Appendix for

Belonging Through Distance: Public Solidarity and Private Boundaries in the Venezuelan Diaspora (2026) by Magdalena Paul

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT OVERVIEW TABLE

Participant	**Migration Path**	**Class (Self-reported)**	**Occupation**	**Public Participation**	**Private Distance**	**Form of Belonging (Self-reported)**
Ana Isabel	Planned; moved with her family as a child; now goes to college in NYC	Upper middle	College student	Engages selectively with familiar Venezuelans; avoids formal community channels (not purposively)	Maintains cultural identity but keeps social distance from precarious migrants and unknown Venezuelans	Cultural connection with selective community engagement
Carmen	Unplanned; migrated with family, now alone in NYC	Lower middle	Former homemaker; now navigating NY alone (family went back)	Relied on community early, now selective	Experienced fragmentation; cautious about closeness	Mutual aid / survival solidarity
Magaly	Unplanned; informal vendor, moved after a friend's invitation	Lower	Street vendor in Venezuela; now owns several informal businesses	Actively contributes; engages in events	Maintains personal boundaries despite presence	Cultural connection + survival solidarity
Gabriela	Unplanned; highly educated lawyer, migrated under pressure	Middle	Lawyer in Venezuela; owns food business in NY	Builder of community through business	The least selective participant, engaged across waves and class lines due to her Venezuelan food business	Political / moral duty to Venezuela + cultural connection

Manuel	Unplanned; crossed multiple countries, including the Darién Gap	Lower middle	Technician and construction worker; now fast food employee and sports manager	Active in sports and aid spaces, weary of community support	Selective; helps others but critiques community for being hypocritical	Mutual aid / practical solidarity
Luis	Unplanned; politically persecuted, lived in Peru before NY	Middle	Architect; now activist and researcher	Researches migrant issues, selectively engaged	Critical of classism and selectivity among the community;yet keeps tight personal circle	Political / moral duty to Venezuela
Patricia	Planned; job secured in Mexico, later moved to NYC	Upper middle	Physiotherapist; now works in Venezuelan food business	Highly active in community spaces	Disengaged from politics; open socially but still selective	Cultural connection (completely apolitical)
Verónica	Planned; arrived on tourist visa, stayed long-term	Upper middle	High education; independent professional	Avoids most Venezuelan events	Strong private boundaries, disengaged by choice	Cultural connection without community engagement
Ignacio	Planned; dual citizen (US), arrived for college and then settled in NYC for his job	Upper	Financial analyst at a multinational investment bank	Consistently shows up for national causes, but rarely builds ties beyond familiar class lines	Engaged with politics, selectively engaged in the community	Cultural connection with selective community engagement + political duty to Venezuela

APPENDIX B: THEMATIC QUOTE BANK

B1: Bounded Help—Guidance Without Friendship

This section examines how migrants engage in practices of care that are meaningful yet deliberately contained. Whether offering guidance, passing along information, or stepping in during moments of vulnerability, participants often define the terms of their involvement with care. Thus, what looks like distance is often what makes these actions sustainable—essentially a form of solidarity that relies on restraint rather than closeness.

Quote: Support Offered	Quote: Distance Maintained	Code(s) It's Taken From	Interpretive Note
"Yeah, that I will do—guide them or say, 'Look, my advice is you should do this." *(Verónica)*	"I'm not going to be friends with the ones who came through the Darién." *(Verónica)*	1.3 Duty vs. Desire Narratives; 2.2 Types of Migrants and Filtering	Support is framed as obligation, not affinity. Verónica draws a firm line here between helping and befriending.
"Yeah, of course… things that happen in Venezuela bring us together… because yeah, I think despite everything, we're still like a family." *(Magaly)*	"Everyone's in their own world. There's not much time for anything here." *(Magaly)*	3.1 Selective Moments of Engagement; 4.4 Withdrawal as Self-Protection	Shared national trauma briefly pulls people together—but the norm is fragmentation and isolation.
"I think we do support each other…I talk to them, we support each other among ourselves, and more so if we are in a position in which we can help." *(Patricia)*	"But the thing is, I don't go to those kinds of [community] events… I have my own friends." *(Patricia)*	1.4 Logic of Solidarity; 4.41 Avoidance of Venezuelan People or Spaces	A sense of duty and moral identification exists, but it is enacted at a remove—not through integration.
"Yeah, I help when I can. When I was still in the shelters I really couldn't, but now that I have more time here and have worked hard I	"I just keep to myself… with my dog and God. I don't trust everyone, so I would rather keep to myself." *(Manuel)*	1.4 Logic of Solidarity; 4.42 Isolating into Smaller Circles	Help is possible and even natural—but deep personal bonds are often

try to give advice." *(Manuel)*			replaced by solitude or weariness.
"I feel more connected to people who… are looking for help ["Darién migrants"]… even if I don't know them or I'm not really like them." *(Luis)*	"Well, I didn't want to have Venezuelan friends… I refused to stay stuck in the bubble." *(Luis)*	1.4 Logic of Solidarity; 4.4 Withdrawal as Self-Protection	Solidarity is expressed at a structural, even emotional level—but social boundaries are left intact.

B.2: Filtering, Boundaries, and Emotional Distance

This section explores how migrants decide who belongs in their social world, and who does not. Rather than rejecting others outright, participants engage in acts of filtration: curating proximity, limiting exposure, and assessing compatibility through cues like class, values, or language. These filters are not static, but in every case, what's maintained is a sense of control over who gets close, and also why.

Quote	Participant	Code(s) It's Taken From	Interpretive Note
"There are people, a few Venezuelans, who isolate themselves, and even say, 'I don't go near other Venezuelans because it's a liability'… but in general, I also think people want to support each other, want to grow as a community."	Gabriela	2.2 Types of Migrants and Filtering; 4.4 Withdrawal as Self-Protection	Acknowledges the tension: despite an overall desire for community, some migrants intentionally isolate themselves from other Venezuelans out of caution or shame.
"I've dealt with that kind of person who thinks that way [that rejects certain "types" of migrants]… but overall, overall I'd say I know a lot of people… and in the end there is always that support."	Gabriela	2.2 Types of Migrants and Filtering	This dual acknowledgment—selective filtering alongside broader communal care—illustrates *belonging through distance*.

"I used to always say I didn't want to be around Venezuelans, because what I wanted was to improve my English… then, little by little, I realized I could still help, just from my own space."	Verónica	4.42 Isolating into Smaller Circles	Reflects how distancing at first is driven by practical motives (like English learning), but over time, selective reintegration occurs—albeit without dissolving boundaries.
"Most people turn to community organizations, not to anything from the state… we prefer those organizations because at least we know it's not going to come bite us in the end, that they wont mark us for being a burden."	Manuel	1.5 Instrumentality of Support	This reveals the preference for *institutionalized* forms of solidarity, which create a safer, more depersonalized zone for help—reaffirming that care need not require emotional intimacy.
"I don't go to those kinds of [community] events… and neither do they [newer arrivals]."	Patricia	4.41 Avoidance of Venezuelan Spaces	Avoidance is mutual—both she and others steer clear of Venezuelan spaces, but for different reasons. Her distance comes from not expecting to find "her people" there, while for newer arrivals, as she later noted, it's more about exhaustion and the urgency of adapting. This is a form of filtering shaped by context and constraint.

B.3: Support as Duty, Not Intimacy

What surfaces here is a form of care that doesn't announce itself. These aren't stories of closeness or kinship (at least not with everyone and not all the time), but of people doing what they believe needs to be done: organizing a dinner, offering shelter, volunteering time, or setting an example. The relationships may be thin or temporary, but the obligation still holds, and in this world, solidarity often travels through duty.

Quote	Participant	Code(s) It's Taken From	Interpretive Note

“My family had been moved out of Venezuela for a few years [when more families started to arrive to her new city]… so there were always these events at my house to bring all the Venezuelans together—‘oh, how are you, how have you been,’ that kind of thing.	Ana Isabel	1.3 Duty vs. Desire Narratives	Hosting becomes a performative gesture of duty, like a form of social maintenance.
“She [a young migrant who had just arrived] tells me, ‘Carmen, you’re like my second mom’… and I told her, ‘You’re actually more help to your mom by being here than over there.”	Carmen	1.3 Duty vs. Desire Narratives	A quite pragmatic reframing of care: not simply about emotional closeness, but what is functional and responsible.
“I’ve worked with a lot of foundations… as a volunteer—helping with documents, working in the kitchens, in the legal area.”	Gabriela	1.4 Logic of Solidarity	Solidarity is often enacted through institutional and professional roles, not necessarily through personal, direct ties.
“There are people with stories even worse than mine… a friend ended up cleaning my house for food. She didn’t even ask me to pay her, she just wanted to be able to give her son dinner.”	Carmen	1.4 Logic of Solidarity	The exchange isn’t framed as generosity or sacrifice, but as something unspoken. Almost like a quiet understanding forged in shared vulnerability, in this social world help often flows without needing to be named.
“I want to contribute too, I mean, I also want to set an example for them [“unplanned” migrants]… to show them that here, if they work hard, they can make it and do things the right way.”	Verónica	1.4 Logic of Solidarity	Support for more vulnerable co-nationals becomes aspirational and didactic, a way to model resilience and not necessarily to build close community. Solidarity is often enacted through example rather than relationship.

B.4: Temporary Intimacy in Moments of Threat

This section tracks how political rupture and legal uncertainty—especially around TPS and deportation fears—briefly loosen the usual filters. During crises, information spreads quickly, people check in, or strangers protest side by side. While social distance is not completely erased from these moments, they do seem to at least suspend it, at least for some time. The result is a kind of temporary alignment: a sense of being part of something shared, if only for the duration of the threat.

Quote	Participant	Code(s) It's Taken From	Interpretive Note
"When it all started, we were all there… we'd call each other. We got a little closer because… it's like wow what's going to happen? But I think now it's kind of gone more back to normal."	Carmen	3.1 Selective Moments of Engagement	TPS uncertainty momentarily pulled people together, showing how threat can override emotional distance—briefly.
"This [the news about TPS] really reconnected those of us who had been disconnected… suddenly you find yourself connecting again."	Magaly	3.1 Selective Moments of Engagement	Connection resurfaces through the urgency of shared crisis. Solidarity reactivates belonging without resolving prior distance.
"From what I've seen, it [TPS announcements] really has brought us closer, because everyone—no matter who they are — has so many questions… so we're all like, 'Hey, I read this,' or 'Be careful with that.' It's everyone, everyone is active about it, even people still in Caracas."	Patricia	3.1 Selective Moments of Engagement	What draws people together here isn't shared identity but shared vulnerability. In the face of uncertainty, exchanging information becomes a low-stakes way to stay connected without breaking the boundaries that usually keep people apart.
"I'm a US citizen, they're not going to deport me… but I've still empathized with them. I haven't spent much time with them, but still, if I could help at some point, I obviously would."	Ignacio	1.4 Logic of Solidarity / 3.1	Here, help is offered from a place of remove, and not because of shared struggle, but because watching from the sidelines still compels a sense of responsibility.
"I went to some protests during my vacation… there were all kinds of Venezuelans there, and I'd say in	Luis	3.1 Selective Moments of Engagement	Collective missions like political protests as seen here can suspend internal divisions—briefly creating a

that moment, even if it sounds crazy, we really were all one."			moment of national unity before everyday filters return.

B.5: Venezolanidad as a Tether: Cultural Markers Without Intimacy

This section looks at how national identity surfaces through everyday cues—such as music, food, language, or habits—rather than declarations of unity. And while these references do not necessarily bring people permanently or universally closer, they do create a baseline of recognition. As such, *Venezolanidad* (to be Venezuelan; Venezuelan-ness) operates here less as an emotional anchor than as a structure of familiarity: something that makes social life legible, even when relationships remain selective or distant.

Quote	Participant	Code(s) It's Taken From	Interpretive Note
"People hear Guaco or Rawayana [Venezuelan music artists] and they come over [to the store]. Sometimes they're just walking by and I've got my music blasting, and right away they come running."	Patricia	3.5 Instances of Transnationality	Cultural materials such as music act as a magnet—a subtle performance of cultural identity that draws people in without demanding intimacy
"I'll tell you—the flag and the tricolor cap [the one with the flag, a symbol of the Venezuelan opposition and resistance] I left in Venezuela. What connects me isn't that…I would say it's our identity….eating arepas, calling each other *panas* [buddies], I would just say being Venezuelan."	Patricia	3.5 Instances of Transnationality	This quote rejects symbolic nationalism in favor of shared cultural habit— like eating arepas and using Venezuelan slang—as the true basis of connection. But these gestures don't reflect intimacy, as they are performances of familiarity that allow migrants to recognize each other without needing to form close bonds. Belonging is sustained through these low-stakes rituals, not through emotional proximity.

“You just feel more at ease… speaking the same language, sharing our customs, our culture, our things. But its also the fact that we are the same…or at least that we have had the same experience. I don’t think I’d feel as comfortable with other people.”	Gabriela	5.2 Negotiating Belonging	Language and tradition create a feeling of community even without personal ties, and comfort replaces connection.
“I love the Venezuelan community… we live with a sense of gratitude… that’s our personality and our culture—figuring out how to change what we don’t like.”	Gabriela	3.7 Relationship to Venezuela	National pride becomes a moral compass, affirming shared identity through aspirational values rather than social intimacy.
“In the end, I moved in with her [his old roommate] for a few months…and I don’t think it was really because we were both Venezuelan—it was just that we got along. But that definitely made it easier to share certain things. Like, during the elections, we’d sit on the couch and both be following the news. Honestly, I think it was that —the two of us sitting there, tuned in—that was the first thing that made me feel like I was part of a community, like I belonged to something here.”	Luis	3.1 Selective Moments of Engagement, 3.7 Relationship to Venezuela	Belonging is not the precondition for solidarity here—it is the result. By sitting together and following the Venezuelan elections, the act of shared attention itself generates a sense of community (no matter how fleeting), even in the absence of emotional closeness.