Care roles and motherhood in forced migration: Venezuelan mothers living in Lima and New York City

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Care Roles and Motherhood in Forced Migration: Venezuelan Mothers Living in Lima and New York City

by

Daniela Rebeca Ugarte Villalobos

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Abstract

To the extent that the Venezuelan crisis deepened, more than 5 million Venezuelan citizens had fled the country in May of 2021. This migration has impacted the continent in numerous ways and their receiving countries of the diaspora since it is one of the region's unique and extensive migration phenomena. However, this forced migration due to the country's humanitarian crisis has also impacted the families that migrated outside Venezuela. This research focuses on Venezuelan mothers who migrated to Lima, Peru, and NYC, the US. It analyses how this forced migration has changed these women's care roles and motherhood roles inside their families. To collect the data, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 23 Venezuelan mothers in each city who migrated and were living in Lima and NYC, correspondingly.

Fiddling suggests that forced migration has generated a more gendered division of labor inside the families of these women, where they are who burden most of these responsibilities. In this way, the care tasks become their responsibilities compared to those they have back in Venezuela, and the lack of support networks exacerbated this work. Moreover, Venezuelan mothers need to adapt to new motherhood roles due to the new living conditions and be in charge of their families' emotional labor. All this generates an extra emotional cost for Venezuelan mothers, added to the uncertainty and mourning that forced migration generates.
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Introduction

At the turn of the twenty-first century, under the presidency of Hugo Chávez, Venezuela was thought to provide an alternative model of development with greater social equality in Latin America (Hetland, 2018). However, the Venezuelan model was based on using the revenue from high oil prices to finance generous social and economic policies. When those prices fell, the country entered a severe economic crisis (Buxton, 2016; Hetland, 2018).

After Chávez's death, with the ascent of Nicolás Maduro to the presidency, an already unstable situation worsened. A humanitarian crisis soon emerged, characterized by shortages of food, medicine, and electricity (Parent and Freier, 2019). Meanwhile, the government's answer to a growing opposition became repressive, with the imposition of curfews, mass arrests, and extrajudicial killings (Parent and Freier, 2019).

By May 2021, more than 5 million Venezuelans had fled their country (UNCHUR, 2021), most of them in precarious conditions. Their migration has had a profound impact across the region, especially for Colombia, Peru, and Chile that have received the largest share of population flows (UNCHUR, 2021). Of 5 643 665 Venezuelans, only around 47% had a regular migratory status by May 2021 (UNCHUR, 2021). However, this number excludes those who enter in irregular ways to different countries. Moreover, only 171 793 Venezuelan citizens have been recognized as refugees, and 850 818 are waiting for their petition to be processed (UNCHUR, 2021). In this context, Peru and the United States are the countries with the most unresolved petitions for asylum.

Venezuelan migration studies explain the diaspora in three primary waves. The first began in 2000, with the migration of the upper-middle class, business owners, and students. This emigration was small, based on political reasons and opposition to the Chavez regimen. Their
destinations were mainly the US and Europe. The second wave started around 2012, with a decrease in oil prices. This situation led to an increase in political repression, shortage of food and medicines. In this wave, the migrants’ profiles became more diverse, as did their destinations, including the US, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Colombia. (Acosta, Blouin and Freier, 2019).

The third wave began after Chavez's death and when Nicolas Maduro was elected. This wave was fleeing a humanitarian crisis and the significant worsening of the country's social, economic, and political condition (Paez and Vivaz, 2017). This wave arrived primarily in Latin America, especially Colombia, Peru, and Chile, due to geographic proximity, the resources necessary to arrive at those countries, and the legal barriers these states had at the beginning of this crisis. The characteristics of these migrants are more diverse and include all social groups, regardless of income, educational level, or profession (Paez and Vivaz, 2017).

Even though most studies use these three waves to understand Venezuelan migration, these waves are ideal types, so the distinction between them is not that clear in reality, and some characteristics and temporalities can overlap with each other. This becomes more complex in Latin American countries that receive migrants, especially from the third wave that is highly diverse. Therefore, some third-wave migrants share characteristics with migrants of the first and second waves because of this heterogeneity. Due to the variability in the characteristics of Venezuelan migrants, for this study, I have created my ideal types, which are explained in section 1. These ideal types are based on the pathways out of Venezuela of the mothers I interviewed in each city.

Due to the diversity of the Venezuela diaspora in the global north and the global south countries, in this thesis, I seek to compare how forced migration has impacted Venezuelan mothers. Therefore, I will mainly focus on understanding how this migration has reshaped the care roles
and motherhood of Venezuelan women living in New York City (NYC), an example of a global north city, and Lima, an example of a global south city. This aims to recognize how forced migration impacts the gendered roles and the distribution of labor inside the families.

1.1 Venezuela migration as forced migration.

Venezuelan migration is unique because of its volume and because it is a forced migration flow within the region. The usual distinction between forced and voluntary migration can be problematic: it attributes political or conflict-based motivators to forced migration while positing primarily economic drivers for the voluntary kind (Botia, 2019; Betts, 2009), but realities on the ground are never so clear-cut. Forced migration—which encompasses political refugees and asylum seekers and displaced populations within or outside national borders—can have different causes beyond those of a political nature (Castles, 2013; Betts, 2009).

In this sense, forced migration has been linked to refugee studies (Castle, 2013; Betts, 2009). However, recent studies have tried to amplify this category to understand that forced displacement can respond to a diverse, complex combination of factors (Botia, 2019; Betts, 2013). Therefore, recent studies have shown how political and economic crises can lead to forced migrations (Botia, 2019; Davenport et al., 2003). This concept is similar to the one stated by Betts (2013) as survival migration, where people migrate as the last resource because there is an existential threat, and the only option left is migration.

In this document, I argue that the Venezuelan humanitarian crisis, which has forced millions to migrate in search of survival, can be traced back to both political and economic roots generating a forced migration. This also disrupts the dichotomy between economic and political migrants used to understand asylum-seekers worldwide (Botia, 2019). In the case of Venezuelan migration, as Botia (2019) stated, the economic and political push factors of the Venezuelan crisis
and the failed State have become a generalized disruption of people's ordinary tolerable existence (p.105), making them non-voluntary migrants (or survival migrants).

Based on the uniqueness of the Venezuelan diaspora in the region, research on this diaspora will contribute to the literature on forced migration in North and South America and their distinctions. This document explores how forced migration has impacted Venezuelan mothers in two different cities in the global North and the global South. Therefore, this study aims to understand how gendered distribution of labor inside the families is changed when forced migration happens and how this has an emotional cost for women in the families, no matter which cities they arrived in.

1.2 Venezuelan migration in the United States
The United States (US) became the second country with more asylum requests from the Venezuelan population after Peru in January 2020 (UNCHUR, 2020). However, until 2018, the Venezuelan population in the US was only the fifth-largest immigrant group from South America, after migrant communities from Colombia, Brazil, Peru, and Ecuador (Hassan and Batalova, 2020). Most of the Venezuelan diaspora in the US is concentrated in Miami, but by 2018 New York City was the fourth city with the highest concentration of Venezuelan citizens living in the metropolitan area (Hassan and Batalova, 2020). Notably, this number is rapidly increasing to the extent that the crisis in Venezuela has worsened, and the third wave of migrants is also arriving in the US.

By 2015, about 85% of Venezuelan migrants living in the US showed a disagreement about the political direction in Venezuela under Maduro’s government. This was because of the concerns about the ongoing crisis in the country and the repression of the opposition. A similar percentage shows concern about the lack of jobs, food scarcity, and medicine supplies shortages that the
country was going through (Cardenas, 2018). However, by 2015 a significant part of Venezuelan migrants were part of the regime's political opposition (Cardenas, 2018). In terms of the migratory pathway to the US for the Venezuelan population, it is possible to see that until 2016, the primary pathway was family-based migration or employment sponsorships (Cardenas, 2018). However, as political, and economic unrest continued to increase in Venezuela, the number of US asylum applications filed has increased exponentially (Cardenas, 2018).

Additionally, there was a change in the migratory pathway for the Venezuelan population in the US in 2021 when the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) was designated for Venezuela for 18 months starting March 2021. Therefore, it is possible that because of the ongoing crisis, there is no official register of the magnitude of the Venezuelan diaspora, and this has become more diversified. However, family and community connections still enable migration.

1.3 Venezuelan migration in Peru
Peru hosts the second-largest Venezuelan immigrant population, after Colombia, and has the most significant number of Venezuelans seeking refugee status. In January of 2020, more than 861,000 Venezuelans were living in Peru (UNCHUR, 2020), and 80% of them in Lima (INEI, 2019), the country's capital and most populous city. According to the Peruvian government's official survey, 47.7% of Venezuelans in Peru are women, and their ages range between 20 to 34 years old (INEI, 2019).

Confronted with such dense migratory flows, Peru's immigration policy has changed from an open-door system to essentially closing access to Venezuelans fleeing the crisis and seeking refugee status (Amnesty International, 2020). Peru ceased to recognize Venezuelan immigrants as refugees and eliminated other types of residencies permits previously available to them, such as
the temporary stay permit known as the Permiso Temporal de Permanencia (PTP)\(^1\) (Amnesty International, 2020). The PTP allowed Venezuelan migrants to access a regular migratory status, “Carnet de extranjería,” after two years of living in the country.

However, in June of 2019, the Peruvian government also changed its asylum protocols and started requiring humanitarian visas and a passport to enter the country (Amnesty International, 2020). Unfortunately, for most of the Venezuelan population, access to the passport has become almost impossible because of the high cost, corruption, web malfunction, and the abuse of public officers (Amnesty International, 2020). With this, the request for asylum at the border is frequently met with denial, bureaucratic obstacles, and strict criteria that most migrants do not meet (Amnesty International, 2020). These policies left millions of Venezuelan citizens stranded at the border in perilously unsafe conditions or at the mercy of human traffickers.

**1.4 Methods**

To understand how this forced migration impacts Venezuelan women living in these two different cities, I conducted 46 in-depth semi-structured interviews with Venezuelan mothers living in New York City (NYC), United States (US), and Lima, Peru. These interviews took place between July and September 2020, when part of the COVID-19 pandemic-related policies decreed by the government remained in place. The mothers interviewed had been under lockdown for more than 60 days as both cities' governments attempted to contain the spread of the virus.

These interviews are framed in the grounded theory method (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2015). Due to mandated social-distancing restrictions, the interviews were conducted via video calls. In

\(^1\) The *Permiso Temporal de Permanencia* (PTP) served as a temporary study-and-work permit for Venezuelan immigrants. It was also a way for them to start on the path towards the *Carnet de extranjería* (permanent resident card) that signals a more regular status in the country. However, the government stopped issuing PTPs in October of 2019.
most cases, I used the WhatsApp application because this was the application the participants felt most confident using since they used it almost daily to communicate with their families back in Venezuela. All the interviews were held in Spanish as a mother tongue for the participants and me. The interviews length was approximately one hour and 40 minutes each. All interviewees were asked to reflect on several topics in each case, including their migration process, gender roles in their family, their routines in Venezuela, the distribution of tasks inside the house, and how the pandemic had changed their daily post-migration routines.

Participants were recruited with the help of four institutions working with the Venezuelan population in NYC and Lima. In all the cases, I speak with one representative of the organization to explain my project to see if they knew mothers interested in speaking with me. After this, I gave them the information of the project and my number so women can reach out to me if they were interested. At the end of each interview, all mothers who participated received a gift card of 20 dollars in NYC and 13 dollars in Lima.

In New York City, I contacted Venezuelan and Immigrants Aid (VIA), an organization led by a Venezuelan couple that focuses on helping the Venezuelan community get the orientation they need regarding migration documents and creating a Venezuelan community. This institution contacted me with ten women to interview in the first stage of my research. I also reached out through a Facebook group of Venezuelans living in the city to find mothers who would like to tell me their migration story, which allow me to get six more mothers to interview in the first stage of the research.

Nevertheless, due to the pandemic, the VIA organization has expanded present online, so some of the mothers I research out via Facebook had some contact with the organization, even when they did not actively participate in the organization. After these recruitments, the rest of the
women I interviewed in NYC who were part of the snowball sampling were mothers I have already talked to comment the project with their acquaintances and give them my cellphone number.

However, because of the presence of VIA organization in my sample in NYC, some significant limitations need to be considered. The first is that VIA has done an essential job of advocating for Venezuelan migration as forced migration. So, most of the women I interview already recognize themselves as part of the forced migration diaspora. Also, there is a similar characteristic in the participants in NYC, especially in the level of educational attainment they have and how they used this capital to connect to the organization. Therefore, most of the participants in the sample, especially those who arrive after 2006, were professional women. Also, for most of these women, VIA is the only support network in the migration process.

For NYC interviewees, the average age was 43 years old, and all participants had at least one child. For example, Melissa, the youngest, was 29 years old and had arrived in NYC in 2016 but left her son back in Venezuela. In contrast, the oldest participant was Alma, 66 years old, who arrived in NYC in 2016 with her two children. Thus, the women I interviewed have lived in NYC from 4 to 22 years. During this time, they reflected on how the gendered distribution of labor within their families had shifted over time because of changes their families experienced in NYC.

In Lima, I contacted the Centro de Atención Psicosocial (CAPS) and a shelter for Venezuelan immigrants located in one of the city districts with the highest concentration of this population. In both cases, I contacted representatives of the organizations to explain my research so they can give my number to women who could be interested in taking with me. On the other side, I also use my networks in Peru with contacts with Venezuelan women living in Lima. This gave me a more diverse sample than the one I have in NYC. Therefore, the mothers I interviewed
in Lima have a more diverse educational attainment and diverse backgrounds in Venezuela. However, this is also a response to the diversification of the migration wave that arrived in Peru.

After the initial recruitment by the two institutions and my personal connections, I use a snowball sampling to complete the number of my interviews. So, one-third of my sample of sample was gathered by women I interviewed by snowball sampling. This also limits my Lima sample, especially because some of these women have some familiar kind between them. In addition, the other limitation for my sample in Lima is that Venezuelan networks via social media are tight between the groups that help each other migrate to Lima. So, it is possible that even when my sample presents diverse characteristics, the networks I have interview are not that diverse.

In the case of Lima interviewees, the average age was 33 years old, ten years less than in NYC, but these women also had at least one child. The youngest participant, Keidy\(^2\), who is 20 years old, arrived in Lima at the end of 2018 and gave birth in this city. In contrast, Maritza was the oldest one, 59 years old, and had migrated with her teenage son after her two older children migrated to Lima. Thus, the women I interviewed had arrived in Lima at different points starting in 2016. Their reflections on shifts in the gendered distribution of labor within their families were mainly done comparing them to their experiences in Venezuela.

Furthermore, another limitation interviews in both cities presented were the internet connection. Lima's case with an internet connection problem was a challenge for some of the interviews I made. In general, interviewing by video calls has also implied not being able to see the interviewees' body language, which could be a challenge. In addition, the internet had failed on more than one occasion. There were interruptions in the middle of the conversation because other calls were received. Also, women were worried that others would be present in the house.

\(^2\) All names used in this paper are pseudonyms, to protect participant's confidentiality.
during the interview, even when they are in a separate room. Furthermore, on more than one occasion, I talked with the mothers with their children present in the room because no one else was able to take care of them, and this has also meant for some of them an impossibility to speak freely of some situations at home or that they need to pay attention to their children simultaneously to the interview. Nonetheless, for some women taking via video call has meant they could speak more freely about more personal aspects such as depression, anxiety, and the struggles of being a mother.

Moreover, another limitation present in this research is that the translation is presented in Spanish because the interviews took place in Spanish. Therefore, the quotes for this research also lost some of the substance. I have tried to make the quotes the more trustworthy possible to the original dialogue with the participants, but sometimes translation lost details.

Nonetheless, the small sample of 46 interviews for the Venezuela diaspora in both cities is vital to highlight those results found in this research are not representative beyond these groups of women I have talked to. However, the themes that appear during these interviews bring light into recurrent aspects and nuances about care and motherhood in forced migrant women that are important to consider.

Another important aspect as a limitation of the research is that I’m comparing two cities that have different dynamics and actors in which Venezuelan women interact. In this way, for example, Venezuelan women in NYC have a bigger Latino community in which they interact than the ones in Lima. Moreover, both cities have different migration systems; and even when both generate uncertainty for the migrants, they generate different dynamics in how migrants are integrated into the labor market and city dynamics. Therefore, considering the comparison between
these cities is a richness to understand the dynamics of care and motherhood in the Venezuelan diaspora. Still, it also has their limitation and differences depending on the city they live in.

I used pseudonyms for all the participants to keep their data confidential for the analysis and writing process. I started with the open coded analysis reading all the memos I wrote after the interviews and then listening again to the interviews I have recorded with the participants' permission. After that, I created the principal codes themes that were common in several interviews. Then I used Atlas- Ti software to code the transcript of the interviews based on the code I already have created and break it down into smaller ones if necessary.

Finally, to reflect on my positionality during the research. In the case of both interviews, being women help me gain their trust as women and mothers. Many of them, especially the oldest one, saw me as a young woman who could advise on maternity and care. However, my positionality was also different between the mothers in NYC and Lima. Women in NYC saw me as a migrant, that lives in the same state; and even when I have not passed the same struggles as them because of my migratory status, class, capitals, and especially my capacity of going back home, they also talk about the city and the country with an implicit assuming that I will understand some of the problems in the adaptation to the US. However, for women in Lima, the situation was different since I’m Peruvian and they are living in a xenophobic environment asking about my country need an extra effort from my part reassuring that I was okay with them talking badly about Peru, and especially that I was against all the xenophobic acts against Venezuelan citizens. Besides, Venezuelan women in Peru were taking me in a specific difficult time because of the COVID-19 related measure that impacted the hardest economically, mental health, and social relationships.
Nonetheless, in both cases, I was aware of that power relationship I held during the interview since women were trusting me and reexperience, in some cases, unpleasant memories. In this way, I gave them the option of ending the interview if they felt uncomfortable or skipping some specific topics. Nevertheless, for many of them, talking about their migration experience is a form of advocacy about their situation and one of the few spaces they have to talk about this process.

1.5. Thesis distribution
To explain how forced migration impacts the care and motherhood roles of the Venezuelan mothers living in NYC and Lima, the present document is organized into four main sections and conclusions in the end. The first section describes the pathways out of Venezuela for the 46 women I interviewed. This part analyzes the different characteristics of the mothers who migrated to NYC and Lima. This section also explains the ideal types of mothers I create for both cities based on the interviewees' characteristics and their migration stories.

The second section explains how the care tasks are distributed in the families and how women shoulder most of these responsibilities. This section also explains how these reproduction tasks have changed compared to Venezuela due to the forced migration process and the emotional cost of women.

The third section explains the emotional work motherhood in the foreign city has implied for Venezuelan mothers. In this part, I also highlight the different styles of motherhood women I talked to have adopted to meet all the motherhood expectations.

The four-section deepens how the COVID-19 pandemic generates a change in their care roles and motherhood practice as forced migrants. This section explains how COVID exacerbated
the burden women were already carrying for their families and generated more emotional labor for them.

The study has shown that women in NYC and Lima have different pathways out of Venezuela because of their capitals and the possibilities to use them strategically. So, even when mothers who migrate to NYC with more human, financial, and social capitals also end up reproducing more gendered distribution of labor inside their families and in the labor market where they are inserted, the endpoint in the receiving city is similar in both cases. Therefore, in Lima and NYC, the gendered distribution of labor becomes more exacerbated because forced migration causes downwards mobility, devaluation of their capitals, and the lack of social support for childcare and care activities. This generates extra burdens for mothers and more emotional labor for them since they need to manage their families’ feelings and adapt to their new living conditions in their receiving cities.

Even though this intensification of the gendered distribution of labor inside the families forces Venezuelan mothers to shoulder most of the care work and emotional work for their families, there is an essential difference between the mothers of both cities: the transnational ties. Due to the closeness to Venezuela and the less strict migration laws, mothers in Lima have maintained more transnational mobility to support their families. This has included traveling for them or their family members, even when the condition of these women could be considered more precarious. In contrast, mothers in NYC have become more isolated because of the migratory conditions in the US and because of the resources necessary to arrive in NYC.

Finally, Venezuelan mothers are forced to manage a new type of emotional work that forced migration has carried with it. This is because they act as mediators between their family’s mourning, especially their children’s, and their adaptation to the new cities. This emotional labor
has an additional cost for these women, whether they live in NYC or Lima because it implies constantly performing against their framing and feeling rules. Moreover, as forced migrants, Venezuelan mothers' emotional work is intertwined with the yearning for their home country and the uncertainty of the possibility of returning.
Section 1: Pathways out of Venezuela

In the introduction, I explained why Venezuelan migration could be understood as forced migration due to the country's political and economic crisis, which has forced millions of Venezuelan citizens out of the country. However, most Venezuelan migration is not recognized as such in most countries around the world.

This section will describe the characteristics of the women I interviewed in both cities: NYC and Lima. Based on these characteristics, I will propose a typology to explain the diverse patterns in motherhood I found in the interviews. Additionally, in this section, I will explain how different types of Venezuelan mothers utilize various forms of capital they have access to in their home country to migrate, even under these conditions of forced migration.

2.1 Theoretical Background

Traditional migration literature frames women as passive actors who follow their partners’ migration without considering the nuances of gender during the migration process (Pessar and Mahler, 2003). However, in the last few decades, studies have highlighted the feminization of migration, especially in the global south flow to the global north (Herrera, 2012; Hochshild, 2002; Parreñas, 2015; Williams, 2010). In this literature, the global care chains due to globalization processes and the privatization of social reproduction have gained particular attention. These two processes allow women to enter the job market by outsourcing their care tasks and increasing the demand for female migrants (Herrera, 2012; Parreñas, 2015).

This migration process reproduces the gender division of labor in the job market in the private life of migrant women, especially if they come from countries that have gender roles that perpetuate the stereotype of women as the primary caregivers in the households (Frank and Hou, 2015; Hochshild and Machung, 1989). For example, specialized literature has found that some men
who migrated alone, were alone for several years, and then returned to their country have a more active role in their household tasks (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Nevertheless, studies have also shown that it is more difficult for women who migrated with their families to break free from the gender division of labor, even if they work outside their homes (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). This can also be because the household becomes a place of satisfaction when the job space is not, so they become less likely to question the gender hierarchies (George, 2005).

This literature has found that with time in the receiving country, gender roles can become more flexible (Frank and Hou, 2015; Hirsch; 2000). Furthermore, research suggests that migration can become a catalyst for women's empowerment (Bastia y Busse, 2011; González y Sassones, 2016; Parrado y Flippen, 2005; Parreñas, 2015; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Pessar, 2005). This is because women, after migration, can become the primary breadwinner in the households for their families. This allows new economic positions and independence inside their family, giving women active agency in the family negotiations and decision making (George, 2005; Ghosh, 2009; González y Sassones, 2016; Salazar Parreñas, 2015; Pessar, 2005).

These scholars have also argued that for women who have found new spaces outside their household, the willingness to return to their country of origin is less than men because of the new freedom they have regarding their traditional labor division inside the household (Pessar, 2005). In opposition, with the improved women's status in the household, men experience relatively less authority and privileges, and many aspire to return to their countries of origin (Pessar, 2005; Menjivar, 2000). Other scholars such as Foner (1999, 2005) and Parrado and Flippen (2005) argue that culturally different gender patterns in the receiving countries can weaken the home countries' masculine domination and generate a more equal division of labor inside the household.
Migration literature focuses on how women and their families negotiate household migratory decisions in this context. The traditional view has been that families make this decision together and rationalize by seeing the benefits of migration and the remittances it can bring to the family (Paul, 2015). Nevertheless, negotiations inside the households are based not only on the power dynamics of the relationships but also on gender roles and disjuncture in the stakes each individual has in the migratory process. In this way, women negotiate their migration process performing roles as "caring mothers" (Paul, 2015).

Migratory decisions are not solely household-level processes. Scholars, such as Livingston (2006) and Côté et al. (2015), have shown that social capital, understood as the social ties the migrant has before migrating and upon arriving at a new country, are essential. These networks tend to decrease the cost of migration because they provide practical assistance and lead to contacts for employment. They are divided between strong ties, commonly referring to family and close friends, and weak links, that refer to a broader community (Côté et al., 2015; Pfeffer and Parra, 2009). However, these ties and networks also work by gender: for example, studies have shown that women tend to find jobs on their arrival to the new cities, but these jobs tend to be informal (Livingston, 2006). Therefore, social networks between women increase the likelihood of migration in countries where gender equity is higher. This means that countries where the gender economy equity gaps are lower having a higher incidence of female-led families. In contrast, male-led migration patterns increase the likelihood of migration in countries where gender equity is low (Côté et al., 2015).

Nonetheless, most migration literature focuses on the south to north migration flows. In the case of the south-to-south migration, the literature is much scarcer. It tends to focus primarily on the insertion of women in the care economy markets of the other countries of the regions (Herrera,
To have a broader view of south-to-south migration, it is vital to understand how geopolitics in the receiving country intersect with other aspects such as gender, race, and social class inserted in this regional flow of migrations (Herrera, 2012).

Venezuelan out-migration:

Venezuelan migration, especially in the last few years, has been characterized by an increased flow to Latin American destinations. Gendered aspects of this migration have focused mainly on the integration (Bahamondes, Laporte, Margathom and et al., 2020; Carroll et al., 2020; Perez and Ugarte, 2021; Olivieri et al., 2020) or the representation (Blouin and Button, 2018; Freier and Perez, 2021) of women in their receiving countries. However, we have less of an understanding of how the gender expectations and relationships of migrants shape their decisions to leave Venezuela, nor how the migration process itself shifts gender relations. This section will describe the characteristics of the Venezuelan women interviewed and their pathway out of their home country, whether to Lima or NYC.

2.2 The pathway towards New York City

The 23 women I interviewed who migrated to New York City can be divided into two ideal types of groups. I called the first group the “American dreamer” mothers because their first reason for migration was to find better opportunities for themselves and their families. These four women migrated to NYC between 1999 and 2006 when Chávez had won the presidency for the first time in their home country. Three of the four women I classified in this group migrated for personal reasons. For example, Fabiola -47 years old- migrated when she finished college to escape a violent relationship, using the excuse that she was leaving temporarily to learn English. However, when
Chávez won the Venezuelan election for the second time, she decided not to go back to her country. A few months after she decided to stay in NYC, she became pregnant with her first daughter.

Barbara’s case is similar. She migrated alone in 2006, leaving her daughter with her mother in Venezuela because she was in an abusive relationship. She told me: “I decided to come here, mainly because there in Venezuela I suffered from domestic violence from my father’s daughter. He always threatened to kill me; wherever he found me, he would kill me, and all that. In the beginning, the plans were to come here with my daughter, but things did not go as planned”. Barbara is the only woman in this group that was not able to bring her daughter from Venezuela. A year after she arrived, she married her new partner and had her first son in the US. She then went on to have two more children in the receiving country.

In this group, Barbara is also a unique case because she has a daughter back in Venezuela that she has not seen in 14 years, since she is the only one of these 4 women who cannot obtain legal status in the US. Her situation became more complicated since she married an undocumented immigrant, like her, a year after arriving.

Alma, who migrated in 2003, is the only one that said she left Venezuela because of the political situation. She told me how the government started to get involved in her son’s school. “When people tried to overturn Chávez, my son was studying in an all-male school… the school took him to the event… my son return all scared, altered, shouting… he told me, ‘Mom they had us locked up, we all had shouted ‘que muera Carmona’ [Carmona must die]’… and from them, I started thinking I had to leave… because this was not the end, and then the strike started”.

From this group of women, we can see that they migrated alone, and all of them studied back in Venezuela, obtaining either a technical or college degree. As expected, these women joined the informal labor market due to a lack of immigration status and their networks in the
receiving cities. These experiences reinforce what Hondagneu-Sotelo (2007) explains in the case of Latina women who worked as domestic workers in the US, where networks and migratory status reproduce this type of jobs. Despite their relatively higher level of education and social capital, these “American dreamer” moms arrived in NYC to work in the service sector, basically in care economy jobs. Most of them are still working today in cleaning houses or babysitting, but had several jobs before such as waitressing, cooking in restaurants, cleaning for companies, or other babysitting jobs. Now all of them have to establish their independent jobs with their regular clients. In the case of their migratory status, 3 of these women have obtained access to regular migratory status, either by their children or by marriage.

The second group of 19 mothers migrated to NYC between 20014 and 2019. I call these women the “crisis” mothers because the Venezuelan economic and political crisis pushed them out of the country and coming to NYC felt like a last resort option to live a safe, peaceful, and what they considered to be a worthy lifestyle for themselves and their children. Jennifer, who arrived in NYC in 2014 with her two children and husband, told me: “I was affected by the fact of being out of the house a lot because I used to be with my children and I missed them and things like that (…) But seeing them well… seeing them grow… knowing that they had what they needed… but knowing that there was not so much sacrifice… knowing that we could leave at any time, knowing that our peace was not taken away from us, that also balances the other part.” Jennifer expressed the sentiment of most of the “crisis” mothers, where they state that even the changes and sacrifices they needed to do in NYC have also had a positive impact for their families.

In the “crisis” mothers group, it is possible to find women like Camila, who clearly expresses how the political situation made her leave Venezuela. Camila - a mother of 5, with 4 of her children living with her in NYC- was a nurse back in her home country. She told me: "I would
never have left Venezuela; I loved my job (...) because when you are 40 years old, when you get there, you realize that it's a moment where you are already thinking about your retirement and harvesting what you have sown in your professional and family life... at 40 you would never consider starting from 0 anywhere other than your home…". Nevertheless, Camila did not see staying in Venezuela as an option because the government party managed the hospital where she worked. She spoke up against practices that favored the government's party and was accused of being of the opposition. Since then, Camila started being harassed in her work. Her boss recommended that she leave. Since she left Caracas in a hurry, she traveled to NYC first with her mother and her oldest daughter. Her husband, with their three sons, followed her months later.

Camila's history is similar to the stories of another 8 women in this group, where political reasons motivated their migration because of being viewed as in opposition to the government. For example, Adriana, a 42-year-old single mother of two children who worked in a bank in Venezuela, was harassed for being part of the opposition. The harassment was so extreme that she was attacked in the street by her neighbors. Adriana narrated how after the attack, even when she filed a complaint, there was no investigation: “There was never justice for what happened to me. And apart from that, our life… my life and the life of my children were in danger”. She decided to leave the country.

Luisa, a 39-year-old doctor with one daughter, has a similar story. She was part of an organization that voluntarily helped members of the opposition who were wounded during protests. Because of this, she started being targeted in her home and her job, receiving threats against her life. She told me that one day, after mass, her daughter told her: “‘Mom, last night I dreamed that you got arrested, that you were going to prison, and that the police took you’. And
I told her I suspected that too. And my husband was saying that ‘yes, we need to go, something is going to happen with you, there are a lot of people being arrested, they are people being tortured.’

Camila, Luisa, and Adriana are cases in which the political threat pushed them to flee the country. However, there are also situations like that of Carolina, a 50-year-old mother of two college-age sons, who felt that threat indirectly. Carolina told me: “I really didn’t participate [in the opposition] until the boys, my children, began to enter university. Of course, when I saw that there were many demonstrations -in 2016, 2017, when the repression against students was strongest-, I decided to look for other alternatives. Why? For security. Because, really, we were in danger, they were already putting the opponents in prison, and I decided to leave, well, before something happened…” So, even when the government or their supporters did not directly threaten Carolina, the fear that something could happen to her children was enough to motivate her family's migration.

These women framed their migration as a result of the political crisis pushing them out of their country. However, they also highlighted that the economic situation was another factor for their decision. This economic crisis implied that their wages were not enough to cover their basic needs because of everyday inflation. In addition, the shortages of basic needs as food and medicines also contributed to their decision to leave the country.

The worsening of the economic crisis is why the other 10 women of the “crisis” mothers group fled Venezuela. Lucía, a 38-year-old mother of 3 children, narrated how it was difficult to find medicine for his younger son: "I saw how the shortage of medicine was increasing day by day, and the price of everything was increasing… And I told myself there could be a moment when I could not have the money to cover my son’s medicine or to buy food". 
Like Lucía, Andrea, a “crisis” mother who arrived in NYC in 2018, illustrated how the economic crisis pushed her to migrate. “Well, I was desperate because I saw I could not afford clothes for my daughter... I had to buy fabrics to make them myself. I couldn't get clothes; I couldn't buy shoes; I had my parents who depended and still depend on me ... So, I thought all the time… What should I do? What should I do? Suddenly it occurred to me that my mom had a friend in NYC.” Andrea explained how their inability to afford what she considers essential goods for her daughter and to maintain their living conditions, even as a system engineer, motivated them to leave the country.

Lucía and Andrea’s situations exemplify the main reason for migration for several women in this group. They narrated how the inflation had gotten worse and that the national currency’s devaluation had affected their capacity to access food, medicines, and other goods. Because of this, even their salaries as professional women in most cases were not enough for the basic needs and supplies, such as "Harina PAN,\(^3\)" the price of which increased daily. This devaluation, plus the shortage of supplies, made them migrate. They consider that migration was the best option for their children and their family back in Venezuela, to whom they send remittances.

The characteristics of the “crisis” mothers are highly diverse, even when political and economic factors pushed them away. However, they share some characteristics. For example, all these 19 women have a college degree and practiced their profession before they migrated. Only one did not exercise her profession back in Venezuela since she became a mother and started to help in her husband's business. Regarding their marital status, 12 out of the 19 women are married. Of the other 7 women, 5 are single mothers and 2 are divorced. Also, only one of them had their

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\(^3\) It is a corn flour that is the base for different typical Venezuelan dishes like Arepas or hallacas.
first children in the US; the other 18 women had already become mothers before they migrated. Nevertheless, a few of them have given birth in the receiving country.

Concerning the migration order, it is possible to see that out of the most of these women that are married, 5 of them migrated with their entire family, 4 migrated months after their husbands arrived in the US, and 3 migrated alone and then their family followed them. In the case of the single mothers, most of them migrated before their children and then managed to bring them to the US. However, there are 3 mothers that I interviewed that migrated after their children, who were already young adults.

All the women I interviewed entered the US with a tourist visa. In most cases, they had visited the US before, so they had the visa before the US closed their embassy in Venezuela in 2019. This shows that the women's access to capital before they migrated allowed them to have a visa and travel outside the country on other occasions. Concerning their migratory status, 8 of them have petitioned for asylum in the US. They are in diverse stages of the process: a few have already gotten the first interview, but most of them are still waiting for the date to be set. Meanwhile, 10 of the “crisis” mothers are undocumented.

The 10 undocumented mothers narrated that they had fallen out of status because a year had passed since they arrived in the US, and they had not entered their asylum petition. However, there are three main reasons why they decided not to ask for asylum. The first one is misinformation. Some of these mothers reported that they were not aware of how the asylum process worked. Because of this, the lapse of time in which they could ask for asylum had already passed when they became aware of this option. The second reason is that they were advised against asking for asylum since they did not have a strong case of political persecution. In addition, since the humanitarian crisis does not qualify them for asylum, women who do not participate in the
opposition are advised against petitioning for asylum by diverse NGOs. The third reason is that some of these mothers were still undecided and unsure if they would stay in the US when the year in which they could ask for asylum passed. This made their migration more permanent. However, these women are not eligible for TPS.

In general, it is possible to see that the women in NYC have higher education in most cases. This is a signal of the capital these women have been able to mobilize for their migration process. Moreover, all these women entered the US with a tourist visa and overstayed. This visa had been issued before the US retired their embassy from Venezuela at the beginning of 2019. In Table 1 it is possible to see the main characteristics of the two groups that migrated to NYC.

### Table 1: New York City ideal mother types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Year of migration</th>
<th>Migration motivation</th>
<th>Highest degree</th>
<th>Migratory order</th>
<th>Children back home</th>
<th>Migratory status</th>
<th>Migrated to another country</th>
<th>Networks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“American Dreamer” mothers</td>
<td>1999-2006</td>
<td>Personal. Did not return due to the political situation</td>
<td>Technical or professional degree</td>
<td>First with children</td>
<td>No, with exception s.</td>
<td>Residency or green card</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Crisis” mothers</td>
<td>2014-2019</td>
<td>Mostly political reasons, also economic reasons</td>
<td>College degree</td>
<td>Alone / after partner/ with family</td>
<td>No, with exception s.</td>
<td>Undocumented or asylum request pending</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. The pathway to Lima

In the case of the women I interviewed in Lima, I found three different patterns. These patterns can be divided into three groups: the “stepping-stone” mothers that arrived between 2016 and 2017, the “connected” mothers that arrived in Lima between 2018 and early 2019, and the “last hope” mothers that arrived in Lima in the mid-late 2019 and early 2020.
Josefina exemplifies the first group, the “stepping-stone” mothers, composed of 4 women. Josefina is a 33-year-old mother with a 10-year-old daughter that left Caracas because "even though the situation was not as bad as it is now, the situation was already bad" then. This "bad situation" refers to shortages of food and medicines. Also, the volatility of the price of food, medicine, and diverse objects made it difficult to keep their living standard.

Josefina told me that before she migrated to Lima, she worked in Mexico for a year and then returned to Venezuela because she could not take her daughter to Mexico. She tried to work in Caracas for one year, but she said she could not find a job, not even in her family gym. Therefore, Josefina started working as a taxi driver. Nevertheless, what she was making was not enough, and the gas was at a higher price every day. Her income was not enough to support her daughter. "There is a moment when it hits you… Somehow… My daughter asked me ‘Mom, why is the "refri" [fridge] always empty?’… And of course, she was not used to that”. Josefina explained that her daughter was used to a more comfortable way of living because she had been sending remittances from Mexico a year ago.

Three of these four women found some financial stability over the years working in Lima^4. They have technical degrees, and in Venezuela, they were working in their respective occupations. However, when they arrived in Lima, they needed to start over in the informal services sector. As we can see, based on the statistics, most of the Venezuelan women are working in the city.

Eva, a mother of two children, of whom only one of them lives in Lima with her, told me a story similar to that of Josefina. After working in Panama by herself, she arrived first in Lima to her ex-boss’ home. Her ex-boss managed to get her a job sewing jeans in the country's biggest

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^4 However, for most of them the stability has disappeared with the pandemic and the measures to avoid the spread that have taken Peru to the economic recession most of them have lost this stability.
textile emporium. She worked more than 10 hours daily, and she slept in the same place where the jeans were sewed. “I could hear the machine while I tried to sleep, separated only by a curtain, in a mattress on the floor.” However, this job allowed her to bring her husband a few months later. Then she met a Venezuelan man in an ONG that helps Venezuelans in Peru, and there she was offered a job as a real estate broker, which allowed her to bring her mother to Lima.

Like the other two mothers I interviewed, Eva and Josefina were part of the first group of Venezuelan citizens who arrived in Lima around 2016. These women never considered migration to Lima as their first option. However, as in Eva's case, they ended up migrating to Lima because of the network they could use to help them get information and find somewhere to stay the first days they arrived in the city.

In these women's cases, migration to Lima was not their first choice; they migrated to other countries like Mexico and Panama or were planning to do it before migrating to Peru. However, they moved to Lima because it was cheaper and gave them more possibilities to bring their families with them. Only Janet migrated with her family after her husband had returned to Venezuela after being in Lima for 6 months. However, when I asked how they decided to migrate, she told me they were already considering doing so 4 years before relocating in 2016.

Although the Venezuelan crisis pushed these women and their families out of the country, the mothers interviewed strategized to migrate based on the possibilities to find jobs. They were able to use their personal and family networks to support themselves during the first days in Lima. Comparing this situation to NYC, it is possible to see that since these women, who lack US visas and passports, thought of different destinations that could provide more economic stability and to where they could afford to travel. For example, Lima gave them the possibility to travel via bus.
In that sense, even when women had more constrained choices, and Lima was not their first choice, they used the acquaintances (weak networks) and capitals they had to migrate out of Venezuela.

The possibility of planning their pathway out of Venezuela is present in the NYC women and in the women that arrived in Lima in the first two groups. Yet, it started to deteriorate while the crisis in their home country started to impact their capacity to plan in the long term. However, this possibility to strategize their migration across the region is commonly perceived by the political actors that define the migration policy as voluntary migration. Political, economic, and social crises pushed them to flee their country even if they strategized in order to do so.

The second group of mothers, who I call the “connected” mothers, comprises 14 mothers who arrived in 2018 and early 2019. These 14 women arrived when migration in Peru had a more open border policy. Therefore, they had an official and regulatory mechanism to enter the country and work in it. Together with the “stepping-stone” mothers, these women had a more regular migratory status, the "Carnet de extranjería",\(^5\) or were waiting to have the savings to submit the documents to apply to this type of residency in the country.

The average age of these 14 women is 36 years old. The youngest being 20 and the oldest 59 show how diverse this migration wave's demographic is. However, most of these women, except for two, have a college or technical degree, and most of them had worked in their profession for at least a couple of years before leaving their home country. Nevertheless, like most migrants,

\(^5\) The “carnet de extranjería” is the formal document with which immigrants can live and work in the country without obtaining the Peruvian nationality.
nine⁶ of these women have not been able to transfer their professions to the Peruvian job market, so they have ended up working in the informal job market⁷.

This was true for Nina, mother of two children: a son, 12 years old, and a 1-year-old daughter. She was a nurse in Venezuela, but when she arrived in Lima, she worked as a domestic worker until she gave birth to her baby daughter. She came after her husband had been working in Lima for a year. Nevertheless, when I asked her how they decided to leave Venezuela, she told me that their salaries were not enough for the things they needed, especially for their son. "There were days when we did not have electricity… We could be without electricity for a couple of days… So, I told my husband, 'either you go, or I go’”.

Nina’s case allows us to see how even when women travel after their husbands, they also participate in the negotiation of their families' migration decisions. Classical migration theory explains how women tend to follow their partners after the migration. But Nina's case also shows us how women use their capitals to negotiate the migration decision even when men migrate before them, as Paul (2005) highlights. In the Venezuelan mothers' case, the possibility of negotiation is mainly for the women who have higher education and economic capital, which allows them to display more agency during the migration process.

Giovanna's case is different. She is one of the 3 women who have found a formal and steady job in the receiving city, allowing them to work in a similar area to the one they worked in back in Venezuela. Giovanna is a therapist for children with an autistic spectrum. When she arrived, she found an opportunity to work in the medical office, doing therapy, and going to her patients'

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⁶Nevertheless, at the time of the interview, 6 interviewees were not working because of the COVID situation or because they had little children and they did not have anyone to take care of them while they worked.
⁷This is not uncommon in Peru, where the informal economy represents 70% of the job market for Peruvian citizens even since before the pandemic, and this is especially higher for women in vulnerable situations.
houses. She narrated that when she decided to migrate, she knew that she would have more opportunities than her husband, a computer system technician, to work in Peru. Because of this, she decided to migrate alone in 2018 and has been able to go back to Venezuela to visit her son and husband one time.

Giovanna’s case, in which she was able to go back to Venezuela, shows more transnational mobility between the countries as compared to the US, where once the women enter the country, they are not allowed to leave. In this sense, Giovanna is not the only mother that has returned to visit their home country. Ivanna, a 37-year-old mother of 2 children that are living in Venezuela, told me: “Last year I had the opportunity to go back to Venezuela twice, once in February and once in May… and this year I was going to go in May to pick them up, but due to COVID-19 I haven’t been able to go ”. This transnational mobility is for mothers whose children live back in Venezuela and also allows Venezuelan women to be reunited with some of their family members permanently or temporarily in Lima.

In the “connected” mothers group, there are five mothers with children back in Venezuela or other countries, like Giovanna or Ivanna. In most of these cases, their children are living with their fathers. In contrast to the “stepping-stone” mothers, like Eva, that arrived in Lima in 2016 and had been able to bring their children to this city, mothers in this group are still struggling to do that.

Furthermore, it is possible to observe that the interviewees’ age and the number of children are diverse. The same happens with the marital status and the migration order of their family members. Of these 14 women, 9 of them live with their partner or are married, and 5 mothers are divorced. In the case of the 9 women that are married, 3 of them traveled after their partner. However, like in Nina’s experience, cited above, they participated in the negotiation of the
migration process and performed their roles as mothers (Paul, 2005) to push for their partners to leave the country as a way for them to send remittances to the family. As a result, only one woman traveled with all her family; only one woman migrated before her partner; and only two of them migrated alone.

However, in this group, it is possible to see a significant number of women that migrated to Lima because they had a close relative already living in the city. This is what the literature calls “strong ties”, since family members of the women are often the ones who give them the information to migrate and help them in the first month they arrive. For example, Ivanna explained why she decided to migrate to Lima: “I arrived in Peru because two of my sisters were already living here. I had two sisters here already, so... it is best to arrive at a place where there is already part of your family.” Thus, in line with migration literature about networks (Côté et al., 2015; Pfeffer and Parra, 2009), strong ties become an incentive for women to migrate to Lima because they reduce migration costs.

The final group of women I interviewed are the “last hope” mothers, who arrived between the middle of 2019 and early 2020. The group is composed of 5 women with different situations. However, these women’s experiences allow us to visualize how Venezuela’s crisis has drastically affected the women who have migrated recently since they have not been able to strategize their migration process and because their capitals, such as savings, degrees, and networks, are devalued before they leave the country. Elena, one of the women with a more comfortable situation in this group, left Venezuela by plane with her daughter and Peruvian in-laws. She told me that her husband, a Peruvian man, had been in Lima since a year ago, and she never expected to leave Venezuela. "What I was making was no longer enough, even with what my husband was sending to us. So, we were still short of money, we were still missing food". She felt she needed to leave
Venezuela because the government said they would close the border, and "there were no more options." When she said there were no more options, she meant there were no more options for her to stay in her country with her children without passing through necessity. Therefore, migrating to Lima was the only option left.

In the cases of Kathia and Norbelis, the situation was more critical. Norbelis, a housewife in Venezuela with 5 children, 2 of them in Colombia with her mother-in-law, told me that what her partner was making in Lima was no longer enough to buy food in their home country. Similarly, Kathia and her family left Venezuela with only 15 dollars. Both women and their families walked most of the 2128.818 miles from the Colombian border to Lima.

Of these 5 women, most are in their early 30s, and their children were relatively young, between the ages of 3 and 14 years old. An essential difference from the other groups is that all these 5 women are married, and in 3 cases, their husbands migrated to Lima before they did.

Two of these women, Elena and Maria, obtained college degrees in Venezuela. However, neither of them has been able to work in their fields in Lima. While Elena is not working to take care of her daughter, Maria is selling "empanadas" in the street in the mornings to complement her husband's income. The other 3 women have finished high school, and only one has worked outside her home in Venezuela. However, in Lima, they all were working in the informal market as street vendors.

Finally, concerning these five women's migratory statuses, the only one that had access to a regular migratory status was Elena because of her Peruvian husband. In addition, Kathia, Esther, and Maria entered an asylum request when they arrived in Lima, even though they did not clearly

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8 This is an approximation since the distance is about 3426 km.
understand how the process works in Peru. Since they are not considered refugees, the state is not recognizing most of their asylum requests. Finally, in the case of Jordelis, she entered Peru by "trocha"; therefore, she has no papers or a regular migratory status.

In general, it is possible to see that the Venezuelan mothers interviewed in Lima are more diverse than in NYC. This shows how the crisis in Venezuela has worsened and women have become less able to use their capital to strategize their migration processes. Because of this, women in Lima migrated to this city because they had fewer options than those who migrated to NYC. In Table 2, it is possible to see the main characteristics of the three groups of women that migrated to Lima.

Table 2: Lima ideal mother types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Year of migration</th>
<th>Migration reason</th>
<th>Highest degree Educ.</th>
<th>Order of migration</th>
<th>Children back home</th>
<th>Migratory status</th>
<th>Migrated to another country</th>
<th>Networks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The “stepping-stone” mothers</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>Economic reasons</td>
<td>Technical degree</td>
<td>Mostly them first, then family</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Carné de extranjería</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The “connected” mothers</td>
<td>2018 - mid 2019</td>
<td>Economic (and professional) reasons</td>
<td>College degree</td>
<td>Most of them migrated after having a family in Lima</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Temporary status (PTP)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The “last-hope” mothers</td>
<td>Mid 2019-2020</td>
<td>Extreme economic hardship</td>
<td>High school degree and, in some cases, college degree</td>
<td>Most migrated after their husband.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Asylum request, undocumented</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4. The overlaps and distinctions

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9 These are the informal trails between the countries.
Most Venezuelan women who have arrived in Lima and NYC have overlapping characteristics in their migration process and situations. One of them is how dispersed they are in the two cities. In neither Lima nor NYC is it possible to identify an ethnic enclave or a neighborhood where most of these forced migrants have arrived. Therefore, using their networks as social capital to help with daily tasks becomes more challenging since for a lot of them meeting member the Venezuela communities imply hours of commute in the cities.

In addition, in NYC, in contrast to Lima, there is more presence from other countries from Latin America. However, some of the women I interviewed in this city did not establish a more supportive network with other nationalities. In that aspect, Venezuelan women in both cities feel isolated in these receiving cities, even when they migrated through their networks. In the case of Venezuelan women living in NYC there is an organization, VIA, that is trying to create a more integrate Venezuelan community. However, because of the daily care work and the jobs outside the house women struggle participating in the networks and activities create by the organization. Therefore, the feeling of isolation still remain for most of them.

Furthermore, most of the women interviewed have a college or technical degree and have been working in their professional fields for at least a couple of years. It is possible to see more variation between the women that have migrated to Lima, which shows not all of them have college or technical degrees; one of the interviewees did not finish high school. Thus, it is possible to see that most of these migrants have a degree of educational capital that could be used to migrate to both cities. Nevertheless, these capitals will be limited when they arrive in the receiving cities because most will not be able to use them since they will not have the same value than in

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10 This has become even more difficult with the pandemic and lockdown policies, because most of these women have seen their networks severed due to the restrictions.
Venezuela. Most women work in services and care jobs in the informal market, generating a downwards mobility for most of them (Perez and Ugarte, 2021).

Another aspect most women have in common is the motive of their migration. Most of them were pushed by the political instability and the economic crisis that generated hardships in supplies of medicines and food. The Venezuelan women I interviewed chose to migrate because the financial situation and humanitarian crisis were not making it possible to maintain the living conditions they were used to, especially for their children. Migration gave them a possible option to do so. Their stories also show that these Venezuelan mothers actively negotiated the migration process, especially those with higher economic and educational capitals. Many of these women pushed for their families to migrate, as Paul (2005) explains, performing gender roles, in this specific case their roles as mothers, intertwining migration with their children's wellbeing. Therefore, the gender roles as “caring mothers” became a way for Venezuelan women to negotiate their migration strategies, no matter the city, with families and partners. Migration, even when forced, became the more specific and secure option to fulfill their expectations as mothers.

It is possible to see a similar situation in a small group of women in the two cities. At the moment of the interview, these women were not working because of childcare. In both cities, this group decided (being forced due to circumstances) to stay at home to care for their children. This situation is particular since, in this position, women, mostly professional women, are performing the negotiation of their work based on their ability to care as a mother, as I will deepen in section 3.

However, a distinction between the two cities is there were more cases of political reasons for migration in NYC than in Lima, where most women were motivated by economic reasons. Therefore, NYC mothers have done more political activism and be part of the Government
opposition as the first option before leaving their home. This once again highlights the difference between the capitals and material resources of the women who have arrived in NYC compared to Lima, since several women in Lima have not been involved in politics or have worked or supported Chavez’s government initially.

The other significant difference present between the women who migrated to Lima and the ones that migrated to NYC is that Lima has given them the possibility to have more transnational mobility. Therefore, mothers who have left their children in their home country could go back to Venezuela while they were still there. In contrast, the mobility for the women in NYC is restricted once they enter the country; this implies physical and emotional distance from their relatives back home. The less mobility available in NYC is why most families decided to migrate together, especially when all the members already had a US Visa. Concerning this, many mothers in NYC told me that the only way they think migration works for the family is when they all migrate together. For instance, Carolina said: "My advice for Venezuelan women that think about migrating is that the two of them [the partner] should come together, as a family… Because what one experiences in Venezuela and here need to be the same… But it needs to be like a family, as a couple, working both together, not one for their own. That is the purpose”.

The idea of traveling as a family is present in most of the women I interviewed in NYC. This idea of traveling as a family is based on the idea that support from the partner will make the forced migration process more manageable. In the case of Lima, this idea is also present in the mothers living there, especially in the “stepping-stone” mothers and the “connected” mothers. However, it is possible to see that mothers in Lima who migrated with fewer capitals had fewer options to migrate with the family together.
This mobility for the Venezuelan women living in Lima has also allowed them to contact family members more. In this way, many of the interviewees have brought different family members to the city. They are rebuilding their network in Lima, even though they cannot be as supportive as they were back in Venezuela because of their precarious living situation and long working hours. However, this situation has allowed some women to help family members migrate to Peru or, in a more transitory way, family members who have arrived in the city to visit them and work only for a couple of months.

The mobility capacity in the women -and their families- that migrate to Lima shows the importance of networks for their initial arrival. The family and personal networks are the ones that give information about the city, offer a place to sleep on the first day, and help women find a job that will help pay the rent. In this sense, the support network is utilized for their first few weeks in Lima. Then these networks tend to lose their role in these women's lives. However, this differs from NYC because many women decided to migrate to Lima because of their networks in the city. As Pfeffer and Parra (2009) state about strong ties, the ties that Venezuelan migrants have in Lima can be characterized as strong ties because they consist of family and close friends that reduce their cost of migration. In NYC, there are very few women with a network they could use. Therefore, even when in NYC some of the interviewees have acquaintances, they have not offered that much help as those in Lima.

Another critical difference between the two cities is that Lima tends not to be the first choice for women's migration. An essential part of the group interviewed in Lima stated that they decided to migrate to the city because their networks could offer help and because they could afford it. However, they see Lima as a transition for another country such as Chile, Spain, or the US. In other cases, they migrated to Lima thinking it would be temporary. They thought they
would be able to return to Venezuela in a short amount of time, but they ended up staying longer. In NYC, almost all the women said they specifically decided to migrate to the US and NYC because it was a sanctuary city. In this context, many of them pointed out that they would like to return; however, this return is considered in the distant future. In this sense, if we compare the migration between Lima and NYC it possible to see that mothers choose Lima when they thought it could be a temporally solution for the crisis. These mothers point out to me that in most of the cases they left their houses and belonging closes as they leave to a vacation or to the care of a relative. However, in the case of the mothers that migrated to NYC they saw their migration since the beginning more in a long term; were most of them have an idea of the possibility of returning will not be easier for several years.

Finally, concerning their migratory status, it is possible to see that the US only has two options for Venezuelan women: asking for asylum or staying undocumented. In the Lima case, the situation is more ambiguous since much of the documentation is in process, and the interviewees are not very clear on the process (Aron and Castillo 2020; Freier and Gauci, 2020). Lima's situation could be compared with what Menjivar (2000) called “liminal status”, which is defined as a temporary condition that has extended, causing ambiguity and uncertainty for the migrants and generation obstacles for incorporating into the host city. Nonetheless, in both scenarios, a migratory status which is uncertain or is not protected under clear laws causes women to become more vulnerable due their triple jeopardy conditions (Leda and Ugarte, 2021).
Section 2: Care work and managing the work.

In section one, I described how Venezuelan mothers use the capital they have to construct pathways out of Venezuela. This capital allows some of them to migrate to New York City and others to Lima. Nevertheless, even though the pathways differ depending on the group described and their capitals, the gendered roles became similar for all Venezuelan mothers I talked to, no matter what city they arrived in. This happened since the capital they had back in Venezuela, such as education, networks, and even savings, rapidly deteriorated after their migration.

This section explains how the mothers in both cities managed care work inside their households and families. I compare how post-migration families rely more heavily on gender labor distribution than in Venezuela due to the lack of resources and networks in the receiving cities.

3.1. Theoretical background

Care work has been understood as all the activities allowing others’ reproduction abilities to produce in societies. This means to care for someone else, in all the different manners it entails, from emotional to physical ways11 (England, 2005; Tronto and Fisher, 1990, Fraser, 2016). The care or reproductive tasks in the formal labor market and households have been historically assigned to women because of the gender division of labor (Baker and Silver, 2008, England 2005, Fraser 2016). Specialized literature (Cancian and Oliker, 2000; DeVault, 1991; Fraser, 2016; Folbre, 2007) recognizes that women assume the care roles inside their relationships, family, and society. When they are inserted into the formal labor market, this situation becomes a double burden, and women assume double shifts, one at work and others at home (Folbre, 2007;  

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11 In the feminist economy this work is also understood as the social reproduction labor, in which there is an interrelationship between the paid and unpaid care work (Baker and Silvey, 2008). However, the reproductive labor concept tends to focus on non-relationship domestic labor (Data et al, 2010).
Hochschild and Machung, 1989). In general, care tasks tend to be naturalized and underpaid, framed as part of women's "nurture" role.

Care work has also been considered in migrants' experiences among those who participate in global care chains. In this way, the labor market has increased the demand for care workers, such as nannies, nurses, waiters, and domestic workers, in global cities. However, this work tends to be highly feminized and receives lower salaries since it tends to be translated to the most vulnerable women (England, 2005; Razavi, 2006). Therefore, the reproductive work and activities related to nurturance tend to be racialized (Duffy, 2014).

Part of the literature process of the feminization of migration emphasizes migrant care workers, primarily women, linked to globalization and the global care chain (Hoschild, 2000; Michael and Peng, 2017; Parreñas, 2015). The global care chain is understood as a consequence of globalization and the privatization of social reproduction, two processes that bring women into the job market by outsourcing household care tasks (Herrera, 2012; Parreñas, 2015). The care workers' studies tend to focus on the work conditions for these women (Duffy, 2007; Hoschild, 2000), the relationships with their employees and the care relationship they establish with their families and their employees (Baldassar, Ferrero and Portis, 2017; Michael and Peng, 2017; Parreñas, 2001). In this sense, studies focus on how care work is outsourced to the market and its impact on migrants and their families.

Studies of care workers also highlight that for a group of migrant women, the migration process implied downward mobility considering their capitals and occupations in their home countries. Moreover, this downward mobility process is significantly more common during the first years of migration (Cerderber, 2007, Ho, 2006, Parreñas, 2015, Perez and Ugarte, 2020). In
this situation, it is essential to incorporate the analysis of the women migrants’ care tasks inside their own families and households that tend to be less studied between researchers.

Furthermore, some research focuses on women’s situations and care work in transnational households (Baldassar, 2007; Dreby and Adkins, 2010; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005; Parreñas, 2001). These studies explain how grandparents or other family members became vital components in mothers’ care arrangements (Dreby and Adkins, 2010, Parreñas, 2001). However, at the same time, studies show how even with spatial separation, women are in charge of managing care tasks and families’ emotional labor (Baldassar, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005; Vesely et al., 2018). In these transnational situations, mothers deal with not being able to accomplish the caring ideals. Instead, they generate new strategies to care for their children and family members, and in some cases, they manage two households simultaneously (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005, Parreñas, 2001).

A study of care arrangements of migrant families in Italy, Portugal, France, and Finland shows that the care arrangements for families with children under 10 years old vary depending on the family migration patron and the receiving countries’ care policies (Wall and Sao Jose, 2004). However, the studies show that highly qualified professional migrants are less vulnerable in childcare than unskilled workers and tend to depend highly on individual solutions. Moreover, the studies show that unskilled workers’ families, due to the lack of close kin, occupational segregation, and the characteristics of their jobs, have unequal access to non-parental childcare (Wall and Sao Jose, 2004).

Similarly, in their review of qualitative research on the transformation of gender roles within migrant families between 1980 and 2000, Dion and Dion (2001) conclude that post-migration, women in professional families are subjected to increased pressure to fulfill the
"superwoman" stereotype, as they attempt to continue balancing career and housework as before, but with fewer resources. Women in nonprofessional families, in contrast, tend to gain decision-making power within the family when they begin to work outside the home and contribute their income to the household's finances (2001, pp.514-516).

As I mentioned in section one, networks as social ties are crucial in determining the probability of migration since they decrease migration costs (Côté et al., 2015; Pfeffer and Parra, 2009). Nevertheless, literature has shown that these social ties act differently depending on the gender and nationality of the migrant and on how the cost of migration can amplify or reduce social capital effects (Côté et al., 2015; Massey and Aysa-Lastra, 2011). However, this literature has focused mainly on how social ties affect migration's likelihood before women arrive in the receiving countries. Moreover, literature in social networks has not mentioned how these networks in the receiving country have not translated into similar social support for women in the care tasks inside their household to the one they had back home. In this way, even when women increase the likelihood of migration, these networks tend to be fundamentally different when women talk about their support for reproductive labor compared to their home countries.

Regardless, literature has emphasized how women support the care agreement inside their families. Unfortunately, there is scarce literature that explains how these care arrangements and roles work in forced migrants families, especially migrants mothers. This section explains how Venezuelan mothers in Lima and NYC deal with the care roles, the gendered division of labor in the family, and the double shifts.

3.2. **Venezuelan mothers and the care work**

NYC and Lima are different types of settlement sites, and different women end up in each place, but for Venezuelan mothers, the impact of care work has been similar in both cities. The majority
of the women I spoke to have felt the burden of the house's care in the receiving city. For example, Jennifer, a "crisis" mother of 2 children, arrived in NYC in 2014. She said, "typically, us [women] are the ones that do everything in the house, men hardly do anything, at least in my case. I use my free time to clean; I use my free day to do the house chores". Jennifer's experience is not unique among Venezuelan mothers in NYC: most of them are in charge of the household tasks and their children, and just like in Jennifer's case, men are seen as the ones who tend to work longer hours. Even when their partners, like in Jennifer's case, also work for several hours a day and six days a week at a nail salon.

Lucia, also a “crisis” mother of 3 children who arrived in NYC in 2015, narrated a similar double shift when I asked about her daily schedule. She did not even mention her husband in the distribution of the daily tasks. "I'm organized [she seems really proud]. I wake really early to cook breakfast and lunch for the family. When my children return home after school, each one of them has a key; they find everything set up for them until 5 pm, that is the time when I return home". Then she has time to rest, but after that, she makes dinner to eat together as a family when her husband returns home at around 6 pm.

The Venezuelan mothers who live in Lima experience a similar gendered division of labor inside their household, where the labor distribution falls disproportionately on women. Jessica, one of the "connected" mothers who arrived in Lima in 2018 with two children, explained that even when she and her husband work every day, she was in charge of the activities in the house:

Every day was a hustle... I got to bed late and had to get up really early… I went to work, helped my daughter with her homework, watched over my son…". Nina's case is similar. She is also a "connected" mother with two children that arrived in Lima in 2018. Nina narrated to me how she worked and took care of the house before she gave birth to her second child: "Here [in Lima] time goes by super-fast; I take care of the chores because I
have to get used to it… but right now, it gets more complicated because my baby is still very young [10 months] (…) I never thought I would have to work while pregnant… But when I was pregnant, I had to work and do chores in the house… So, I would come home only to keep working in order to get things ready for the next day….

In these four testimonies, it is possible to see how the women’s labor distribution in their household is still based on gender roles. In this way, women are the ones who are in charge of raising the children and cleaning, cooking, doing laundry, and other tasks inside the house. When I asked for the distribution of this work with the partner (in case the woman had one), the answer was often similar: her partner tends to work more hours and has what they consider more physically demanding labor. Lucía, for example, told me: "He [her husband] has a lot less time, he arrives really tired, really tired (…) he goes to work at 7am and is back at the house at around 6pm."

This is also the situation for many of the mothers in Lima when they felt that the long hours of work had diminished the partner's ability to help them with the house tasks. Jessica told me: "When he has time, he always tries to help me, in what he likes. I never ask him directly to do anything (…) But when he has had time, he does support me".

Most of the partners in Lima work primarily in construction, services, or as informal street vendors. Meanwhile, partners in NYC work mainly in the construction or food industry. These jobs in both cities demand long working hours, which is the opposite of what they used to know back in their home country, where they were used to working 8 hours shifts. For example, Esther, a “last hope” mother living in Lima with her two sons, explained that her husband does not support her in the care activities because, as a street vendor, he spends most of the day outside the house. “He is a street vendor. So, he goes out every day and since he works alone, he works most of the day. He is free only one day, a day like today, on Tuesdays. On Tuesdays, he helps me cook while
I am with the children, with the homework and everything. And at least he helps me with that…”. Esther’s situation is not uncommon since the labor forced opportunities also contributed to the gendered distribution of labor inside the families.

The situation exemplified by Esther, Lucía and Jessica shows how women tend to take more household responsibilities after migration. These arrangements are based on women being more flexible with their working hours to accomplish the care task. For example, in Jessica’s case, she is a street vendor, and this allows more flexibility to be home after her children get out of school. Also, these arrangements allow the mothers to return to work more hours when children are old “enough” to stay in the house alone. Lucía exemplified this situation: she started working more hours when the children were older: 17, 12, and 11 years old.

In both cities, most women who work outside the house often have jobs in the services sector. These jobs not only tend to be underpaid, but they also demand long working hours. In this situation, when partners and families need to decide to reduce hours for one family member to take care of the house and the children, they opt for women to stay home or work fewer hours depending on the possibilities, as Wall and Sao Jose (2004) point out. This decision is justified since women tend to be underpaid when they work in the services sector (England, 2005; Razavi, 2006), as most Venezuelan women do. Camila, a stay-at-home mom, who works as a nurse in Venezuela, mother of 5 children who live in NYC, put it in her own words: “…Being seen as ‘oh, you're the one who cleans.’ And cleaning it is not what shocks you… because in my house I have always cleaned, in fact, I like to do it… but you can be very talented and know many things, and they will never take
you as seriously as they would take a man...(…) When it came to getting paid, any man, no matter how much I did, earned much more than I did.

In this context, Venezuelan women have triple jeopardy (Perez and Ugarte, 2020) because of their gender, migratory status, and nationality (in the Peru context) or ethnicity (in the US context). This situation casts women in precarious jobs that tend to be informal, feminized, and racialized. These jobs demand long working hours for low salaries. So, they are in tension with the distribution of time inside the household and the expectation most of these women bring from their work-life balance in Venezuela.

Single mothers' situation becomes even more complex since they need to juggle their time between household tasks, the children, and work. Nevertheless, in most of the cases I interviewed, single mothers had teenagers or preteens primarily. This allowed them to manage the care arrangement with more active roles of their children and have the possibility to work outside of home more hours. These mothers depend on school situations, where their children spend a big part of the day, allowing them to work. This is the case of Mariana, a "crisis" mother, who lived in NYC with her 13-year-old son.

Well, I really left him alone... I went to classes in the morning and then went to the restaurant... I lowered the number of working hours because he was already here, and I had to care for him... What I did was take him to school in the morning, we shared breakfast, I left him at school, and then I went to classes because I entered an hour after him. After that, I would go to work from there; then, he would return home alone. I had already left him a snack. And nothing… he waits for me until I arrive at midnight. He always waits for me awake....

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Mariana narrated to me how she felt more confident leaving her son alone and letting him have the responsibility to feed himself or do his homework because of his age. However, she also highlighted that this is possible because her son is in school a vital part of the day.

For women in Lima, this situation is more complex since, in many cases, the school is not an institution they can rely on, especially since they have classes only half of the day. However, Greta, a "stepping-stone" mother with a 9-year-old son that arrived in Lima in 2017, narrated how she struggled to keep a job because of the hours she needed to work, and she did not have anyone to help her with her son.

I have not had a stable, stable job... After I worked in an office... I worked in a restaurant... I worked there for a few days because, as I told you... there were times when I had no one to stay with the child, and I felt not very stable... I had "la cabeza loca" [she refers to being worried all the time] at that moment... I called him and said, "[name redacted] what are you doing? And he said… ‘No, mommy, I'm fine… I already ate, I already did this’"...It was the same problem I had with the other job.

Greta was considering going back to Venezuela, but she ended up working as a sex worker, which allowed her an income in which she could pay another Venezuelan woman to take care of their child when she was out and also gave her more flexible work hours.

In general, Venezuelan mothers juggle most of the care work inside their own families. Although some of this division of labor was already present among most families back in Venezuela, migration exacerbated the burden of the care task because they lost social capital and informal and family-based networks that helped them manage these tasks. Moreover, adapting to the new city has also left them with less time and social space to be independent professional women. For most Venezuelan mothers I spoke to, these spaces back in Venezuela were their careers and professional social spaces, which disappeared after the migration.
3.3. The stay-at-home mothers

In both cities, a subset of mothers decided to become stay-at-home mothers because of these challenging labor force circumstances. In most cases, they decided to stay at home because they had small children and no one to help with their care. However, in two cases in NYC, the mothers had adult children and decided to stay home to dedicate themselves to their care tasks.

In NYC, a group of the "crisis" mothers\textsuperscript{13} are stay-at-home mothers. When I talked to them about this, most of them said it was to raise their children, especially since the migration process has been hard for all the families. For example, Camila, a mother of 4 that lives in NYC that worked for a year before her children arrived in NYC, said: "I wanted to continue working, but I didn't have someone to take care of my children. So, I had to leave the synagogue and stayed here at home. I stayed here at home for two years. My child began to have problems at school: he did not want to attend; he did not want to follow instructions. He did not want to eat at school; he came here pale, with blue circles under his eyes. What I sent him he didn't like either. Well, it was a challenge". After her youngest son adapted to school better, she returned to work, but she felt she was being underpaid for all the long hours and work she was doing, so she decided to stay home. Nonetheless, the income of her husband and her older daughter allowed her this possibility.

Similar is the case of Barbara, who gave birth to 3 children in NYC, and decided to become a stay-at-home mother after her experience with her first children who she had in a caregiver facility. However, she was not a good experience.

Child caregivers are very expensive. First, they are costly, and second, you don't get a person with whom one makes a "feeling"… for you to leave your children with them… because you do not know their nationality… Food is not the same. For my 13-year-old, I

\textsuperscript{13} This number is before COVID shut-down.
left him in a caregiver facility until he was six years old, and he suffered from malnutrition because they did not feed him well. They didn't worry about him being fed well, instead of in Venezuela, because one knows their own culture, knows what the children’s food should be, and how the children are raised.

Barbara decided to stay home for their second and third child and then started to take care of other children in their own home to make money. Other Venezuelan mothers in New York also commented that this mistrust in the care of others is always present.

Carolina’s case is different because she has two young adult boys. However, her sons and husband decided that the best for the family was for her to stay home and be in charge of the care task. "They decided, my children and my husband… that I stay home. So, I can take care of the house, the food, cleaning, and washing their clothes, and tidying up the house… I never did this in Venezuela… This is a job 7x7, 24x24… I can't stand it… So, I broke free". So, Carolina said that she still manages their household tasks, but she has been able to take classes that have helped her get a job for a few months last year.

Carolina, Barbara, and Camila's stories, all professional women back in Venezuela, show how even for different reasons, the housework for their families is viewed as more valuable than participation in the labor market, especially since the main options they had found after the migration were in care economy jobs where they would get paid low salaries for long hours. Therefore, by using unpaid work, these mothers tried to save money on childcare or other expenses.

In the case of these women, when I ask about the care arrangements, the partners are almost not mentioned. However, when I ask about them, most women said that they do not do many house tasks since they are responsible for them. Moreover, they also add that most of their partners work outside the home most of the day, so they also do not expect to help. However, the mothers I talked
to point out that they expect their partner to spend their day off with their children, even while doing other activities like laundry or cooking. Therefore, the time their partners could spend with their children becomes more important for these mothers than the help they could give them with other care tasks since it resembles what they have back in Venezuela.

In Lima, some mothers also decided to stay at home because they have no one to take care of their children. However, this situation is present only in the cases of the four women I interviewed in Lima. Three of these four women are "last hope" mothers\textsuperscript{14}. These three women arrived in Lima around the middle of 2019 and had problems finding a school for their children during that year\textsuperscript{15}. This has also contributed to them staying in their house for a longer time. Besides, the lack of a public childcare system in Peru had also become a problem for Venezuelan women that just arrived and didn't have anyone to take care of their children. For example, Esther, a mother of two sons aged 7 and 2 that arrived in Lima in July of 2019, told me: "At least since I got here, I haven't been able to work much. I am here alone with my partner and my two children. (…) It hasn't allowed me to work very well because I don't have someone to take care of them; I have to take care of them myself."

Esther's situations show how the family can survive with one single income. However, it is necessary to contextualize that these families are living in poverty in Lima. Especially in cases like Esther’s, where her husband works as an informal street vendor. Therefore, they struggle to pay the rent of the single room where they live and their bills. Nonetheless, when they compared this to their constant uncertainty and struggling situation in Venezuela, in which they didn’t know

\textsuperscript{14} One of the interviewees is a stay-at-home mom because she was diagnosed with fibromyalgia and decided that it was better to not work in the restaurant where she was working.

\textsuperscript{15} In opposition to Venezuela and the US, the school year in Peru starts in March and ends in December. The lack of availability in school also is because of the xenophobic speech that many institutions have against having too many Venezuelan students in their schools.
if they would have enough to buy food for their children the next day. They considered that their situation in Lima is better because they know they can afford their daily necessities with just her partner's income.

There are some differences between the stay-at-home mothers in Lima and NYC. In Lima, this possibility becomes present only for women who have arrived at Lima recently. Because of their children's age, they cannot work outside their homes since they have not found anyone to help them with childcare and cannot afford a private one. Moreover, these stay-at-home mothers in Lima have less educational attainment than those in NYC. This also became an obstacle to finding jobs with high salaries in the formal Peruvian economy. In contrast, in NYC, the stay-at-home mother is a family strategy for women to save money in childcare and find jobs that are considerably more suitable and flexible for their professions because of these women's levels of education and professional identities.

3.4. The comparison with Venezuela

When I asked about the comparison with Venezuela, a lot of them had a resigned laugh. Luisa, one of the "crisis" mothers with a daughter that lives in NYC, told me: "In my house, I had a washer and dryer in the apartment; I was washing and drying. Instead, here, in the house where I used to live, I had to go out with a cart dragging my clothes, go to the laundry, sit there for two hours, waiting for the clothes... I said: my God, how can I waste my time this way (laughs). I was very frustrated.". Esther, a "last hope" mother, made a similar comment about the management of time back in Venezuela: "[laughs]... No... In Venezuela I had two washing machines... can you imagine? So, I would do laundry at any hour, and because I left work at 4 pm...".

Luisa, a medical anesthesiologist back in Caracas, and Esther, a fabric worker from Estado Vargas in Venezuela, share a resigned laugh, even when both have different capitals and resources
in Venezuela. Most of the women I talked to recognize that there was a gendered division of labor in Venezuela. However, they felt that they had more resources to face this work. These resources were not material like washing machines or vehicles but came in the form of established networks that allowed them to have more support in negotiating ways of getting help with this labor. This help was based mainly on other women of their families. However, interviewees highlight that their partners have more time to help more with taking children to different places or helping to organize the house.

Besides the material resources, these women point out the lack of networks supporting the care work. For example, Barbara narrated how difficult it was for her when she gave birth to her daughter and expected her Peruvian husband’s family that lived in NYC to help her more.

I hope to myself that she is going to take the boy to school, even if it is not for me but for the girl not to go out, because the girl was born in October, it was already starting to get cold. So having just given birth, I gave birth, I had about a week of rest, and the next week I started my, my normal life (…) But I feel that, in one's country, it is easier because you know your nationality. Like, you know more, you have more neighbors, you know the neighbor, or you have your aunt, you have your grandmother, you have ‘X’. You can reach out, you can say to anyone: Look, take care of the girl, they'll do it.

The lack of support in the care work is also felt by mothers I talked to in Lima. Esther’s case shows this situation: "There [in Venezuela], really my life was very different because my partner worked, I worked. And my children went to ‘guardería’ [childcare facility] until 5 in the afternoon when they were younger. Then, when the older child was at school, I would take him down, when I left to work, I would put him on his transport, the transport would take him to school, and he would leave at 1 in the afternoon and at that time in the afternoon my mother would pick him up."
These women's examples show how the network they have in the receiving cities is not the same as the one in Venezuela and cannot bring support to the care work. In this situation, women in the receiving cities need to figure out how to manage these household activities only inside their nuclear family. However, even though the network system of care has been shifted by migration, the expectation of care these women have is still the same. So, women, in most cases, juggle managing care tasks with formal work.

Nevertheless, some of the women I interviewed have managed to bring their families to the city where they live. This is true in NYC for only two cases, but it has become a more common situation due to the transnational movements in Lima. This possibility is a permanent situation for some of the mothers I talked to, like Karina, a "connected" mother of 3 children who has lived in Lima since 2018. Karina told me: "From the beginning, when I was about a month pregnant, I asked my mother if she could help with my son, and she said yes. So, she has been the one who has taken care of my baby many times. But, in the beginning, when I went to work, she would take care of him. She could come to my house to take care of him, or I would take the baby to her house, and she would take care of him. I had to go to work from 9 to 6 in the afternoon…".

Mothers like Karina, who have managed to help her family migrate to Lima, have care arrangements that help them with the housework and diversify their income if the family lives together. However, not in all cases is like this. Like in Ines' case, a "connected" mother has two children in Lima and one back in Venezuela. Her mother was in Lima for a few months before continuing her journey to Argentina to support her other daughter that just gave birth. Her mother's presence gave her some support emotionally and in the care work, even when her mother worked a full-time job.
Therefore, the transnational possibility of creating a network and help family members to migrate so they can support you with the care tasks, even for a short time, makes an essential difference between how women manage care tasks in Lima and NYC. In Lima, mothers used this mobility to bring family members that would temporarily or permanently help them with the care arrangements in similar situations at the ones they had in Venezuela. This not only gives them a possibility to have less burden but also to establish more emotional support. Nevertheless, after the migration happens, these care networks tend to become fragile because of the long hours of work women do in the jobs market and the distance between the houses of the women.

Another significant difference between Venezuela and the receiving cities is the time management they had back home, lost in the migration process. This time management was better for them and their partners, who had more time to do the care work in their families. Maria, one of the “connected” mothers with three children and have lived in Lima since 2018, told me: "I had help, back in Venezuela. The children stayed at my mother's house and if not with his mother, my mother-in-law, and he [her partner] would help me, he would pass looking for them, we would see each other at home, he would help me, if we had to do laundry, he would put all in the washing machine before I arrived, if there were groceries to buy, he would go and so on. Between the two of us, there was a balance. We helped each other". 

Maria's quote exemplifies that she felt that her husband did more of the care work before the migration, but now he cannot support her because of his job. The same sentiment is true for Camila, who lives in NYC, or Jimena, who lives in Lima. Therefore, they felt that back in Venezuela, there was a more equal distribution of tasks. However, other women, like Jennifer, who lives in NYC and works for a nail salon, highlighted that when her job demands her to work
until late, her husband helps her more in comparison to what he did back in Venezuela because, in NYC, there is no one else that can help them.

The other aspect about time management that has impacted the Venezuelan mothers I talked to is that they felt they have less time to enjoy themselves or their family after the migration. For example, Mariana, a "crisis" mother with one son that has lived in NYC since 2018, told me:

One of the most difficult things is the time it takes to organize your life. Either it's you, or it's your son, or it's work, or there is no quality time actually. It's not like Venezuela, where you worked from Monday to Friday and went to the beach on the weekend. We would see what to do and walk around, and in Venezuela, there are 500 days off because there is something celebrated every day... you have Easter carnivals... that does not happen here. Here's you have to prioritize; you have to live prioritizing your things... and your priority is the economic issue.

Martina, one "American dreamer" mother who also lives in NYC, made a similar reference when she talked about the time and network. "When I arrived, I only had one friend... I rarely saw her because everyone here has their jobs, they have their things to do… their obligations. I only called her once in a while, and I saw her once a month, put it like that... because here none have time and less if one has children…” This quote also shows that the lack of time also affected the Venezuelan women's network and made it difficult to establish a close network that could help them as it did back in Venezuela.

The different time management and the possibility of "pause" are aspects that repeatedly appeared in the interviews with the Venezuelan women in both cities. These aspects refer to the lifestyle they lived in Venezuela as being different. When I asked about Venezuela, many women refer to this country as a place where they rarely were forced to work more than 8 hours shifts and weekends were off, no matter their jobs. In this way, because of the downward mobility that forced
migration has generated, the jobs these women access in NYC and Lima are not equivalent to what they had back home since they started working, in most cases, more than 8 hours a day and weekends. This downward mobility and long working hours become exacerbated in Lima because of the informal job market, criminalization of Venezuelan women, and Venezuelan women's precarious jobs (Freier and Perez, 2021).

However, even when these jobs have changed radically from what they used to know, in both cities, most Venezuelan mothers still tried to maintain household care based on the gendered division they were familiar with. This generates a double shift and extra emotional labor when they struggle to keep the expectation they set for themselves. This expectation is what I will refer to as part of the framing rules in the next section. Moreover, these expectations enter into tension with the daily routine when they need to adjust the number of hours they work to manage the care work in their household.

3.5. The double burden and the management of time

In general, it is possible to see that Venezuelan women's pathways out of their home country can differ. Still, they are confronted with a similar situation in managing the care work no matter the city they arrive in. The migration process has deteriorated the capital of the Venezuelan mothers and their families, which has exacerbated the care workload they had back in Venezuela.

In this context, Venezuelan mothers are the ones that are in charge of the most care responsibilities in their households, even when they work outside the house. This has meant for them to have a double burden and has forced them to find flexible enough jobs to accomplish all the tasks they need to do or have permission to have a day off in case they need it. This is reinforced by the fact that most Venezuelans are working in the services sector. As literature has highlighted (Duffy, 2007; England, 2005; Razavi, 2007), this sector is highly feminized and racialized. So,
women become more vulnerable to long hours, everyday work, and being underpaid. Therefore, Venezuelan women have triple jeopardy (Perez and Ugarte, 2021) that only increases the burden they are already assuming at home.

When I compare the migration to both cities, the gendered division of labor present in both cities is exacerbated in Lima because of the external situations that Venezuelan mothers face. These external situations implied longer working hours for their partners and them if they are working mothers. Also, it implied lower salaries and less institutional support\(^{16}\). However, to face this situation, transnational mobility has played advantage to Venezuelan mothers in Lima since they have used it as a strategy to bring their female family members to support them with care, even when this is temporary. This mobility that allows Venezuelan women in Lima to construct networks of care temporally is an aspect that NYC mothers do not have. Therefore, the burden of care responsibilities and the gendered division of the labor inside their families is, especially on them.

When I asked about the care arrangement post-migration, I saw that care is women’s responsibility and that, in most cases, they receive little help from their partner. This is based basically on three main factors. In Venezuela, the first one is that women already have a gender division of labor, even when they have more resources to manage it. The second factor is that women are paid less in the job market when they need to make care arrangements; women tend to be flexible in their work, as Wall and Sao Jose (2004) explain. This even when women tend to have more demand in the labor market. And the third factor is that their partners perceive men’s work as more physically demanding than theirs.

\(^{16}\) That is already a situation that women in informal economy in Peru need to face in a daily basis.
Under these conditions, a group of women has decided to become stay home mothers. However, in Lima, this situation is forced by women's impossibility to find someone to care for their younger children. Meanwhile, in NYC, this is also happening; the women have also decided to stay at home or find more flexible jobs and consider them more suitable. This difference in how to become a stay-at-home mother also reflects the capitals and resources of these women and how the receiving cities increase their vulnerabilities.

Furthermore, one of the most impactful aspects these women have experienced is the loss of support for the care tasks, even in Lima where some have reconstructed their networks. These mothers explain how the lack of ties in the receiving cities increases the burden of care on women. Most of them relied on family networks that helped them during their daily life back in Venezuela. Besides, another aspect that significantly impacts these women's lives is the lack of time for themselves and their families. In this way, they refer to how they had more time to do the care work task and spend time with their families because of Venezuela's work and living conditions.

Finally, the women I talked to maintain their expectations about managing care work, even when they have fewer capitals. These ideals of managing the care work are also based on these mothers performing gender roles and motherhood roles, as Paul (2015) highlights, to ensure their family, especially their children, are affected less by this forced migration process. However, in contrast to migration literature stating (González and Sassones, 2016; Parrado and Flippen, 2005; Parreñas, 2015; Pessar and Mahler, 2003) that migration can lead to flexible gender roles, Venezuelan mothers are performing a more traditional division of labor inside their families in their receiving cities. And, as a consequence of this, they also do more emotional work in the process.
Section 3: Mothering in a foreign city

In section 2, I showed how Venezuelan mothers are the ones that are in charge of the care work inside their homes. The forced migration process exacerbates this gender distribution of labor that generates more workload for women, regardless of their access to human, social, and financial capital. Therefore, the burden of care becomes the responsibility of these women.

This section explains how motherhood has changed for most of these women as a central task in their care activities. This is because their role is one of the main motivations and rationales for their migration decisions and has become one of the most salient aspects of their gender performance. Nonetheless, their role as mothers implies more emotional work than what they were used to before migration. Additionally, the process of forced migration involves sentiments including guilt, frustration, and anxiety related to motherhood.

4.1. Theoretical background

Motherhood has been a central discussion in the literature of women and migration. One main focus in this is understanding transnational motherhood and how motherhood roles change when children remain in the home country (Baldassar, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005; Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2001). This body of work emphasizes that even when mothers migrate to other countries, they are expected to manage the emotional labor in their families, regardless of the distance (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005; Parreñas, 2001). Mothers who are away from home are expected to manage guilt and pain due to the traditional motherhood role that they are not fulfilling “ideally” (Parreñas, 2001). At the same time, mothers provide for their families economically and struggle with the tension of being proud of their ability to provide for physical needs at the expense of physical presence (Dreby, 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005;
Parreñas, 2001). Similarly, Olivera (2018) discusses how transnational motherhood inserted in caregiving constellations involves the constant negotiation of the meaning of being a mother.

Moreover, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (2005) emphasize how physical separation constrains mothers and their families, requiring them to broaden definitions of motherhood and give responsibilities to other women to take care of their children. Similarly, Dreby (2006) also emphasizes that mothers, even after they migrate, expect, and are expected to maintain emotional support for their children that they associate with the traditional gender roles of care. In a similar line, Baldassar (2007) analyzes how these transnational families' ties are in constant negotiation with the traditional standards, expectations, and the emotional cost for the migrants. All this work emphasizes that transnational motherhood is accompanied by feelings of guilt and inadequacy, which generate additional emotional work, even from a distance (Parreñas, 2001).

Furthermore, the literature on motherhood and migration also addresses the construction of motherhood in the receiving city. Understanding how women construct experiences of maternity and the emotions that accompany them is fundamental to comprehend the migration experience of mothers since the construction process concerns the place of belonging (country of origin) and the receiving country (Gilmartin and Migge, 2016). The study of immigrant women in Ireland, for example, highlights that belonging is constructed by affective components of familiar people and practices. However, it becomes difficult for migrant women to reconstruct this in a foreign country because of the lack of support system in childcare (Gilmartin and Migge, 2016).

Similarly, Herrero-Arias et al. (2020) point out the necessity to understand migrant mothers’ emotions not only as migrants suffering but also as actors who manage their emotions through social interactions. This conceptualization of managing emotions draws from the idea of "framing rules" and "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1979; Hochschild, 2012; Turner and Stets, 2005).
The framing rules refer to interpretation and meaning that individuals gave to the situation, while the feeling rules are how people should feel based on how the situation has been framed (Hochschild, 2003, Herero-Arias et al. 2020; Turner and Stets, 2005). Together these rules create a guideline of how the actors “should” feel in a given situation. Managing these emotions involves constant work, especially when there is tension between the rules and ideals of what the situations are set to be, like in the case of migrant mothers (Herrero-Arias et al., 2020).

In this way, migration becomes a way to meet some of the motherhood expectations (Dreby, 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila; 2005; Parreñas, 2001) since it allows mothers to fulfill some obligations to their children, both in the material and emotional aspects. However, this process grapples with tensions because this act comes at the expense of fulfilling other expectations. Therefore, mothers and their families constantly negotiate about motherhood practices and expectations (Baldassar, 2007).

Finally, some studies of migrant mothers also highlight how they experience the cultural clashes around motherhood practices when they live with their children in a new country (Herrera-Arias et al., 2020; Tunmala Narra, 2004; Yax-Fraser, 2011). These cultural clashes tend to bring ambivalent feelings for the mothers because it is related to their mothering practice, the idea of belonging, and home (Gilmartin and Migge, 2016). The women who experience these cultural clashes or cross-cultural motherhood have feelings about stress, anxiety, and guilt, similar to transnational mothers (Herrera-Arias et al., 2020; Tunmala Narra, 2004; Yax-Fraser, 2011). Besides, migrant mothers, through this cross-cultural motherhood process, need to mediate between children, the values of their home country, and the receiving society. Therefore, they feel they need to help to manage the change in their own and their children's identities, which is extra emotional work for them in the migration process (Tunmala Narra, 2004; Yax-Fraser, 2011).
Regarding the emphasis that motherhood has in the migration literature, there is still scarce literature to understand the emotional labor this changing motherhood implied with the migration process. More with this migration is a forced one. Therefore, this section emphasizes how Venezuelan mothers have extra emotional labor when trying to reconcile their old framing rules and feeling rules with their new roles motherhood implied in the receiving cities.

4.2. Being a mother in a foreign city

For the Venezuelan women I interviewed, being a mother has become one of the main aspects of their identity. The narrative of being a "good" mother is present in all of their narratives, whether they moved to Lima or NYC. As I explain in section one, this narrative reinforces the migration rationale and how these women negotiate the centering of their children's wellbeing despite their situation in the receiving city.

For all Venezuelan women, the idea of good mothering involves guaranteeing their children have a comfortable living situation. This response is in direct conversation with the idea of restoring their children's life circumstances from before the Venezuela crisis hardened and they were forced to migrate. For them, the idea of mothering is translated not only to providing their children with their basic needs but also an education, a peaceful environment, extracurricular activities, and other things like being able to buy an extra toy or sweets, go to the movies, or for a vacation. They seek all this while also maintaining their principal role as the emotional support of their children. Nevertheless, this living situation is not only based on their income but also on the reproduction of their human and social capital, in which the family has become central.

For example, Joadelis, a "connected" mother with 3 children, arrived in Lima in 2018 after her two older daughters were already living there. She explained how the deteriorating situation in Venezuela, where she could not maintain the living conditions of her younger son, was the last
straw. "On one occasion [back in Venezuela], my son missed about three days of school because he did not have shoes, and I wasn’t used to my children wearing shoes that don’t fit, I always had a new pair of shoes or shoes to give away. Can I buy your brother's shoes? [she asked her daughter who was living in Lima] Can I pay for his education? Because there [in Venezuela] a notebook or a pencil costs more than one month’s salary. So, I asked her, can I buy what your brother needs for his education? Yes, mama..." Due to this conversation, Joadelis decided to migrate with her younger son since it was the only possibility of giving him a better life, similar to the one they had before in Venezuela.

Similarly, Gianina, a "crisis" mother with 2 children that arrived in NYC in 2019, told me that they decided to migrate because she and her husband did not see a future for their children in Venezuela anymore since they were not able to guarantee the life they wanted for them. "Look, we decided to come because, in Venezuela, things were already bad, he [her husband] did not put pressure on me, but he told me. ‘Let's go; it's for the future of the children. Look, here, there is no electricity, there is no water, there is no gas. There's no food. Inflation is going to kill us’, he said. And well… and when we decided it was because really… my children… already the older one… I already saw the situation in Venezuela; he already understood that it was bad…". In this case, Gianina was not only worried about the material wellbeing of their older son but also the emotional impacts that growing in Venezuela during the crisis would have for her children. So, they decided to migrate.

Therefore, this ideal of motherhood to maintain the wellbeing of their children both in the material and emotional aspect plays a central role in understanding the migration rationale of Venezuelan mothers I interviewed in both cities. So, the “ideal” of motherhood these mothers have is relate giving with the framing rules of being able to take care of all the care activities in the
families (managing the care) and managing all related to their children wellbeing. With this framing rules, the feeling rules they express are mainly positive ones. However, after migration when their resources and their living situation have change they try to reconcile rules with new circumstances.

Therefore, the “ideal” motherhood, with the framing and feeling rules it carries, related to their socio-cultural context in Venezuela, at times is in tension (or conflicts) with the circumstances forced migration has generated in their daily lives. Consequently, these tensions will translate into three main dimensions where their ideal of motherhood with the framing and feeling rules collide with the situations in the new city, giving mothers new roles and ways to practice motherhood.

The first dimension where the framing rules, feeling rules, and the new circumstances of the city enter into tension is when children are exposed to the new culture and actors. In this situation, as the literature also states (Tunmala Narra, 2004; Yax-Fraser, 2011), mothers adopt a new role of mediating for the adaptation of their children to the new country. The second dimension of the framing and feeling related to the ideal of motherhood that they constructed in Venezuela is when these ideals and framings collide with the context of the new city, generating constant fears related to coping with raising their children in new cities. Finally, the third dimension, where the framing and feelings rules related to their ideal of motherhood are in tension with their daily lives, is when they need to confront the inability to give their children a similar lifestyle to the one they were used to in Venezuela.

*First dimension: Adaptation mediators.*

In the first dimension, it is possible to see that all the mothers I talked to tried to mediate the process of adaptation between their children and the receiving city. This mediation is a new role mothers adopt when they try to conciliate their framing and feeling rules of motherhood with their
children's struggling situation. For example, Mariana, a "crisis" mother with one son, explains how her son has difficulty adapting to NYC. "He always refused to come: ‘I don't want to come, you come. Why do we have to be apart?’ And things like that… But when he came, it cost him a lot to adapt; he cried every day, he wanted to return. But now… everything is calmer… everything is working". So, Mariana has focused a lot of her energy after her job to make him comfortable.

Similarly, Andrea, also a "crisis" mother that arrived in NYC in 2018, almost a year before her older daughter, narrated to me.

One of the things that has tortured me the most this time is how to take care of my daughter's pain. Because okay, I handle my mourning, but I know how to handle it, but when they are children, they are unaware of many things they may be feeling. There is the mourning for leaving her school, leaving her grandparents, her family, her cousins, having to leave her home, her house, her pool, her beach, and her friends. And for me, that has been an emotional challenge because I say, as a mother, how can I fill those spaces that she may have….

Andrea tried to handle her daughter's mourning by managing all the new things her daughter is exposed to and spending all the possible time with her. In this way, she became the one who mediated the new culture for her daughter, and she attempted to manage her feelings. Andrea's experience also shows how she needed to put aside her emotions to manage her daughter's adaptation process despite the sadness arising from the migration process.

Maria, a "last-hope" mother of 3 children who arrived in Lima in 2019, has had to manage her feelings in a similar way to Andrea. She expressed how it has also been challenging to mediate her children's adaptation to Lima, telling them that everything will be okay. "The most difficult thing has been to tell them with a smile that everything is fine, when in fact I also want to cry with them because when they get depressed, they are children, but children also get depressed… and
when children feel that they want to leave they start to cry, and you want to cry too… that is difficult… that is a point that really… there is nothing more painful than taking your heart away and leaving a part there and having a part here". Maria told me how she tried to manage her children's emotions about their new life and how she was also mediating about the meanings of migration for their family. This mediation implied emotional work and a constant framing of her feelings to let the feeling rules of the situation allow her to maintain her role as a parent.

Joadelis, a "connected" mother who arrived in Lima with her ten-year-old son, narrated that she suffers adapting to the new city because of all the things they have left behind in Venezuela. One of the aspects that impacted both of them was the lack of possibility to relate to other children of his age in Lima. Joadelis narrated that she used to be involved with her son's friends, but she did not get the same opportunities in Lima. "I like being friends with my children's classmates. In other words, to give them advice. So here they don't let you go to school, and for me, it was frustrating. Situations that we have never seen with children. I mean, the interaction of the children ... I mean, it affected me a lot and him too". So even when she tried to mediate between her son and his classmates, she did not have the chance to do it.

As Andrea, Mariana, Joadelis, and Maria’s comments suggest, children and mothers in Lima and NYC grieve their losses and separations in their home countries. In this way, they mourn the separation from the life they had previously known. This mourning becomes even more pronounced in the Venezuelan diaspora because of the conditions of forced migrants that are tied to the uncertainty of the possibilities of returning home. In this context, mothers tried to mediate their children's mourning by adapting to new circumstances and situations, especially when their children are younger. Mothers try to manage the pain migration brought them to mitigate the circumstances for their children. However, this emotional management also generates an
emotional cost for women since their current situation enters into tension with the remembrance of their life back in Venezuela and their expectations for the migration that have not been fulfilled.

Although managing emotions is evident among mothers living in both cities, mothers in NYC are confronted with their children’s mourning in a more significant way. This happens especially when the transnational ties of their children are severed more prominently, and younger children are confronted with elements that represent an essential cultural shock, like learning a new language.

Mothers work to mediate the relationship of their children with other actors, especially within the school. The majority of women in both cities narrated how their children had suffered from problems adapting to school and, in many cases, from their classmates' bullying. Therefore, they become the ones responsible for going to the school and talking to the teachers.

In Lima's case, children have problems adapting to school, especially children of the "connected" and "last-hope" mothers. This is because the bullying and problems they suffer in school were based on the xenophobic sentiment in Peru (Freier and Perez, 2021). So, mothers have to deal with discrimination in their children's schools and often seek alternate schools to enroll their children.

For example, Maritza, a "connected" mother that arrived in Lima in 2018 with her teenage daughter, recalled:

At the beginning, when she started school, it was quite bad for her, because there was a teacher who was xenophobic with her, in fact, ‘la raspó’ [she failed her] in the course. In fact, that was the only course that she failed. I complained to her, complained to the director, and told her that my daughter came with a good GPA from Venezuela; she had excellent grades. She has always been an excellent student, so when she got here, the teacher asked her what she was doing here, why didn't she go back to Venezuela, that
Venezuelans had come only to make trouble here. And then, she "la raspó" on the course. At first, it impacted her a lot because there were other classmates, and they didn't know her. But then, little by little, she began to integrate.

Maritza’s management of the situation paid off because her daughter was able to pass the class after summer school when she talked with the school principal, saying that the reason she was failed was discrimination.

Karina, also a "connected" mother who arrived in 2018 and has 3 children, told me how her teenage son had difficulty integrating into the school and getting along with his classmates. "The older children, on certain occasions, they called him ‘veneco’, and he got upset. He has had episodes of xenophobia at school. He couldn't get rid of it. And on occasions, in high school, they ask for many more things, in the presentations, in the project closures, and all that. Really, there were times when we didn't have money because we were arriving from Venezuela, and we were short in many ways… Then his classmates said: "don't tell him, because he never brings anything…". Karina said that she talked with her son to explain that he could not be affected by those things and that they would not always be able to afford everything his classmates could. However, she saw her son struggle to integrate, so she did what was possible to fulfill the school requirements for extra things.

In the case of Lima, it is possible to see that children of the women that arrive later to the city are the ones who have more difficulty in the schools. In addition, "stepping-stone" mothers and "connected" mothers have more educational, human, and social capital that allows them to navigate the Peruvian education system with more ease. However, most mothers need to deal with xenophobia and discrimination that the children go through in the school in Lima, especially when they are pubescent and teenagers.
In the NYC case, the mediation with the teachers becomes extra work because mothers are not familiar with the school system in the receiving country. In NYC, the language is also an obstacle. In the crisis mothers' cases, most narrated that their children suffered in adapting to their schools and making friends because they do not speak English, even when they were not the only Spanish speaking children in the schools. For example, Vanesa, who arrived in NYC in 2016, told me that her daughter started to have problems at school and didn't want to go, so she cried every day before school. "I went to the school… They listened to me, but I didn't do any kind of… nothing. I was going with my brother. Until one day, I told them that I felt that my daughter was suffering from discrimination. So, the coordinator was like, "No… you can't say that because she's not the only girl who speaks Spanish here." Then, I said ‘yes, but she is the only one who is being made to feel bad. She is not to blame for not speaking English; she is here to learn’". After that encounter with the teacher, she felt that the situation with her daughter improved. When I asked about her daughter's situation, she said that teachers were not patient with her daughter because even when she was not the only one who didn't speak English, she was also depressed about her losses back in Venezuela.

Mariana has a similar story about how her son struggles to fit in school where he has problems adjusting schools and learning the new language. So, this make him suffer from buying.

I think he was so ‘cerrado’ [unwilling] to change that he had problems at first adjusting to school. Even at the beginning of classes, some little kids would tease him, you know. As this happened there, he did not speak the language. They called me several times from the school, and he told me that he did not want to go. Above all, he is affected by the fact that people here are ‘muy seca’ [very dry], very distant. It is different from how one is used to being in one's country, that one knows everyone in the world, you greet the neighbor. You always make a friendship with someone; this is not the case here. We have to live alone,
locked in a room. ‘Pucha, you brought me from my house to a room and not knowing anyone’. So, it hit him a lot.

Mariana told me how her son struggles until today, even when she does everything possible to integrate him into his new life. However, with her spending long hours at work and alone in the house, he spends more time connected with his friends back in Venezuela.

In both cases, Mariana and Vanesa struggled to find ways to integrate their children into their new schools, which made them go to the schools and talk to the teachers several times. These cases are not the only ones; several "crisis" mothers narrated how their children struggled to integrate into the new schools in the process of learning the unknown "social" rules, new language, and the mourning of missing their friends, family, and what they used to know. Therefore, the mothers tried to facilitate this process by mediating with the school, the teachers and even helping their children with the schoolwork in what they can, considering that most of them did not speak English. Nevertheless, this process implies significant emotional work for mothers that they do primarily by themselves. In this process, some mothers, as Vanesa, question their decisions about migrating and the wellbeing of their children: "My daughter was a victim of bullying, so she cried every day. She did not want to go. At the time, I felt bad; I felt that I had made the worst decision of my life. So, I said, what do I do? My brother tells me [name redacted] ‘here, nothing is easy, everyone who arrives does not have a good time at first, but time will pass, and you will see that everything goes better. But this is the only option we have’".

However, not all of the children’s adaptations to schools were demanding experiences. Mothers use diverse strategies to make this process easier for their children. For example, Luisa, a "crisis" mother with one daughter that arrived in NYC in 2017, told me: "The first year we arrived in the United States, I decided not to dedicate myself much to work because my daughter was
depressed and anxious. She didn't speak any English, and I said: ‘I'm going to dedicate myself emotionally to taking care of her, for her to adapt, to help her with learning English, to be with her, then, in the second year, I'm going to look for a job’”. For others, it was not possible to stop working, but they said they were lucky the teacher worked closely with their children, as in Andrea and Lucia's cases.

Even in different scenarios, Venezuelan mothers I interviewed are responsible for mediating for their children with schools and teachers, becoming the main actors in their children's lives outside their family. This mediation consumes physical time and has an emotional cost since the feeling rules they used to know and the framing rules of the ideal of motherhood tend to be in constant tension with their children's situation, especially when they compare it to the Venezuelan school system.

When I talk about the mediation role of mothers, assume after they migrated with the interviewees, one relevant aspect is that fathers are not mentioned when the mothers explain these situations to me. This is because most fathers do not manage the emotional adjustment of their children to the new country or the new schools. This means that women assume the time that these costs and the emotional labor this implied for them.

Finally, comparing Lima to NYC, we can see that there is more mediating in the case of mothers in NYC than in Lima, even when mothers in Lima are struggling with fiddling spots in schools for their children. This mediation role is more present in the migration from the south to the north could be because children need to adapt to a city that is more different from their home cities; this includes the language and other aspects such as the social norms that exist than tend to be more different than the ones they had in Venezuela. Moreover, this is also less present in Lima because mothers are in a more precarious situation. So, they have less time and resources to fulfill
this role. However, this impossibility to guarantee the children's mourning and emotional well-being has an emotional cost for Venezuelan mothers in Lima.

*Second dimension: coping with fears.*

The second dimension in which the framing and feeling rules of the "ideal" of motherhood are in tension with Venezuelan mothers’ daily experience is how they are confronted with the receiving cities' contexts. These contexts, regardless of whether it is Lima or NYC, generate fears related to childrearing. Coping with constant fears of the new city is a new role for mothers and generates extra emotional work compared to Venezuela, where they already know how to handle the specific threats they recognize in their home countries. In both cases, Venezuelan mothers highlight several concerns in raising their children, even when their children are adults that live outside of Venezuela. The one worry they have in common is the lack of support they have in the receiving city.

Andrea, a "crisis" mother who arrived in NYC in 2018 with her 6-year-old daughter and gave birth to another daughter in the receiving city, told me that one of the most challenging experiences as a mother is the lack of family support.

The most difficult thing is not having the family... The support of my mother, the support of my father... When I was here, I had to face a pregnancy alone. Well, with my partner, thank God he was with me supporting me. But we are him and me, he with me and I for him, there is no one else. That is what made me sad the most. What made me sad the most was when I came from the hospital; I had to leave alone with the little bag, the one you take to the hospital (...) And the next day, he had to go to work, and I, with a c-section, had to get up and make food for my other daughter... That was what struck me the most.
This comment is similar to that of Elena, a "last-hope" mother who arrived in Lima in 2019 with one daughter, who explained that raising her daughter in Lima without any reference and family gatherings is one of the most challenging things.

The hardest thing about parenting in Lima? Sometimes I start to think, ‘Am I doing it right? Will I have to correct her as they corrected me? To scold her or hit her? What would my mom do in this situation?’ When I lived with my mom before coming here, when I was upset, ‘Mom! that [name retracted]’, but my mom said, ‘Daughter, calm down, go, do this, this and this’. And I've become aware, if I do it this way she acts differently, yes, if I do it this way she acts very rebellious. So, I think that's the hardest thing about raising a daughter without a family.

Mothers in both cities highlighted that one of the most challenging aspects of mothering away from their home country is feeling alone. This implies that they need not only support in the practical aspects of their daily life, as Andrea explained but that they also do not have the emotional support of their family, as Elena pointed out. This sentiment is not part of what they could expect in their feeling rules as part of the motherhood situation since all the women I interviewed highlighted that they constantly imagine raising their children around their family. Forced migration has made this family support unavailable. This loneliness for the mothers implied doing more emotional work to satisfy all the demands of their families. It also means that the mothering practices that previously involved family networks must shift, causing the conflict between childcare and work to become more present in their daily lives.

Even when all the interviewees narrated to me how they are in constant communication with their family back in Venezuela, this loneliness is present. For example, Andrea told me how her mother accompanied her via video calls during her pregnancy. Also, Elena narrated how she constantly calls her mom, so her daughter will not forget who she is. However, even when they
feel technology is a significant improvement to stay closer to their families, all of them assure it cannot replace the physical presence of their families since the support it offers is limited. Besides, for Venezuelan mothers, technology becomes a double-edged tool since it also generates guilt for them having more access to food and medicines; they constantly worry about how their family is struggling back home.

As the quotes above show, mothers living in NYC worry about the lack of familiarity between neighbors, which they don't feel happened in Venezuela. Andrea told me how this affects the communication with her husband's family that is from Ecuador. "Is not the same as with your family, because you have broad and full confidence. But here, with the issue of nationalities, it is an obstacle in communication. At least I think of it that way. The difference of cultures does not allow me to be who I am because each person has different boundaries and a way of being. And I feel that I always have to be cautious in the way I express myself, in the things that I think, or that I do not think, because people can be offended". Andrea's situation is not uncommon: several interviewees have said they consider the cultural distance between Venezuela and people who live in NYC an obstacle. This does not respond to Venezuela's diversity since the country historically has had a significant migration flow and diverse ethnic population. So, the concern of this cultural difference is based on the different social norms and practices that they do not understand or approve of.

Concerns about cultural differences in the city are present in all Venezuelan mothers' interviews in NYC, even for those with older children. In that sense, as Mariana affirms in the quote above, people living in NYC are perceived as distant and indifferent. This impression about cultural distance is present in all mothers in NYC, highlighting those Venezuelan mothers who struggle to establish relations with both Americans and Latinos. Cultural differences also have
affected their relationships in how they or their children express themselves and what they feel the school, or the community is asking from them.

Others worried about raising their children in NYC because they perceived the city as a more dangerous place than their home country. In this context, they are worried about access to drugs, guns, and gangs. For example, Lucía, a "crisis" mother with 3 children, told me about the constant worries of raising her children in the city: "The difficulty is that here you have to be more affectionate, more protective… protective in the sense that drugs are everywhere. It is also one of the countries where marijuana is practically legal. We live in a country that if you don't give it [protection] to your daughters, they could fall at any moment. We live in a country where there is too much debauchery, and one has to be more attentive and more awake. It’s a mother's responsibility to realize more of what your children are doing and to know what they are doing". Lucia's quote summarizes what most mothers in NYC feel about the constant worries to raise children in this city. This worry can also be conceptualized as an additional emotional work that mothers have acquired with their migration process since they feel they need to be constantly alert of their children's actions and friend's groups. Moreover, this alert also comes with mothers' negotiation about their children's new values and behavior they often don't share.

In the case of Lima, mothers' fears are mainly concentrated around the xenophobic sentiment that exists in the country. This makes them feel isolated from the Peruvian population, and –just as in NYC– they rarely trust the care of their children to Peruvian women or men. This fear increases significantly for mothers with female children concerned about "machismo" and high domestic violence rates in Peru. Elena, a "last-hope" mother with a 5-year-old child and a Peruvian husband, narrated how she saw in the news a headline about kidnapping, rape, and murder by a 16 old teenager. The news made Elena, less than a year living in Lima, not want to leave the
house with her daughter for 3 weeks. "I think that all my concern about having a girl, above all, is that she ends up with a ‘machista.’ Here in Peru, the man is very ‘machista.’ And then I fear that she will get a man who will beat her, who will abuse her. (...) Of course, there are sexists worldwide. In Venezuela, there are sexists. In the United States, there are sexists, but what happens is that in Peru, I have seen that the high rate of sexism is greater”. This concern about raising their daughters in Lima, where they perceive masculinity to be more toxic than back home, is constant for Venezuelan mothers.

In summary, Venezuelan mothers demonstrate a lack of trust outside Venezuelan communities in both cities. This mistrust is based not only on the receiving city where they arrive but also on their experience in Venezuela and their migration trajectories. Furthermore, the trajectory of forced migration reinforces this distrust, which filters into their mothering practices.

This mistrust that filters in the mothering practices is more present in the mothers in NYC. As I have explained, this response is due to the lack of Venezuelan networks in the city. Also, because the number of Venezuelan citizens living in NYC is much lower than living in Lima. In this case, for Venezuelan mothers in Lima, even when they do not have strong support networks, there is a feeling of familiarity because of the shared experience with other Venezuelan mothers that do not exist in NYC.

*Third dimension: Dealing with new life conditions.*

The third dimension that generates emotional work for these mothers is when the ideal of motherhood, with its framing and feeling rules, enters in tension with difficulties of assuring a similar life condition for their children to the one they had back in Venezuela. One of the most considerable difficulties for mothers in both cities is that they cannot give their children everything they would have in Venezuela before the crisis worsened.
Camila, a "crisis" mother that arrived in 2015 in NYC with her children, explained how difficult it is not to be able to afford different things she would like for them. "The most difficult thing is the economic part because there are many things that you see that your children could do, and you cannot pay, because you do not have the resources, you do not have a job that allows you to do that. For example, my children would like to take wonderful courses, and I, unfortunately, cannot pay for them. It is the economic part because to the jobs that one has access to; the scope is only to pay and live modestly. That is the most difficult". Camila struggles to reconcile her life back in Venezuela with the one she had in New York City. In Venezuela, she was a nurse practitioner in the cardiovascular surgery area of one of the biggest hospitals in Caracas. Even when she said they were not wealthy back in Caracas, she said they had a comfortable life and were willing to pay for this type of extra expense. However, with migration, that possibility has disappeared.

Carolina, also a "crisis" mother of two young adults in NYC, told me that for her, it was difficult to get used to the idea of the new life their children have in the receiving city. "It gave me a lot of depression, seeing that what I had dreamed could not be. I was crying for my children. I used to say: after so much sacrifice, see where they are working. Now I say that work dignifies them, and they [their children] really have been exemplary people". Carolina, who had her own business back in Venezuela and hired a domestic worker to handle the house tasks, explained how neither of her children had worked before because they were focusing on studying.

In the same way, Joadelis, a "connected" mother of 3 children who arrived in Lima in 2018, told me how different living in Lima was compared with the possibilities they used to have in Venezuela before the crisis. "It is difficult, above all, for your daughter to leave her degree, a university degree, halfway through, because she simply cannot continue. It is very frustrating that
she cannot continue, not only because she does not want to, but because she cannot. It's the worst thing I've ever had. And, well, always wanting our children to be educated, in my son’s case, I had him there in his extracurricular studies, the musical orchestra, I had him in baseball. Every afternoon was busy.” Joadelis, a nurse who specialized in neonatal therapy back in Venezuela, struggled with not being able to afford her children's education and extracurricular activities in Lima. These activities had been part of their daily basis back in Venezuela before the crisis.

Carolina, Camila, and Joadelis's cases show how mothers fail to adapt to the reduced circumstances of their migration and how they continually compare their children’s situation to what they have to give up back in Venezuela. In both cities, for all the women, this forced migration has implied adapting their expectations of the things they can give to their children in terms of material means and non-material means like education or family support. These expectations that they could not fulfill are part of what they understand to be a “good mother”. So, when they cannot accomplish them, their ideal of motherhood and their framing rules enter in conflict with the situation that forced migration has generated.

Forced migration generated downward mobility for these mothers even when they had access to human, social and financial capital before migration. Literature highlights that migration represents a downwards mobility for migrants (Cederberg 2017; Parreñas 2015). Forced migration seems to emphasize this downward mobility further and reduce pathways towards upward mobility even for women and families with greater access to capital before migration.

In the interviews with Venezuelan mothers, the comparison with what they used to have back in Venezuela permeated conversations: the house, the car, the profession, and the time. Many of them migrated expecting that they would be able to transfer their various capitals to this new context over time. However, this has not happened. Nevertheless, this adaptation implied that
women would have to manage their feelings of mourning and loss and explain these feelings to their younger children.

When we compare the struggle to adapt to the new circumstances, we could see that this is more present in the mothers in NYC. This responds that mothers in NYC migrated with more capitals than the mothers in Lima, and this downwards mobility has become more prominent for many of them. However, mothers in Lima still struggle with adaptation since they expected to transfer their capitals, primarily the educational, more accessible because Peru was a Latin American country. However, this possibility has not only been almost inaccessible for most of them but when there became highly expensive. This show that the route for transfer capitals in both migration path, South to South or South to North, became extremely rare for Venezuelan mothers.

Therefore, forced migration for these women generated the loss of the living situation they maintained in Venezuela. Their condition as forced migrants is central to their attempts at reconciling the difference between their habitus and capitals and how they live in their receiving city. Essentially, they were forced to migrate to maintain part of their living situation, but this has not happened and is deeply disappointing.

In this context, when mothers are faced with the inability to accomplish their previous living conditions after migration, their ideal of motherhood is confronted. So, they need to adapt to the new roles and circumstances. However, this adaptation also comes with emotional work for women that already have framing and feeling rules associated with motherhood. Therefore, motherhood in this context in a new city generates a different set of emotions for them.

4.3. Emotions around motherhood
For the Venezuelan women, I interviewed, the emotions linked to being a mother involve a constant tension between anxiety, guilt, frustration, and the knowledge that migration has been the best decision for their children. Elena, a "last-hope" mother who arrived in Lima in 2019 with her 5-year-old daughter, explains in her own words:

I hope that in a moment when she is older, she understands all this, what we are doing for her. To migrate from a country where I was delighted, where I was safe, to come to a country for her security, where she could have breakfast, lunch, dinner, and a snack. Where she could tell me, ‘Mom, I want a toy,’ and I had the opportunity to say, ‘look, here is the toy.’ Where she could tell me, ‘Mom, I want to go to the park,’ and I could take her to the park without the fear of being mugged or kidnapped. I hope that she understands that the process that I did for her is for something good.

Elena's feelings summarize what all the mothers I spoke with in both cities articulated: they recognize that migration has opened doors to the children for new opportunities, even when the process for them has been arduous. Also, they value that migration has given their children security and peace in their lives. For most of them, it has allowed them to eliminate the uncertainty the crisis in Venezuela has generated in the last years. Therefore, even when they don't verbalize it and highlight the difficulties of being away from home, the migration process has also brought moments of joy and tranquility to their families.

*The working mothers*

For working mothers in both cities these positive feelings are also in tension with the guilt and anxiety that arose because their work hours had demanded they spend more time outside the home. Therefore, these mothers are confronted with not spending as much time as they were used to with their children.
For example, Gianina, a "crisis" mother with 2 children who arrived in NYC in 2019, explained that one of the most challenging aspects of the migration is spending less time with her children. "One of the most difficult things is not being able to be with your children, because there [in Venezuela] you stay with them… because you know… one there is blessed, if you want, you do not work because you can stay home… but here… here, I repeat, you have to go out, work, be active". Gianina's quotes show the comparison she makes with Venezuela, where she worked with her husband in their own business. This gave her a lot of time and flexibility to spend time with her children and take care of her household tasks.

Similarly, Lidia, a "connected" mother of two children in Lima who arrived in 2018, who worked in Human Resources back in Venezuela, explains that the Peru job market gave her fewer opportunities to spend time with her children. "The time you have to dedicate to your children in Peru is less. Also, there is no such thing as working 8 hours in Peru; it takes you longer to work or be in traffic. If not, I would have more time to dedicate to them. Also, in Lima, there are no days off. The most difficult thing about being a mother is not being able to have the care that a mother wants to give her children; there is less time to be a family, and of less quality".

Lidia and Gianina, both in different cities, explained how being a working mother in this precarious working situation with a demand for long working hours interfered with the care of the children. This is a common aspect in the interviews in both cities, mainly since most of the professional women interviewed were used to having a different schedule in Venezuela.

Part of the expectancy of the working hours and free days also corresponds to the political regime they were used to, where most of them leave work at around 4 or 5 pm. This expectancy of working 8 hours disappeared with the jobs they have found after the migration process, mainly in the service sector. This became an impediment to spend as much time as they are used to with
their children and spend quality time with them. This is because of two main aspects: the lack of extra money that allows them to do different activities and the need to be in charge of the household responsibilities in their free time. In this way, women struggled to maintain the ideal of motherhood and the capacity to spend time with their children.

*The stay-at-home mothers*

Among women in NYC and Lima, all stay-at-home mothers, the positive feelings are in tension with their frustration when they think they have lost part of their identity as professional and working women. This is especially accentuated because back in Venezuela, these women worked outside their homes. Women who have decided to stay home for their children in their receiving city, even if they do not regret it, acknowledge that the transition from a working woman to a stay-at-home mother is difficult, primarily because of the lack of independence and personal space.

Vanesa, a "crisis" mother who arrived in NYC in 2016 after working as a public accountant in Venezuela, said that the lack of accessible childcare does not allow her to get a stable job. "It has been a tragic change; for me, the change of jobs does not affect me that much. For me, it was when I had no stability. At least I live in a studio apartment. The three of us slept in the same bed [with her brother] because I spent my life struggling to get my house, my car... for me to get... not any luxury... what any human being wants, to have a quality of life. Here, right now, I would like to at least work in my area ..."

Camila, a "crisis" mother who lives in NYC and was a nurse in Venezuela, narrated how she felt when she became a stay-at-home mother.

"Look, it's pretty frustrating. Because no matter how positive and resilient you are, when you are a woman who is used to earning your money, and more so, we Venezuelans, we do have to work to live here. We leave people behind there who also need us to help them..."
because they do not have medicines, do not have food, and do not have shoes, who do not have such basic things to live. So, you feel very frustrated because you can't help yourself or help those you love. I have developed certain diseases derived from stress, such as metabolic syndrome and high blood pressure. I was going bald; I got really fat, gaining 10 kilos. Very frustrated, there were days when, while my children were in class, I just wanted to sleep, sleep and sleep, to escape my reality. It is very hard. It has been very hard, very frustrating.

Similarly, Ines, a "last-hope" mother who arrived in Lima with her two children in 2019, explained that taking care of her two children all day has been an exhausting process.

If I'm honest... being here without being able to work, just taking care of my children... it has been for me too... I've been very tired. I don't know why... if it's because I didn't see them all day in Venezuela, I wasn't with them all day. But here it is heavy, I have been adapting, but I have seen it strongly because there, they were used to being in their nursery, and I just took care of them like 3-4 hours instead of all day here; I helped them do homework, and all that stuff. Patience runs out... a bit... for me.

The cases of Vanesa, Camila and Ines exemplify how stay at home mothers felt frustrated and drained of energy because of staying home and being with their kids all day. Moreover, Camila explained to me something that many women felt impacted their emotional wellbeing significantly: the lack of economic independence, not only for them to decide what to do with their money but also to send remittances back to their family in Venezuela.

However, even though they express this burnout in their emotional work and their frustration in their new roles as stay-at-home moms, they also value the new time they spend with their children, which did not exist back in Venezuela for many of them. For example, Elena, a "last-hope" mother in Lima, told me that she felt that they have become closer. "The relationship with my daughter… I think we’ve become a little closer. She practically sleeps with me. We do not bathe together because, ‘conchale’, I have to have a moment for myself, right?" This expression
summarizes how most stay-at-home mothers even appreciate this new time with their children. For these women, migratory changes—in a different way—have also put their role as mothers in the center of their daily life activities and their gender performance.

*The transnational mothers.*

For transnational mothers, as the literature confirms (Baldassar, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005; Parreñas, 2001), guilt is present in many of their interactions with their children. Both in NYC and Lima, mothers struggled with the feeling of guilt for leaving their children in their country of origin. This is especially heightened for Venezuelan mothers that felt the scarcity as a constant presence in Venezuela. Therefore, they constantly compared their possibilities in the receiving country with their children's conditions back in Venezuela. For instance, Ines, a "connected" mother who migrated in 2018 by herself, saved enough money to pay for the trip of 2 of her 3 children to Lima after a year and a half. However, she narrated how much guilt she felt when all her children were back in Venezuela and continue to feel about her older son, who is still there.

Because I thought my children would be here with me in December of the same year that I came. But it was not like that. I went a year without seeing them. Well, imagine, I went for three years without seeing my son. I didn't think that either. It is difficult to be in a part that, suddenly, you eat well, that is, you go to a place that you see is beautiful, you have fun, you think: I am watching this here, or I am eating this, and my children, what will they be eating?

A way transnational mothers make their children feel their presence is by video calls and text messages. Technology has allowed them to be more present in their children's day than what could have been possible even just a decade ago. For this reason, in some cases, they look for jobs that will let them use cell phones during the day. In this way, they can reply quickly to their children's
needs. For example, Mariana, a "crisis" mother that works in a restaurant and a nail salon and was apart from her son for a year, told me: "It was difficult… video calls every day, crying every day; I tried to tell him, ‘Calm down, we'll be together soon’. He was the one who made me cry as well, ‘come on, I need you’. But I always maintained daily communication, and I always spoke to him." Mariana's experience also shows how mothers struggle to be away from their children and manage their relationships.

One essential difference between transnational mothers in NYC and Lima is the length of time of separations. It is possible to see that in NYC cases, few mothers left their children in their home countries, such as Mariana. After a year, most of them managed to bring their children to the city. However, transnational motherhood is more common in Lima. This response to two main factors. The first is that mobility between the two countries is more accessible, so some mothers who have left their children back in Venezuela return to visit them. The separation is of longer duration but is less drastic given the frequency of visits home. The second one is that women struggle more to save the money they need to bring their children to the city to live with them in Lima. This emphasizes how women who arrive in Lima have fewer resources and capitals than when they left Venezuela and could indicate that women in Lima are working more precarious and informal jobs than those in NYC.

When talking to the women who have children back in Venezuela about taking care of their children, two central figures appeared. In most cases, it is the children's fathers, who are their husbands or ex-partners. For example, Ivana and Ines, both “connected” mothers living in Lima, told me that their children moved with their ex-partners when they decided to migrate to Lima. In contrast to the specialized literature (Parreñas, 2001), most of the Venezuelan cases don't tally with
the argument that women in the families that stay behind are the ones that most often take care of the children in the home country.

Furthermore, the decision for their children to stay back in Venezuela is not only because of economic possibilities. For many mothers in Lima, the decision was made primarily for older children who they hoped would finish their high school year in Venezuela. Moving their children to Lima or Peru implies years lost for their children's education. Also, mothers weigh the possibilities they have to give their children the best living situations in the new country or find jobs if they have to take care of their children. For instance, Ivanna, one of the "connected" mothers, explained how she decided it was best for her two children, 17 and 7 years old, to stay back in Venezuela.

What happened was... Why did I decide for them to stay?... Because I didn't know what all this was like. And in one way or another... I decided to come from Venezuela; it wasn't because I was ‘pasando trabajo’ [unemployed] in Venezuela. I lived in Venezuela super well, and so did they; that is, I would not get them out of their comfort zone to bring them to something where I didn't know what I was going to face, and I decided to come along to see. Because although it is true, in Venezuela there are many needs and everything, they are fine. So, if I am going to get them out of Venezuela, it is so that they are better.

So, Ivana told me that they are living in a bubble because of her remittances every month. These allow her children to maintain their living situation, including a private school in Caracas, even when the crisis worsens.

Ivanna’s case shows that transnational mothers, especially in Lima, emphasize the sending of remittances back to their children back to Venezuela. This allows their children a better living situation and to, in most cases, continue their education. For these women, sending remittances implies that most of their salary is destined to that, which generates the physical and emotional
work of keeping track of children’s necessity despite the distance. The act of sending remittances to their children also helps mothers feel less guilt of not being able to be with their children. However, this does not extinguish the guilt mothers felt after separating from their children, even when remittances become a way for mothers to be present, show their support, affection, and have a power of decision in their children's lives, as literature has shown (Dreby, 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 2005; Parreñas, 2001).

However, for mothers in NYC, the decision for their children to stay back in the home country is not only related to economic possibilities or their children's education back in Venezuela. It is also related to the disposition of visas in their home country. For example, Rosa, a "crisis" mother who arrived in NYC with her youngest daughter in 2019, explains that her two other sons of 14 and 22 years old stayed in Venezuela because they didn't have the visa to travel to the US. Nonetheless, like the other mothers, she sends the remittances to make sure they have what they need and talks with her younger son every day. Besides this legal barrier, in most NYC cases the separation of mothers to their children tends to be more temporary compared to Lima. However, when the legal barrier of the visa is present, this separation that was thought of as temporary in the women I interviewed became a more permanent situation.

Finally, transnational mothers, especially in Lima, expressed that they shared the decision of their children's care with their ex-partners or partners. Therefore, they felt involved in their children's lives regardless of the distance. For example, Giovanna, a "connected" mother in Lima, whose son lives in Venezuela with her husband, told me that her husband tried to run by her most of the decisions about their son: "He [her husband] always asks me: ‘Giovanna, you know that [name redacted] is sneezing a lot, what I can give him?’. ‘Give him this, give him that’. He always asks me. Or ‘look, Giovanna, I'm going to go get the notes from [name redacted]’. ‘Oh well, send
me a picture”. In fact, in November I went to school, I talked to the teachers... ". This involvement makes mothers feel in both places at once, like Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (2005) state. This situation can be emotionally draining, especially since they sometimes feel powerless because of the distance. However, they also recognize that the person taking care of their children runs their decision because of lack of time or avoiding worrying about a particular situation. In this situation, mothers are in tension between how much involvement they have in their children's lives and how much they can do because of the distance.

4.4. The emotional cost of mothering in a foreign city
In general, it is possible to see that women are in tension between the framing rules, the feeling rules, and the situation they encounter after the forced migration. This tension enhances the dissonance of what they have defined as ideal motherhood in Venezuela and their possibilities in their receiving cities. By trying to mediate and reduce that dissonance, Venezuelan mothers generate more emotional work than they used to do in their home country.

One of the roles that generate the emotional work for Venezuelan mothers is the mediation of the impacts of migration for their children, as literature explains (Tumala Narra, 2004; Yax-Fraser, 2011). In that way, mothers fulfill a new role as mediators between mourning their children's losses in migration and living situations. Moreover, mothers also act as mediators with the external actors of new cities, especially when their children have a problem adapting to the schools. These mediations have become an emotional work for mothers since they try to manage their own emotions and families.

As, it possible to see this mediation is greater the migration from south to north, than in the south-to-south migration. This is because of the socio-cultural difference between the receiving cities and the precarious situation women found themselves in. Therefore, this incapacity to fulfill
as a mediator on many occasions also generates contradictory feelings in the case of Venezuelan mothers in Lima that are expected to manage their children's emotional mourning for their home country and their emotional wellbeing.

Furthermore, Venezuelan mothers also find dissonance in adapting to the culture in both cities. This makes them constantly worried about raising their children without family support, which was fundamental back in Venezuela, and with elements, they consider dangerous in both cities. These contexts make them more isolated from possible local networks, so generating belonging in the new cities becomes more complex (Gilmartin and Migge, 2016). Besides, mothers find dissonance in their expectations for their children and their possibilities in the receiving cities, which makes this process of feeling comfortable in the new countries more difficult.

Nonetheless, even when both mothers feel isolated from local networks, it is vital to highlight the difference between Lima and NYC. This difference is based in that in Lima are significantly more Venezuelan citizens living there. So even when the networks of these mothers are not a strong network that helps them in the care tasks like in Venezuela, they felt some familiarity with this community of migrants in the middle of all the distrust they have for the Peruvian community. However, this is not the case for the NYC mothers who cannot feel the Venezuelan community's presence in the city.

Moreover, even when most Venezuelan mothers I interviewed accomplish managing their transnational ties due to technology, this offers limited support. This happens because Venezuelan mothers are also constantly worried about their families back home, who struggle with the crisis and how to manage it. In this sense, forced migration has also produced guilt for Venezuelan women I talked to when they compare living conditions.
Apart from mediating their families' feelings and emotional struggle, women also struggle with their own emotions about motherhood in the foreign city. Working mothers also deal with anxiety and guilt because of the lack of time they have to spend with their children. In the case of the stay-at-home mothers, it is possible to see that the transition between being working women to this new role has had an emotional cost for them, which is linked to frustration with their lack of independence and daily burnout. Meanwhile, transnational mothers tried to manage forms of communication with their kids and send remittances to manage the guilt and sorrow of the separation of their children. Regardless, they recognize that the migration process has benefited their families.

Finally, it is possible to see the Venezuelan mothers I interviewed have a different emotional work than they had back in Venezuela since they are trying to deal with emotions taking new shapes, mainly because they felt alone and overworked. A significant highlight in the narrative of all the mothers I talked to is that fathers do not play a significant role in managing the emotional situations of their children and families. In this way, they become responsible for the emotional labor of their family. However, in some cases, their partners become the only support to replace the social support they used to have back in Venezuela. This situation increases the feeling of guilt, anxiety, and fears in tension with the feeling rules. This is why women who manage to bring their family to the receiving city make it possible to see how these feelings change. However, this is not the majority for the forced migration in the Venezuelan diaspora. Therefore, women need to deal with these emotions and their children's emotions while they adjust their ideas of motherhood in the new cities. For them, this has implied a constant negotiation with themselves about what they can do and new ways to do things they were already accustomed to. This emotional work becomes greater because, as in the gender distribution of the household, mothers are the ones that
need to ensure the emotional wellbeing of their family. Therefore, Venezuelan women add another burden to their responsibilities inside the household, with little support from their partners or family members.
Section 4: Mothering and care during COVID-19

Section 3 analyzes how the contours of constructions of motherhood in the receiving cities have impacted Venezuelan mothers and generated more emotional work because their feeling rules are in constant tension with their mothering practice and the new situations they need to confront. Besides, raising children in a new city has forced them to become mediators between their children and diverse actors, which generates a new mothering experience in a cross-cultural environment.

In these situations, the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted Venezuelan mothers who were already carrying out most of their families’ emotional and reproductive labor. In this section, I will explain how the COVID-19 pandemic and the government policies in both cities have deepened the gendered burden for Venezuelan mothers and how they have generated more emotional work for these women related to managing their own and their children’s feelings in a crisis.

5.1 Theoretical background.

The additional burdens that women carry within the family have been brought forcefully to the fore by the COVID-19 pandemic. As highlighted in sections 2 and 3, across society as a whole, it is for the most part women who undergird the care economy within families, responsible as they are for care tasks and reproductive and emotional labor (Harcourt, 2009). The pandemic has shown that women are still assigned most care work within families (Chavez, 2020; Flaherty, 2020; Wenham, Smith, and Morgan, 2020). Along with housekeeping-related activities, this includes increased educational tasks now that most classrooms have moved online (Averett, 2020). In general, women’s responsibilities have multiplied significantly during the crisis, both in paid work and in the social reproduction sphere (care work) (Abel et al. 2020; McLaren et al., 2020). In addition, women take on more responsibilities because of pre-disaster gender inequalities (McLaren et al., 2020).
Many studies have begun to explore the impact of COVID-19 on different populations. For example, Martin et al. (2020) have studied how COVID-19 has affected the lives of Indian women working in the gig economy, who reported an increase in their care burden. Even though care responsibilities have also expanded for men, women reported significantly more tasks. It was also found that many women struggle to keep up with childcare and paid work (Martin et al. 2020).

Other studies have also shown that even when women take most childcare and care work responsibilities, men are more willing to take more responsibilities inside the household. However, men tend to take the tasks they find “enjoyable,” leaving women with overall responsibilities (Kabeer et al., 2021; Stevano et al., 2021). Therefore, even when men take a more active role in the reproductive work, women still maintain most of the burden related to scheduling and managing the accomplishment of care-related tasks in the family unit.

Prime et al. (2020) explain how, as the wellbeing of children and families as a whole is endangered during the pandemic, caregivers become responsible for sustaining hope, nourishing emotional security, and negotiating rules and routines inside their families (Prime et al. 2020). Nevertheless, the impact of the pandemic is not equal for all: low-income families, recent immigrants, and families with children will be more severely affected by the loss of income and face more significant disruption (Kabeer et al., 2021; Prime et al. 2020;). Similarly, McLaren et al. (2020) have shown how lockdowns and other pandemic-related regulations in Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Australia have intensified the triple burden for women. According to UN statistics, it must also be noted that even when women assume most of the care responsibilities for their households, children, dependents, and the sick, they still make up 70% of frontline workers categorized as essential in the pandemic (UN, 2020).
Finally, Kabeer et al. (2021) have shown how globally, migrant workers are especially vulnerable to job loss, benefits exclusion, and travel bans. Moreover, in the gender distribution, women tend to be more employed in the sectors that have been hardest hit by the pandemic, like hotels, food, or retail services (Kabeer et al., 2021). Therefore, this has caused those women to tend to have received more of the economic hit of the pandemic, especially women in vulnerable situations.

United States

The first cases of community transmission of COVID-19 in the US were reported in February 2020 (Jordan et al., 2020). By March 1, the New York State Government reported its first case of the virus. The State Government ordered a mandatory shutdown and shelter in place for all non-essential businesses on March 20 after the cases in NYC increased exponentially. The city became the pandemic’s epicenter until mid-year 2020, reporting around 148609 positive COVID-19 cases for the second trimester of the same year (NYC Health, 2021). However, cases started to decrease in June; the city and businesses started to reopen that month slowly; and by the end of September of 2020, NYC reported 176212 positive COVID-19 cases (NYC Health, 2021).

However, the pandemic has not affected everyone in New York State in the same way. Latino communities were hit hard, with many working essential jobs such as construction, babysitting, and house cleaning (Cleaveland and Waslin, 2021; Sing and Koran, 2020). For example, the data of the beginning of the emergency shows that in NYC, the Latino infection rate was 1.6 higher than for white population (Cleaveland and Waslin, 2021).

This particular group has been affected by the impacts on health and the economic fallout of the pandemic. Studies show that Latinos are the most affected by the losses of jobs, especially those with non-U.S citizenship (Berube and Bateman, 2020; Gonzales et al., 2020). In this
particular group, women are more affected than men. This is also related to the fact that a big part of this group of workers has been affected by the responses of Covid-19 (Berube and Bateman, 2020).

COVID-19 consequences also impacted Latinas because of the losses of jobs and income. Also, they are overrepresented in occupations vital for the pandemic response, being at risk for more exposure since their work conditions are not ideal (Cleaveland and Waslin, 2021). Therefore, it’s possible to find Latina women either working as essential workers or being unemployed.

Finally, Latina women are also more vulnerable because of the health disparities that exist in the US, since Latinas without legal status or working in low-wage jobs are unlikely to access health insurance or care. Moreover, the threat of deportation and microaggressions in the medical system also reinforces the rejection of migrants to seek medical attention during the pandemic (Cleaveland and Waslin, 2021). In addition, the stay-at-home order has also been reported as an incrementation in domestic violence. Nevertheless, victims of domestic abuse are also fearful of reporting to the authorities because of the repercussions on their immigration status (Cleaveland and Waslin, 2021).

Peru

After the first case of COVID-19 was detected in Peru on March 16, 2020, the Peruvian Government implemented a policy of closed borders and quarantines that lasted until July 1, mandated people to remain under lockdown except for specified exceptions, and ordered a shutdown of non-essential businesses. However, even with this strict measure that lasted more than 100 days, the Peruvian Government reported around 211684 positive COVID-19 cases in Lima until September of 2020 (Plataforma Nacional de Datos Abiertos, 2020).
While the manifold impact of these measures has varied across the country, the increased vulnerability of Venezuelans was and has remained a common thread. Pre-pandemic, most Venezuelan migrants in Peru worked in the informal economy; by mid-June, more than 50% were unemployed and had already stopped sending remittances home, one of their main reasons for migrating in the first place (Freier et al., 2020).

The fallout of the sanitary crisis triggered by the pandemic has not affected everyone in the same way. Jaramillo and Ñopo (2020) note that the impact of the shutdown and the economic downturn has been particularly severe for women in urban settings. During the first phase of the reopening of the economy, income-generating capacity for the population as a whole recovered to 65% of its pre-pandemic levels. However, the recovery was markedly slower for women in vulnerable situations (poor, indigenous, afro-descendent, or rural). They have only been able to recover 46% of their pre-pandemic income-generating capacity. Adding to this is the fact that employment for Venezuelan women has tended to concentrate in sectors designated as non-essential (INEI, 2019), such as food service, hospitality, trade, indispensable goods, and domestic labor, which are also the hardest hit by the crisis and have suffered the deepest jobs and wage losses (Jaramillo and Ñopo, 2020). Moreover, as Jaramillo and Ñopo (2020) have also shown, motherhood becomes a further obstacle to the assimilation of women into the labor market.

In this context, Venezuelan women, already vulnerable because of the triple jeopardy they face (Perez et al. 2019; Perez and Ugarte 2020), have found themselves in an even more precarious situation (Espinosa and Perez, 2021). They have been impacted by unfavorable policies, deprived of support, and without a safety net to rely on during the crisis, just as the closing of the border forced them into immobility (Freier et al., 2020).
In Peru, Jaramillo and Ñopo (2020) have shown that women bear the brunt of the economic crisis, particularly as they suffer more significant cuts in salaries and income. This is even worse for Venezuelan women that used to work in the informal sectors that have received the most drastic measures to avoid the spread of the virus (Espinosa and Perez, 2021). Moreover, motherhood also had had the negative economic consequences in Venezuela women (Espinosa and Perez, 2021).

In general, it is clear that women are more vulnerable in times of crisis and that the intersection of vulnerabilities intensifies the triple burden of care to which they are subjected. Therefore, a discussion of the experience of Venezuelan mothers during the COVID-19 emergency in NYC and Lima will contribute to the understanding of the pandemic’s gendered effects on voluntary and forced migrant populations.

5.1 Employment during shutdown

COVID-19 related measures have significantly impacted the possibilities to work and the salaries of Venezuelan mothers in Lima and NYC during the months of the shutdown. As the literature highlights, Latinas, and migrant women that work in the service sector have been impacted dramatically because they tend to work mainly in the economic sector that has been the most affected by the economic crisis caused by the pandemic (Cleaveland and Waslin, 2021; Kabeer et al.; 2021; Perez and Espinoza; 2021).

NYC

In the case of NYC, most “dreamer” mothers have managed to find more economic stability because of the time they have lived in the city. However, this crisis has impacted their stability. For example, Martina, who arrived in NYC in 1999 and has one teenage son and one young adult living with her, told me, “It has been hard for me, obviously. Because I’m the one who had to spend… a lot of money in my cards… what little I have saved is practically gone… I will not work
until July 6 [she stopped working on March 18]… I work in the kitchen area in an architect’s office, and it is going to open on July 6. And only 25% are going to be able to work, and they have to reduce hours as well.”.

Even as the crisis has impacted these women, they have been able to access the State’s benefits because most of them have a regular migration status. However, this is not the situation for the “crisis” mothers, as the economic crisis has impacted them deeply. Unlike the “dreamer” mothers, a vital part of the “crisis” mothers lost their economic security because of the economic crisis. This is Camila’s family’s case. Camila is a stay-at-home mom, but her family had two primary incomes: their older daughter, who worked in a restaurant, and her husband, who worked in a Synagogue. However, both of them lost their jobs with the pandemic, and Camila said it was difficult.

“And financially, we are drowning in debts of electricity, gas, telephone. It has stuck a lot in our pocket. We had a little money saved to start something because, well, ok, as who says, “pagamos noviciado aquí” [they work more because they were new in NYC] with these long hours of work with low pay, and we had the idea of undertaking something on our own this year. And, well, happily, we had that money, and we were able to survive. But you know that people who work in restaurants or things with the public have become unemployed. So, it was hard. From an economic point of view, it has been tough”.

Camila’s case also illustrates that even when women are not working, they share a big part of the financial stress and the emotional labor required to manage the family economy in a crisis.

Similarly, Adriana, a “crisis” mother with two teenage children who arrived in NYC in 2017 and works cleaning planes in the “La Guardia” airport for an airline, told me how because of the pandemic, her working hours are being reduced.
Before the pandemic, my life had always been very stressful, and now with the pandemic worse. Because right now at La Guardia airport… because right now the flights… I went back to work 3 weeks ago and worked 30 hours, no more, per week, because they are no longer giving us the 40 hours because the flights of [airline] went down a lot. There is not much frequency of flights. And right now, with the second wave, which is in Texas and Florida, it had a much greater impact on the flights … and yesterday they gave me the news that they were going to reduce me from 30 to 22 hours a week.

Adriana told me how worried she was about the hours reduction because it was not enough to maintain her 2 children. Besides, she said that she had not received any help from the Government even though she struggles to pay the bills.

Camila and Adriana’s cases exemplify how the “crisis” mothers struggled through the first month of the shutdown, where an essential part of these mothers was forced to stop working for at least 2 months. For some women, having a partner became an essential aspect of economic support since they work as essential workers. For example, Gianina, a “crisis” mother with 2 children that arrived in NYC in 2019, lost her job as a babysitter in the second week of March. Nevertheless, her husband, who works in construction, kept working during the shutdown, which allowed them not to worry about money during these months. “Look, look, I got depressed, not for lack of money or lack of food because look, thank God, I mean, I don’t lack anything… not to give away anything, I mean we cover everything, at all times, everything… but we had not a single penny left”. Nevertheless, this also brought consequences to the family since all of them got COVID-19. Gianina especially suffered from significant symptoms from the virus.

The economic crisis brought by COVID-19 measures has impacted the Venezuelan mothers living in NYC and eliminated all the economic security they could have at some point for themselves and their families. Besides, their working condition has also become more unstable, as they have fewer working hours and less income for working in riskier conditions. In these contexts,
a few of the “crisis” mothers have decided to continue as stay-at-home mothers because of the depression of the job market. However, the rest of the working women have been able to return to work, unlike Lima’s case.

Lima

In Lima’s case, it is possible to see that the “stepping-stone” mothers that arrived in Lima during 2016 and 2017 and have more economic security have also been impacted by the economic fallouts of the Peruvian government lockdown measures to avoid the spread of the pandemic. While the level of economic stability they achieved through migration, albeit based on informal employment, had meant significant improvements in their quality of life, even enabling them to bring family members to Lima, COVID-19 brought that stability to an abrupt end. This is Eva’s case, a real estate broker with one daughter in Lima that arrived in the city in 2016: “It was not a set amount every month, but when you sell a home or rent an apartment, you can earn a good commission.” When the COVID-19 crisis brought the economy to a halt, Eva started sewing face masks to generate income. After the lockdown mandate was lifted, she said: “Houses are selling again, one after another, thank God.”

Josefina, a “stepping-stone” mother with one daughter who arrived in 2016, worked as a spa manager when measures against COVID-19 were put in place. The spa closed down, and Josefina lost her job. Because of the business’ troubled situation, she was not even paid for the last month of work. “The first month [of lockdown], I was relaxed,” Josefina reflected. “It was like being at a retreat, drinking, watching movies. It was in the second month that the anxiety began, when everything started to get more complicated”. Josefina and her family were forced out of the house they shared with another family. They now occupy the second floor of the office where Josefina’s husband works and have started selling fruits for home delivery to cover their expenses.
During their time in Peru before the pandemic, all the women in this group had achieved a degree of financial security. However, this security was mainly based on informal-economy jobs, and it vanished when the crisis started. As a result, their families have struggled with debt and have found themselves unable to afford daily necessities.

In the case of the “connected” mothers, it is possible to find only three interviewees who have been able to find formal employment in areas connected to their professional expertise and keep those jobs during the crisis. But they are the exception. The remaining women worked in the informal sector, and only a few were able to recover their jobs when the shutdown relaxed for businesses around the end of July. Ines, a mother of 3 children (one of them still back in Venezuela), arrived in Lima in 2018 and is employed in a food concession stand. She said: “I was not on the payroll, it was day worked, day paid… so, since I wasn’t working, I wasn’t getting paid… Because it was a food concession, the first month, they supported us a bit with food, plus I had little savings because I had been planning to bring over my son. I had to start using that money… then the money ran out.” Inés’ boyfriend helped with household expenses, an arrangement still in place at the time of the interview, even though Ines had returned to work because she had fallen behind on rent. It is not uncommon for Venezuelan families in Peru to have been forced to spend their savings. Eleven of the women said that they no longer have any savings nor the ability to save; three of these women had been saving to bring someone over from Venezuela.

Ines is one of three women who went back to their previous jobs when the economy began reopening in July. Lidia, a retail clerk, and Maritza, a domestic worker, are the other two. All now work longer hours than before for less pay; the COVID-19 crisis has made their situation even
more complex and precarious. However, they cannot quit their jobs since keeping up with overdue rent and grocery bills from their months in unemployment continues to be a struggle.

There are other women in this group that lost their jobs or were already unemployed when the shutdown started. Their employment had been informal, including those of some who worked as street vendors or in domestic labor. In most cases, these women are married, and their partners returned to work or found a way to generate income after the first month of the shutdown.

Heather, a “connected” mother with one son who arrived in Lima in 2018, recounted how she lost her job when the restaurant where she worked closed down. When the restaurant reopened, she was not hired back. “When the restaurant reopened, some of my coworkers started to work again… but only those who were on payroll… those with more than 6 months working there… I only had three…”. Even when women like Heather are not working outside the home, they are still charged with managing the financial stress that the crisis has imposed on their families as a whole, a pressure they thought they had left behind in Venezuela. Their burdens increase because most of them are responsible for managing money for groceries, children’s necessities, and other household expenditures, making them inescapably aware of the critical financial situation.

Heather expressed something that most Venezuelan mothers also said in the interviews: “It’s all getting more difficult… I’m out of work, so things are tight (…). Every time something bad happens, something worse follows…” Like Camila’s in NYC, Heather’s case illustrated that women shoulder many of the financial stress and the emotional labor required to sustain the family in a crisis when they are not employed.

The last group is composed of the “last-hope” mothers that arrived most recently in Lima. Most of these women worked as street vendors and could not continue doing so under the new restrictions. Only Maria, a mother of 3 children who is a food seller, continues to work. She
complied with the lockdown for the first month but was forced back on the streets by need when her husband also lost his job.

These women are the most vulnerable among the participants. Many of them were evicted in the middle of the lockdown because they could not pay rent or because the shelter where they lived closed down. Also, their migratory status is less regular than that of recent arrivals. With less time in Peru, they have, at best, temporary stay permits or pending asylum requests. Most of them had not even had enough time in Lima to look for a more formal job; when the pandemic struck, they were barely beginning to settle and adapt to the new environment.

In general, and even under normal circumstances, Venezuelan women are made particularly vulnerable by the triple jeopardy of their nationality or ethnicity, gender, and migrant condition (Perez et al., 2019; Perez and Ugarte, 2020). Moreover, the pandemic and the policies implemented in response to it have exacerbated their vulnerability, amplified by the dearth of social and institutional support for them in both cities (Freier et al., 2020). As a result, Venezuelan mothers have become more isolated and at-risk during the pandemic, increasingly losing jobs while having to bear the added burdens that result from their families being in crisis.

5.3 Housework and childcare under lockdown

Regardless of the city or date of arrival, the government-mandated lockdown restrictions have been especially hard on the interviewees’ family dynamics. In general, migration has involved significant shifts in the division of labor within these households, as we have seen in section 2. Therefore, most of the women I interviewed felt that the housework has become more demanding with the migration since they need to devote more hours to it and have less support from family members.
For almost all the mothers interviewed, the COVID-19 pandemic and the government-mandated lockdown meant new responsibilities in the home. They were already in charge of childcare and housekeeping tasks, and now whatever support they may have had was curtailed by the lockdown measures. For those with a mother or other family members living in a different household in the cities, this meant not seeing them for an extended period of time and being deprived of the limited support they may have provided. Such social support in their childcare and household responsibilities had been the most significant counterweight to their difficult situation in Venezuela; they no longer had that during the pandemic.

During lockdown, these women also had to deal with the fact that their entire family was sequestered at home. They also recognized this as a time to enjoy the company of their loved ones, especially the first month of the lockdown, something that their families couldn’t usually do since they migrated. For example, Camila, a “crisis” mother, is a stay-at-home mother of 4 children who arrived in NYC in 2015. She told me that the shutdown has been challenging for her family. However, it has also allowed them to spend more time together, something they hadn’t been able to do since they left Venezuela. “We are super happy [about being together in the house]. My husband and I say, ‘ok, too bad because we are not producing, the bills are rising and that, but, on the other hand, we have never had the opportunity to spend so much time together’. We live it as a blessing because since we arrived in this country, my daughter was always traveling, my husband was always working at night, I was always alone. When the children were at school, I was always alone. When the children were at school, I was always alone here. From that point of view, it has been very good”. Camila’s experience allows us to see how even in this struggling situation, the women I interviewed also see this time as a rare opportunity.
In Lima’s case, it’s possible to see that even when women are struggling more because of the more extended quarantine that the Government mandated, mothers also highlight that they were happy that they could spend more time with their families than before, when this was uncommon. Jannet, one of the “stepping-stone” mothers that arrived in Lima in 2016 with her husband and 2 children, said that the pandemic has been difficult economically since they have not been able to produce money because her husband and older son work in the taxi business. However, she also felt that this situation had brought them together as a family. “My husband, I think he has been the light, the one who said ‘well, we have to do things more calmly, if we are here longer, we have to enjoy it’. And these other perspectives have helped us to see the situation as a family. It has united us more like a family”.

Most of the literature that focuses on the impact of the lockdown and the COVID-19 pandemic emphasizes the negative outcome this has had for mothers (Averett, 2020; Del Boca et al., 2020; Petts, Carlson, and Pepin, 2020; Stevano et al., 2021; Xue and McMunn, 2021) because of the extra burden the gendered division of labor generated. Therefore, this literature highlights mothers who experience adverse outcomes in the working hours, the division of labor inside the household, and the distress they experience. Nevertheless, as exemplified by the experiences of Camila and Jannet, for forced migrants that are compelled to spend most of the time separated because of their daily jobs and activities, time together is a luxury that they did not previously have in their receiving cities. So, even in this difficult situation, being allowed to have this time also becomes reminiscent of their families’ dynamics in Venezuela.

However, having the entire family cramped together all day long and day after day in very close quarters, often in small spaces, in Lima’s cases primarily single rooms, also resulted in more work for the women, as studies have shown (Del Boca et al. 2020; Martin et al.; 2020; Stevano et
al., 2021), involving more cleaning and more cooking as well as a constant state of anxiety about the challenges the family faced. For example, Karina, a “connected” mother, one of the four interviewees who work from home, said: “Housework never ends… because I get up, and I can’t work in a messy house like this… So, there is always something to do…”

In the same way, Lucia, a “crisis” mother that lives in NYC with her three children, also told me that with the lockdown, the tasks in the house increased for her. This happened mainly because she needs to clean and cook more than what she used to when the children were in school. “There is more to do… there is more because when the children are at home, the house gets dirtier… unfortunately, it gets dirtier… there are more tasks… because I have to cook… more, I have to do a little more for them [laughs]”.

In this context, it is possible to divide the women into two groups based on the age of their children. The first group includes women with children 12 or older. Mothers in this group reported that their children tend to help with household chores and even take care of younger siblings. As a result, they felt their burden was alleviated, and housework was distributed more equally that way. For example, Ines, a “connected” mother, said about their daughters, 15 and 12 years old: “My daughters are not little girls, but they aren’t adults, either… they help me a lot around the house with the cleaning… and also sometimes with fixing something quick to eat or even cooking”. Ines also explains that the help their daughters provide to her is more than the one they used to give in Venezuela.

In the same way, Karina, also a “connected” mother of three children who arrived at Lima in 2018, said that all her family helps with the house’s responsibilities, making the situation more manageable. “But, right now, we all collaborate at home. It’s not that I’m the only one doing it,
no, we all, we all collaborate. That makes the load a lot easier for everyone”. Nevertheless, even when their children help, she is the one that needs to supervise that the tasks are done.

In the case of NYC, we can see a similar distribution of help during the shutdown within the families. For example, Fabiola, an “American dreamer” mother who arrived in NYC in 1999, had a similar experience with her 19- and 12-year-old daughters. She said she feels that they are independent and does not need to be attending to them. “It is not that you have to make food for each one, even my girls, because I have them very independent: if they want to eat, ‘go see what is in the fridge’, so it is not that I feel with a lot more work now. On the contrary”. Fabiola explains that because she sees both her daughters as independent and able to take care of themselves, she does not worry about going out to work and leaving them alone.

Similarly, Paula, a “crisis” mother, who arrived in NYC in 2017 and has a 23-year-old daughter, explained to me that she and her daughter divided the household tasks between the two of them during the lockdown. “So, when she came here, she already did those things in Venezuela [the household tasks]... But now that we live together, she, of course, does her things; I do mine. I teach her to cook; she knows how to cook. She likes to cook; she likes to eat well, and everyone who likes to eat well has to know how to cook. So, we balance work between the two of us”. Paula explained how she distributed the work with her adult daughter. This experience is the opposite for those who have adult sons, like Carolina, who explained to me that her sons do not help with the housework.

Between these groups, it is possible to see that the children in Lima have been more involved in assuming responsibilities in the household than in NYC. In this way, mothers in NYC are still assuming a big part of the tasks in the household, even when they return to work.
In Lima’s case, the mothers I talked to said that circumstances had forced their daughters to learn to help more than what they were used to in Venezuela. It must be noted that this happens more often with daughters than with sons for both cities; the latter become more involved only when a younger sibling is present. Thus, we see that a gendered division of labor operates among children in most cases as well.

The second group comprises women with younger children who require more attention and time investment from their mothers. For these women, juggling housework and childcare demands became particularly difficult during the pandemic, which also added the psychologically stressful challenge of finding any personal time in the course of primarily erratic days. This challenge was particularly more acute for mothers accustomed to working outside the home.

For example, Andrea, a “crisis” mother, struggled to keep balance, especially with her recent newborn baby in the house. She stopped working because of her newborn and explained how hard the shutdown was because they needed to get used to a newborn, the online classes for her older daughter, and to have online classes where they live. “Well, in the beginning, it was tough because of the subject of the classes, you know. And us living in a room at the beginning has been very ugly. My daughter... having to teach, and we are being here in the room... very ugly. The girl was crying... because when the baby was born... the baby was born and then next week, the quarantine. So that made it pretty tough”. However, Andrea also recognized that after her husband stopped working a few weeks after the shutdown, he started assuming house responsibilities, which improved her situation. Nevertheless, when we talked in July, her husband had already returned to work, and she was struggling with all the household responsibilities and the care of her two daughters.
Paula, a “connected” mother with an 8-month-old infant at the time of the interview, said that having a newborn posed a significant obstacle to her adaptation to Lima, where she had no other family. Going back to work part-time in a store in a market — where, fortunately, she could bring her son with her — had been helpful. However, Paula lost her job with the shutdown and found herself again isolated and lonely since her partner spent most of the day working. “For some time now, I haven’t had anyone to help me, to look after him… I can’t even shower if I don’t bring the stroller into the bathroom with me….” As Paula and Andrea’s cases show, women with young children struggle to find time for themselves while responding to housework and childcare demands. This becomes even harder if they are single mothers or if their partners spend most of the day working outside the home.

An essential difference between mothers of older and younger children in NYC is that mothers of older children have more facilities to return to work when they have the opportunity to do so. Mothers like Fabiola or Mariana, a “crisis” mother with a 13-year-old son and other older children, feel that they have more possibilities of leaving them alone in their homes while they go to work, especially when the children are on vacation.

In contrast, in Lima’s case, the return to work for a Venezuelan mother has been difficult for three reasons. The first one is that since most of the women interviewed work in the informal labor market, the return was still restricted by government measures when I interviewed them. The second reason is that most of them don’t have anyone to take care of their children. In addition, the high perception of insecurity makes it more difficult for them to leave their children alone, especially for families that share houses. This makes it easier for men to return to work during the
pandemic. The third reason is that children were still in the middle of their school years\textsuperscript{17}, and the remote school learning of the Peruvian Government relies heavily on parents’ participation.

Furthermore, Venezuelan mothers, especially those with younger children, also struggle to support homeschooling. In both cities, the school has moved to online instruction or, in Peru’s case, also made it TV-based, and depending on the school they attend, children have different activities. However, depending on the city and the school, this situation can be drastically different.

NYC

In the case of NYC, the mothers I interviewed narrated different learning situations through online methods. Therefore, it is possible to see that school has been via video calls for some children, implying a more structured schedule. Most of the mothers I talked to told me that their children have some kind of online classroom where they need to submit homework and that this complements some hours of classes via zoom. However, for most mothers, the online classes did not imply the same hours of classes or the same structure as in person classes. So, most of them have become teachers of their children, especially to give them support to submit their activities. Therefore, the majority of mothers living in NYC have struggled with home school.

Mothers in NYC narrated how they wrestle with the new role of becoming the one in charge of their children’s education. For example, Barbara, an “American dreamer” mother of 3 children, narrated how she had problems with her two school-age children, 13 and 7 years old. In the case of her youngest daughter, she helped her, but they did not know how to use the computer or access the classes. So, she asked her older son to help her, but he was not always willing to do it. Moreover, she told me that she also had problems with her son because he did not attend classes

\textsuperscript{17} The school year in Peru goes from March to December.
and did not do his homework for a month before the teacher reported this. “He said that he was doing the homework and we trusted him, if he was with his tablet doing his homework… When about a month had passed, and the teachers began to call us and send messages that the child was not going to class, the child was not submitting the homework… So, well, but what if supposedly he is there because he sat on the sofa… Supposedly he is sitting there, no, he is working, so it does not turn out that he was not there. He had told us that the tablet that he… only was allowed to enter… for school because it was tablets that they gave him from school… but no”. Barbara told me that his son almost failed the year, but he could submit all the homework that he had missed in the end.

This new role also presents a new challenge for mothers: communication with the teachers in English. Barbara also explained how this was a constant source of stress. “At first it was super stressful because, uh, we don’t speak English well, so sometimes the teacher called us, and they asked us questions and this, and we couldn’t find how to express ourselves, clearly, with the teacher… or the homework, sometimes we did not understand it”.

Barbara’s experience reinforces what studies (Averett, 2020; Petts, Carlson, Pepin; 2020; Del Boca et al. 2020; Xue and McMunn, 2021) have found: mothers during COVID-19 are the ones that tend to be in charge of the schooling of the children. This translates into adverse outcomes for women in working hours or for their incorporation into the job market. Also, Xue and McMunn (2021) have shown women are the ones that shoulder the burden of the care economy, childcare, and homeschooling, and reported more psychological distress than men.

*Lima*

In Lima’s case, it is possible to see that the mothers’ experience is closely similar to mothers in NYC. Most of the women interviewed noted that their children do not have classes via
zoom or a similar platform. Instead, teachers send activities or videos via WhatsApp to complement the Government’s TV channel. So, most mothers have, in effect, become teachers, and they are having a hard time at it.

Elena, a “last hope” mother, said that the process started severely for them. “I must have been away the day they dished out patience… she spent all day watching cartoons, playing, drawing, and when it was time for her morning class, I told her, ‘Let’s watch the class,’ and she went, ‘No, I don’t want to watch the class,’ and started crying, and I said, ‘Okay, don’t watch it.’ So, I sent a WhatsApp message saying she was watching the class, but she was not; I was watching it on my phone....” Elena says she does not make a significant effort because her daughter’s school does not emphasize essential skills, like letter recognition or writing.

In Lima, another problem that schooling at home poses for these women has to do with resources. As noted, many schools are sending children videos and homework via WhatsApp. In families where two or more children share a single device to access the Internet, connectivity becomes a source of tension, and mothers are constantly called upon to mediate.

Mothers with more than one child face time-management demands, especially if their children need help with homework or daily needs. For example, Andrea, a “crisis” mother in NYC, needs to juggle her daughter’s online classes and her newborn daughter’s needs. “Can you imagine? I had to be with my daughter in front of the computer from 9:30 in the morning, and it would finish at 2:30 or 3 pm, and after that, it was the homework... It was a lot of homework. Sometimes it was 7:30 at night, and we were still there, glued to the computer or the notebook, taking pictures to send to a teacher. But it was tough because we had to adapt to everything with a new baby at home and classes online”. In this situation, mothers constantly try to accomplish
everything the school is asking of them. However, most of them highlight that they do not feel their children are learning as they should in the online classes.

Esther, a “last-hope” mother in Lima with two sons, 8 and 4, said that she struggles to organize her time to help both children. “So, I set my oldest down to watch the program from 9:30 to 11:30… and then to do the activities they send as homework, and I have until 2 pm to turn that in. Then I set my youngest down at 3 pm. And then I start with his homework… And sometimes we eat lunch late, since we have breakfast at around 10, 11 when I get a chance… so, I make lunch at 4 or 5 pm, when I’m caught up with schoolwork”. Doing homework with her children takes Esther almost all day. To deal with this problem, mothers in Lima have decided not to pressure their children to keep up with their assignments. This has become a strategy for managing children’s stress levels as much as the mother’s time. The families found themselves under pressure in an education system they felt wasn’t working. Also, the system’s learning strategies and contents are markedly different from Venezuela’s, and therefore they struggle to understand.

Both Lima and NYC

Another constant concern for these mothers in both cities, especially those with younger children and teenagers, is that schooling at home does not allow kids to socialize appropriately. After seeing them endure an already challenging migration process and adapt to school environments where xenophobic taunts and bullying are not unknown, many mothers felt that during the pandemic, their children had become even more isolated in a city where they do not have extensive networks. This became especially concerning to mothers like Mariana, a “crisis” mother in NYC, who told me that the online classes have made maintaining friends and practicing English a challenge for her son, who arrived a year ago. “But he started to make friends... but then
came the pandemic [laughs]. Now he’s locked up again. He has not yet learned to speak English well enough to let himself speak it, so here he goes…”

In addition, it is possible to see that mothers tried to manage their children’s lockdown situation in both cities by creating activities to direct their anxiety and fears. In this way, all the mothers, even the ones that live with their adult sons and daughters, have told me that they have made their children play games, cook with them, do sport in the house, and watch movies with them to allow them to take their mind out of the pandemic. For example, Gianina, a “crisis” mother living in NYC, told me that her older son was worried about the pandemic. Still, she and her partner tried not to worry him about anything. “My son, he at least was. ‘Mom, what are we going to do? Mom, this pandemic…’’. But we tried not to transmit anything to them. If we had something we had to talk about like ‘well what we are going to do with this and with that,’ we tried not to speak in front of them”.

It is possible to see the same effort in the mothers in Lima to shelter their children from the impacts of the COVID situation. For example, Jimena, a “connected” mother living in Lima with 2 children, told me that her children had not left the apartment where they live for six months. So, Jimena has tried to negotiate with them and distracted them from making the situation more bearable.

Here at home, I have tried to get along better with my son to avoid fighting with him. And find a way that we are all well. Spend some time with the “Play” [Play Station], sometimes do your homework, do your tasks… I tried to coordinate with them. My husband brings snacks and things to watch movies at night and distracts us with something. And well… doing wonders so that they feel good... the girl sometimes wants to make ‘slime,’ and ‘yes, ‘hija,’ let’s do it.’ ‘I want to comb the dolls,’ ‘yes, ‘hija,’ we are going to comb the dolls’, or whatever comes to her mind… as long as they do not feel the confinement so strongly, because they have not even looked through the window during these six months.
Gianina and Jimena exemplify how mothers tried to alleviate or distract their children from the confinement and the negative feelings the pandemic generates. This management of the children’s emotions is also emotional labor. These mothers need to consider their children’s feelings over their own emotions and situations. This extra effort women make to liberate their children from the worries of the pandemic is exclusively emotional labor mothers are doing in the crisis above all other care tasks.

Finally, it is possible to see that the pandemic has implied a more extended separation for transnational mothers than they intended. For example, Ivanna, a “connected” mother in Lima that has 2 children back in Venezuela, told me that she was planning to bring her son to Peru, but the pandemic ruined all her plans. A similar situation happened with Ines, a “connected” mother living in Lima, with her older son living in Venezuela. For these mothers, the pandemic has meant uncertainty about when they will see their children again. Moreover, it has generated a constant worry about the COVID-19 situation in Venezuela and the impotence they feel when they cannot help their children back there, knowing of the scarcity of supplies that exist in their home country. This especially becomes more difficult when they are struggling financially because the lockdown measures and sending remittances become more complex.

In summary, these mothers are called upon to manage the stress of being locked down at home, the extra burden of care tasks, facing confusing school lessons, and the feelings of worry and isolation imposed on their children. Having to manage their own emotions and their children’s has generated extra emotional labor for them. Therefore, they prioritize trying to maintain their children’s sense of normality as much as possible. However, this also has an emotional cost for them since they need to manage the household, school aspects, and emotions. Moreover, many
mothers struggle because they cannot provide for their children as they did before, creating conflicts with their ideal of motherhood and their motivation for migrating.

5.4 Gender Roles and Their Consequences

The pandemic has brought into high relief the gendered character of intra-familial roles. The women interviewed are continually required to manage their homes, keep up with their children’s education, and shoulder the emotional labor that sustains the family. As the literature highlights, being the primary caregivers, they also become the family’s leading source of emotional scaffolding (Prime et al., 2020). In several instances, these women discussed situations throughout the crisis when they provided emotional backing for their partners and children.

For example, Barbara, an “American dreamer” mother, narrated to me, crying, a situation in which her husband could not deal with the uncertainty and the anxiety.

So, it was exasperating for me because, hey, I said, I’m also dealing with my feelings, and then I’m not; there was no way to help him. Then a day came when I did see him that he was super desperate, and he told me ‘Hug me,’ and I told him ‘I can’t hug you,’ because on that day I felt, that is, I also woke up in one of my bad days, and I felt bad too, powerless for so much. And he told me, ‘But hug me, hug me,’ I said ‘No, I can’t, I can’t hug you,’ because I said, ‘Even though I can’t hug him, I have to act strong’, because I said, ‘No, we can’t both go to the floor.

Barbara could not hug her husband because she felt she could not afford to break down since she had to maintain the family spirit, especially when her husband could not.

Similarly, Jessica, a “connected” mother living in Lima, told me about a situation with her husband where she needed to give him the strength to stay in Lima and keep working. “‘Me le tuve que poner fuerte’ [I needed to be firm with him] because every day he came crying, ‘what if I get infected? What if something happens to me?’ Why did it affect him so much emotionally?
Because we saw a lot of people die because you look out the window and see many things. And emotionally, it did affect us. And I had to be firm with him”. Jessica, similarly, to Barbara, became an emotional support for her husband during the pandemic. Jessica explained how she had to be firm for him not to break down and return to Venezuela, where the situation was even worse.

Mothers talked about the emotional support they give to their children and partners, even when this support could mean an emotional cost for them. This is because they took the role of maintaining their family’s emotional stability as part of the gendered division of labor they assumed. Yet, the women talked about these processes as instances of mutual support, discounting the specific emotional labor they engage in.

The additional burdens described above generate persisting feelings of isolation, worry, and anxiety for these women. For several among them, the pandemic has prompted conflicted thoughts about the decision to migrate, especially in Lima, which in some cases have been kept hidden from their partners. Most, however, push such conflicted thoughts away, as any possibility of a return to Venezuela is precluded by the closing of the border, the economic crisis, the knowledge that the COVID-19 conditions are even worse in their home country, or any combination of those factors.

Furthermore, gendered roles continue to operate even when the women fall ill with COVID-19. Fourteen of the women interviewed (30%) reported having COVID-19 at some point since March. This, coincidentally, is distributed between seven women in Lima and seven women in NYC. Even though they have reported having COVID-19 in both cities, these mothers did not go to the emergency room or the hospitals in either city, even when they presented breathing difficulties.
In NYC, there is a fear of going to the emergency room because of two main factors. The first one is isolation. For example, Gianina, a “crisis” mother with 2 children living in NYC, said that she had severe symptoms of COVID, even breathing difficulties. However, she refused to go to the hospital because she did not want to be isolated there. In her worst scenario, she could die alone, away from Venezuela and her family. “A friend told me not to call them [911] because they are going to take you. Do not call them because they are going to take you to the hospital, and they will leave you like a ‘pendeja’ there alone. That was what made it worse, what got me depressed”. The second factor is the threat of going to the hospital could affect their children’s migratory status, especially if they were left alone.

Meanwhile, in Lima, the reluctance to go to the hospital to seek medical help is related to the lack of health insurance (Espinosa and Perez, 2021). Also, they are unfamiliar with Peru’s health system and do not trust it, given their experience of anti-Venezuelan discrimination. This adds yet another layer to the anguish, fear, and anxiety these women are forced to deal with in their daily lives.

However, in both cities, it is possible to see how even sick women tried to maintain gendered roles. For example, in NYC, Carolina, a “crisis” mother with two adult sons told me how she was still cooking even when she was sick. “I cooked for myself because I was starving, but they [her family] didn’t do anything for me. It wasn’t that they said, ‘poor thing, my mom, she’s sick.’ That’s when I realized that ... You have to stay there. If you are sick, you are sick; you are not superman. I do not count on them. For those things, for those things. In other words, for food, very little. They don’t like to cook”. Carolina’s experience shows how even when her sons and husband were not sick, she was still expected to be in charge of the household.
In Lima, it is possible to find a similar situation. Karina, for example, reported that at some point, everyone in her household contracted COVID-19. Yet, she managed to keep up with housework and prepare meals for the family even while sick. The same was the case for Paula. Maria, meanwhile, was the only member of her family to develop the illness and had to isolate herself from her children for a couple of weeks. “‘prima’ [female cousin] helped me with the kids… but I tried not to stay in bed… not sharing with the kids but not lying in bed, either, because otherwise, I would have gotten sicker.” Here we see how care labor is always gendered and how when the mother is sick and cannot take care of the family, she will try to find another woman to fulfill that role. Maria explained that her husband was unable to help with the children because of his work hours.

Furthermore, in both cities, the fears of the possibility of leaving her children alone also play a significant role in how women live in the pandemic. For example, Luisa, a “crisis” mother with one daughter, told us how she needed to plan what could happen with her daughter when she got sick with COVID.

At least, when it was the COVID thing, we got sick, and we were thinking: ‘my God, if we get serious and they take us to the hospital, what will happen to [name redacted],’ I asked an organization, and they told me that we had to fill out forms, and if something happened to us, the State could leave the girl to someone to take care of her. So, I mentally trained my daughter; I told her, we are sick; your dad has trouble breathing. If, in the next few days, we get very sick, they have to take us to the hospital, maybe the city will come, (…) If I were in Venezuela, well, an uncle, a cousin, my husband’s mother, they could look for her and be with her; the three of us are here alone. That is really stressful.

Luisa’s experience shows how, as literature showed (Prime et al. 2020), women are still responsible for the family’s emotional security in a moment of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic. In the case of the pandemic and forced migrant mothers with no networks in the
receiving cities, this has translated to being able to ensure possible secure environments for their children in the worst-case scenarios.

In the same way, mothers in Lima also struggle with the idea that COVID-19 can become a threat if they would have to leave their children alone in a city where they do not have networks. For example, Greta, a “stepping-stone” mother with one son, said that at one point, she thought she had the virus and struggled with the anguish of not knowing what would become of her nine-year-old son. She tested negative, however, and received a diagnosis of anxiety instead. Joadelis, a “connected” mother living in Lima, showed me via the cell phone camera how she had written her 10-year-old son’s information on a wall in their house when she caught the virus. “I wrote down his identification number and address in Venezuela. I said, ‘well if anything happens, and he is alone; someone hopefully will send him there.’ I was terrified...”.

As these cases illustrate, women continue to take care of their families and make preventative arrangements even when sick. This is part and parcel of women’s emotional labor. This labor tends to be rendered invisible in daily life even during a pandemic yet has a significant impact on women’s health and their expectations of motherhood, as ever-growing demands are constantly imposed on them.

5.5. Conclusion: Caring in the pandemic
In general, it is possible to see how the COVID-19 pandemic has generated more care responsibilities for Venezuelan mothers without distinction of the city where they live. These new responsibilities have added up into an already gendered division of labor and the fact that they have limited networks in the receiving cities. As a result, Venezuelan mothers ended up with more responsibilities at home and assuming the negative impacts on their economies. This context has made it more difficult for them to return to work in an already depressed labor market.
Furthermore, even though the policies mandated in both cities can differ, they rely on women’s reproductive work, which exacerbates the vulnerable conditions of these forced migrants. In this context, migrant mothers become more isolated and burned out with shutdown measures since their responsibilities in the household increase and their already limited support are severed.

Finally, it is essential to highlight those mothers who are assuming the physical and emotional work of maintaining the normality of their children and managing the anxiety or uncertainty of their family during the pandemic. This work has an increasing cost on the emotional wellbeing of women who need to constantly perform their feelings and fears to manage their families’ emotions.
Conclusions

Comparing Lima to NYC shows how forced migration inside the Venezuela diaspora can generate similar care arrangements inside the families. However, it is possible to differentiate that the capitals and agency that the mothers had when they left Venezuela play a vital role in the planning of their migration process. Therefore, mothers who arrive in NYC usually have more capitals and possibilities to strategize their migration than those who arrived in Lima. However, due to the forced migration condition that generates downwards mobility, a devaluation of their capitals, and a loss of their support networks, mothers in both cities end up shouldering most of the gendered care and emotional work inside their families.

The Venezuelan mothers interviewed also show how forced migrants are not passive actors in the migration process. On the contrary, these women use the various capitals they have (social, human, and financial) to strategize where to migrate and the order in which they migrate, thinking about the best option for their family. In the same way, they perform their gender roles, especially their role as mothers (Paul, 2005), to negotiate the migration with their families. In the context of the Venezuelan crisis, marked by scarcity and uncertainty, these women felt that migration was the secure way to ensure the wellbeing of their children. Therefore, their role as mothers and the fulfillment of the expectations of being a good mother became central to the migration process for them.

However, this fulfillment of the expectation of being a good mother came with framing rules about providing for their families the material aspects and fulfillment of the reproductive and emotional tasks as they did back in Venezuela. Nonetheless, the circumstances have changed in their living situation, so this generates that their framing rules and the feeling rules that accompany this framing enter in conflict with the actual situation and feeling of these mothers.
In the cases studied, it is possible to see that even when the pathways out of Venezuela have been different, the centrality of motherhood and their performance of gendered roles are similar. Moreover, the jobs they end up working in the receiving cities are similar since they are highly feminized jobs. In this way, most of the women I interviewed were primarily professional women who had not found a job in their professional area. Therefore, the forced migration process has significantly devalued their capitals in both cities and generated downward mobility.

This downward mobility has more emotionally impacted women in NYC because of the living conditions they left back in Venezuela. In this case, women who migrated to the north expected to be able to ensure better living conditions than the ones they had now. In this situation, comparing the south to north migration and the south-to-south migration allows seeing how women, even when migration, fulfill their expectation of migration and how women in NYC have more resources to confront and strategize in this situation like becoming stay-at-home mothers actively. However, in Lima’s case, due to the precarious situation and informal economy structure they are arriving in, they have been forced to adapt to these circumstances with fewer strategies and resources.

However, despite the different pathways out of Venezuela, managing the care work in both cities coincides. Since the forced migration process has deteriorated the capitals of the Venezuelan mothers and their families, the care workload of Venezuelan women has been exacerbated compared to the one they had back home. In this context, Venezuelan mothers are the ones that are in charge of the most care responsibilities in their households, even when they work outside the house. This has meant for them to have a double burden.

This gendered division of these women’s families is based on three main reasons: 1) an already existing gendered division of labor back in Venezuela, 2) the fact that women are paid
less in the labor market because of their condition as caregivers in the families, and 3) the fact that women perceived that their partners' jobs are more physically demanding than theirs. However, this becomes a vicious cycle when women try to break this gendered distribution of labor.

The losses of support networks increase women's care work in the new cities. The mothers interviewed in the study highlight how the lack of ties in the receiving cities increases the burden of care for women because most of them rely on family networks that help them back in Venezuela. This lack of networks also has an impact on the time they have for themselves and their families. The available networks are another critical difference between the women migrating to the north and the migration inside the South America region. It is possible to see that because Lima has allowed more transnational mobility, the mother who has migrated to this city has been able to reconstruct a support network until some point. Nonetheless, these networks they reconstruct become fragile because when women arrive in Lima, they need to work for long hours and live far apart. So, they are not the support they expected as in Venezuela.

However, even when women recognize these limitations in the situation they are living in, they still maintain their expectations about being able to manage all the care work. As part of their role as mothers, this is part of their framing rules of what being a good mother means to them. So, these framing rules and the feeling rules that came with it are in constant tension with the overwork they do in daily life to ensure their house is in the most similar condition to the one they left in Venezuela. This has caused Venezuelan mothers to perform a more traditional division of labor inside their families and more emotional work as they tried to match their expectations of motherhood with the burden of the household they did not have in Venezuela.

As in managing care work, motherhood's ideals are in dissonance with their possibilities in the receiving cities. This enhances the tension between the framing rules, the feeling rules, and the
situation they encounter after the forced migration. So, by trying to reduce this dissonance and constantly mediating their emotions, Venezuelan mothers are confronted with more emotional work from themselves and their families. Moreover, these mothers also have a new role as mediators between mourning their children's losses and the daily situations. These mediations have become a form of emotional work since they try to manage the adaptation of their children to the new cities and the dissonance between their material reality and the expectation they have to be able to give similar life conditions to the ones they had in Venezuela.

The role of mediators is more present in the south-to-north migration mothers, the mothers who migrated to NYC. This is basically for three main reasons. The first one is that more socio-cultural differences need to be mediated as they migrate to NYC from Venezuela, starting from the language. The second aspect is that because downwards mobility is exacerbated in the Venezuelan mothers that migrated to NYC. The third aspect is that Venezuelan mothers in NYC tend to be more isolated because they have a smaller community with fewer networks. In opposition, Venezuelan mothers in Lima also have fewer resources and time to fulfill this role as mediators. However, this also came with the emotional cost of not fulfilling this task.

The Venezuelan mothers I interviewed have a different emotional work than what they had back in Venezuela. They try to deal with the emotions taking new shapes, mainly because they feel alone and overworked. So, they, and in some cases, their partners, become the only support to replace the social support they used to have back in Venezuela. This increases the feeling of guilt, anxiety, and fears in tension with the feeling rules. Therefore, women need to deal with these emotions and their children's emotions while they adjust their ideas of motherhood in the new cities. This emotional work becomes greater because, as in the gender distribution of the household, mothers are the ones that need to ensure the emotional wellbeing of their family.
Therefore, Venezuelan women add another burden to their responsibilities inside the household, with little support from their partners or family members.

In this context, COVID has exacerbated the precariousness of Venezuelan mothers in NYC and Lima because it has generated more care and emotional responsibilities. These responsibilities have added up into an already gendered division of labor that existed in their daily life. Therefore, Venezuelan mothers end up with more responsibilities at home and assuming the negative impacts on their economies in the short and long term.

In both cities, COVID-19 mandate policies have relied on women's reproductive work, which has exacerbated the vulnerable condition of these forced migrants that already have limited institutional and family support. In this scenario, Venezuelan mothers in Lima and NYC have become more isolated and burned out due to the measures. Moreover, these mothers have assumed the physical, care, and emotional work during the pandemic. Nevertheless, during this time of crisis, this work has had an increasing emotional cost since they need to constantly perform their feelings and fears to manage the anxiety and uncertainty of their family.

In general, forced migration for Venezuelan mothers in Lima and NYC has implied more care work inside the household and a more traditional gendered division of labor in their families. These aspects can open dialogue for new research since studies in voluntary migration highlight that this process can be the catalyst for more egalitarian gender roles. Nevertheless, for Venezuelan mothers interviewed, it is also essential to consider the capital and living conditions they had in Venezuela.

Furthermore, the case of Venezuelan women has shown how motherhood becomes the main reason for migration but how, after forced migration, it becomes emotional labor different from the one carried out in their home country. In this way, the devaluation of their capitals, the
loss of their support ties, downwards mobility, the constant uncertainty, and the mourning produced by the forced migration for Venezuelan mothers generate tension in the ideal of motherhood they bring from their home country.

Moreover, as forced migrants, the motherhood in these new cities is also filled with uncertainty and mourning since, in most cases, they cannot guarantee when they will be able to return to their home country. Besides, for these women, the migration process was forced and fast, so they were not able to say goodbye in many cases. So, these women have to manage these feelings in tension with their feeling rules and motherhood expectations. Therefore, this is also an opportunity to study how motherhood during forced migration differs from motherhood during voluntary migration.

One of the study's limitations is that the role and the dynamic of the partners are not present in the narrative of the Venezuelan mothers I interviewed. The narratives of Venezuelan mothers highlight the labor they do for their families and what migration has meant for them as mothers. Nevertheless, the role of their partners is not present in those narratives. This response in one part because the partners spend more time outside the house than them, and the involvement with the reproductive tasks is related to the traditional role of breadwinner. However, this also opens up future research to understand the dynamics between the partner and the gender roles in the Venezuela diaspora.

Another limitation of the study is the diverse context of Lima and NYC. Even when there are similarities in Venezuelan women living in both cities, there are particularities in both cities that are specific, affecting women in different ways. However, this study could research how south-to-south migration differs from the south-to-north migration flow, especially in motherhood and dynamics with their children.
The study compares the same diaspora in a city in the global north and a city in the global south. This comparison reveals how forced migration generates similar care patterns inside the families no matter the migration destination. Nevertheless, for the flow of the global north, mothers tend to become more isolated because transnational ties and mobilities become challenging to maintain. In contrast, the migration between the global south allows them more options for mobility within the region, even when the situation of women becomes more precarious because of the less regulated migration, the lack of institutional support, and the informal jobs they have access to.

Finally, for mothers, the comparison between the migration to the north and migration inside the south makes it possible to see that in both cases, they carry the emotional work that forced migration entails for their families, especially in crises. However, this emotional work has a different aspect for both cities. In NYC, mothers need to mediate with the cultural shock and the language barrier for themselves and their families. In cities such as Lima, where mothers expect to find more familiarity, a xenophobic speech makes their integration more difficult. Therefore, even though Venezuelan mothers deal with their children's feelings for diverse reasons and mediate this constant mourning of their life in Venezuela, this becomes more exacerbated because of the isolation of their families and the uncertainty that forced migration generates.
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