (1)	Disagree (2) (2)	Agree (3) (3)	Strongly Agree (4) (4)
My religious faith is extremely important to me (1) (1)	○	○	○	○
I pray daily (2) (2)	○	○	○	○
I look to my faith as a source of inspiration (3) (3)	○	○	○	○
I look to my faith as providing meaning and purpose in my life (4) (4)	○	○	○	○
I consider myself active in my father or church (5) (5)	○	○	○	○
My faith is an important part of who I am as a person (6) (6)	○	○	○	○
My relationship with God is extremely important to me (7) (7)	○	○	○	○
I enjoy being around other who share my faith (8) (8)	○	○	○	○
I look to my faith as a source of comfort (9) (9)	○	○	○	○
My faith impacts many of my decisions (10) (10)	○	○	○	○

AID WORKER FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

Set 1 - Please respond to the following statements:

- Crisis migrants don't have the same chances in life as people from other backgrounds
- People from Puerto Rico are not welcome here (2) (2)
- Their families would be treated better if we were more like other migrant groups
- It is hard for them to do well at work because of where they are from
- Employers treat people from Puerto Rico differently than they treat people from other countries
- People in this country often criticize people from Puerto Rico

Set 2 – Please respond to the following statements:

- Crisis migrants don't have the same chances in life as people from other backgrounds
- People from Puerto Rico were not welcome here
- Their families would have been treated better if they were more like other migrant groups
- It was hard for them to do well at work because of where they are from
- Employers treated people from Puerto Rico differently than they treat people from other countries
- People in the US often criticized people from Puerto Rico

Set 4 – Please respond to the following statements:

- Religious faith is extremely important to them
- They are active in their church
- Their faith is an important part of who they are as a person
- They looked to their faith as a source of comfort

Set 5 – Please respond to the following statements/questions:

- Crisis migrants south out faith groups in the wake for their displacement
- What social service proved most helpful?
- What needs did you within a month of disaster? Year? Two Years? Today?

Appendix B. Ethical Considerations Worksheet

Consent Forms Template

Confidentiality/Anonymity

ATS Consent Form Template

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

PUERTO RICAN CRISIS MIGRATION:
A PASTORAL RESPONSE TO HURRICANE MARIA CRISIS MIGRANTS

You are invited to be in a research study being done by The Reverend Jose Rodriguez-Sanjurjo, a doctoral student, from Asbury Theological Seminary. You are invited because you either (1) served helping families who arrived to Orlando from Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria; or (2) you arrived in Orlando after Hurricane Maria.

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to participate in a focus group and complete a survey where you will be asked to answer questions concerning your experiences in the aftermath of Hurricane Maria.

If anyone else is given information about you, they will not know your name. A number or initials will be used instead of your name.

You will participate in a focus group with other adults that arrived to Orlando after Hurricane Maria. Audio will be recorded. Confidentiality will be encouraged by cannot be guaranteed due to the presence of other participants. You will be asked to fill out a confidential survey. All data will be stored in locked cabinets or behind password protected electronic device. All data will be destroyed after the project is complete.

You will be asked personal and sensitive questions about your experiences to include your emotional state, private behaviors and instances of aggression or violence in the home. You do not have to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable and you can withdraw from the study at any time.

You may feel uncomfortable or emotionally triggered; however, please know you can withdraw from the study at any time without consequence. There will be pastoral care on hand and you can also reach out free of charge to licensed social workers at the church should you need someone to talk to.

If something makes you feel uncomfortable in any way while you are in the study, please tell the Reverend Maytee de la Torre who can be reached at maytetdiaz@yahoo.es. You can refuse to respond to any or all of the questions, and you will be able to withdraw from the process at any time without penalty.

If you have any questions about the research study, please contact the Reverend Jose Rodriguez at padre@iglesiajesusdenazaret.com.

Signing this paper means that you have read this or had it read to you, and that you want to be in the study. If you do not want to be in the study, do not sign the paper. Being in the study is up to you, and no one will be upset if you do not sign this paper or even if you change your mind later. You agree that you have been told about this study and why it is being done and what to do.

______________________________________   ________________
Signature of Person Agreeing to be in the Study   Date Signed

Confidentiality Agreement

This form may be used for individuals who will be assisting the researcher with a variety of research tasks (e.g., audio or video recording, transcribing data, etc.)

I, __________________, will be assisting the researcher by reviewing and coding all data collected. I may also be translating data collected into English.

I agree to abide by the following guidelines regarding confidentiality:

1. Hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual(s) that may be revealed during the course of performing research tasks throughout the research process and after it is complete.

2. Keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher(s).*

3. Keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession (e.g., using a password-protected computer).

4. Return all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the *Researcher(s)* when I have completed the research tasks.

5. After consulting with the *Researcher(s),* erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher(s)* (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive) upon completion of the research tasks.

______________________	________________	________________
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

Researcher(s)

______________________	________________	________________
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

Appendix E. Other

Approval by Asbury Theological Seminary's Institutional Review Board (IRB) Committee:
The signature below indicates that Jose Rodriguez's proposal has been reviewed by the IRB Committee, necessary changes have been made by the researcher(s) to protect the research subjects, as determined by the IRB Committee; and the proposal has received the final approval by the IRB Committee.

SIGNATURE A. Anderson DATE 12-21-2020

NAME TYPED Alexandra Anderson
Chairperson of the IRB Committee

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