

# “All Are Deserving”: Racialized Conditions of Immigrant Deservingness in a Catholic Worker Movement-Inspired Non-Governmental Organization

American Behavioral Scientist  
2022, Vol. 0(0) 1–19  
© 2022 SAGE Publications  
Article reuse guidelines:  
[sagepub.com/journals-permissions](https://sagepub.com/journals-permissions)  
DOI: 10.1177/00027642221083521  
[journals.sagepub.com/home/abs](https://journals.sagepub.com/home/abs)  


Anthony M. Jimenez<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Although deservingness considerations are commonly antithetical to the aims of pro-immigrant spaces like Justicia y Paz (JyP), a volunteer-run, Catholic Worker Movement-inspired non-governmental organization in Houston, Texas, they nevertheless materialize. This study explores how and why this happens. Drawing on an inductive analysis of 11 months of ethnographic observation and 36 in-depth interviews with volunteers and migrants at JyP, I argue that in “all are deserving” contexts, pro-immigrant advocates can engage in racialization and perpetuate white supremacy. I find that not all are treated as deserving—that deservingness is conditional on migrants submitting to two racially subordinate positions: (1) *workers* whose labor benefits the material interests of the white suburban elite and (2) *indigent subjects* whose impoverishment serves as the basis of spiritual salvation for a predominately white base of volunteers aiming to “serve the poor.” This research underscores the limitations of the Catholic Worker Movement-inspired “all are deserving” framework and affords similar pro-immigrant organizations practical insight toward ways to manifest immigrant justice.

---

<sup>1</sup>Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, NY, USA

## Corresponding Author:

Anthony M. Jimenez, Department of Sociology, Rochester Institute of Technology, 18 Lomb Memorial Drive, Rochester, NY 14623-5604, USA.  
Email: [amjgss@rit.edu](mailto:amjgss@rit.edu)

**Keywords**

deservingness, racialization, interest-convergence, catholic worker movement, ethnography

Research reveals that both anti-immigrant entities (Capetillo-Ponce, 2008; Chavez, 2008; Yoo, 2008) and pro-immigrant groups (Fujiwara, 2005; Yukich, 2013a) consistently construct distinctions between deserving and undeserving immigrants. This is also true of faith-based organizations, which continue to play a central role in immigrants' social well-being (Nicholson, 2018). In addition to general resource provision, many faith-based organizations—particularly those linked to the US Catholic Church—advocate for immigrant rights by appealing to spiritual values like compassion for the poor (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2006; Yukich, 2013b) and emphasizing immigrants' contributions to society (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016), inadvertently re-creating a category of “non-contributing” underserving immigrants. What remains undertheorized in this literature is an analysis of deservingness considerations in explicit “all are deserving” contexts. Although deservingness considerations are antithetical to the missions and aims of immigrant-serving organizations like Justicia y Paz (JyP), a volunteer-run, Catholic Worker Movement-inspired non-governmental organization in Houston, Texas, they nevertheless materialize. I explore how and why this happens. Contributing to the immigrant deservingness literature, I shed light on the latent limitations of “all are deserving” contexts and highlight the consequences of a Catholic Worker philosophy that sees all migrants as part of the “deserving poor.”

Drawing on an inductive analysis of 11 months of ethnographic observation and 36 in-depth interviews with volunteers and migrants at JyP, I argue that even in “all are deserving” contexts, pro-immigrant advocates can engage in racialization and perpetuate white supremacy. The results reveal that low-income undocumented migrants' deservingness in spaces like JyP depends on their submission to racially subordinate positions of power that allow white interests to endure. Migrants are racialized as (1) *workers* whose labor can benefit the material interests of Houston's white suburban elite and (2) *indigent subjects* whose impoverishment can serve as the basis of spiritual salvation for a predominately white base of volunteers aiming to “serve the poor.” This racialization occurs because the organization cannot survive without migrants' labor power and because volunteers rely on a Catholic Worker philosophy that conceptualizes the “deserving poor” in non-racial terms. Consistent with Bell's (1980, 2004) theory of interest-convergence and Bonilla-Silva's concept of colorblind racism (2017), volunteers neither challenge poverty's underlying racial conditions/structures nor recognize the ways that the organization actually serves broader white interests.

This research is important for two reasons. First, it evaluates immigrant deservingness and racialization processes in an important though undertheorized Catholic Worker Movement-inspired context. Moral communities like faith-based organizations

are well-positioned to differentiate between the deserving and undeserving (Bolger, 2020; Hackworth, 2012), but unlike those inspired by traditional Catholicism (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016), Catholic Worker organizations like JyP explicitly adopt a philosophy of “radical egalitarianism” that envisions everyone as inherently deserving (Segers, 1978, p. 228). Thus, this research contributes to the immigrant deservingness literature an understanding of why “radical” pro-immigrant spaces like JyP struggle to accomplish their radical aims. Second, migrants are increasingly turning to faith-based organizations like JyP for care, which includes food, shelter, medicine, and a range of other resources (Frey & Pardo, 2017; Jimenez, 2021; Nicholson, 2018). Accordingly, JyP epitomizes the type of space migrants will turn to in the future. Therefore, an evaluation of the challenges JyP faces provides practical insight to other pro-immigrant organizations intent on facilitating immigrant justice, particularly those spaces that invoke an “all are deserving” philosophy.

## Immigrant Deservingness

Scholars have extensively explored constructions of immigrant deservingness (Bianchi et al., 2019; Fujiwara, 2005; Marrow, 2012; Park, 2011; Viladrich, 2019; Yoo, 2008), particularly vis-à-vis the notion of productivity (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010; Kohut et al., 2006; Murphy, 2010; Yukich, 2013a). Generally, deservingness is conceptualized as an inverse of rights (Willen & Cook, 2016). Although both are socially constructed (Schneider & Ingram, 2005), rights are generally presumed universal while deservingness is understood as circumstantial (Willen & Cook, 2016). Willen and Cook (2016) explain: “whereas rights claims are expressed in formal *juridical* discourse that presumes fundamental equality before law, deservingness claims are articulated in a vernacular *moral* register that is situationally specific and context-dependent” (p. 96, emphasis original).

Jeene and colleagues (2013) identify five criteria of deservingness across the literature: control, attitude, reciprocity, identity, and need. *Control* refers to how much individuals are able to regulate their level of need. *Attitude* regards the level of docility or gratefulness people show for the support they receive. *Reciprocity* pertains to what individuals provide (or will provide) in return for support. *Identity* refers to who individuals are, and *need* regards how much support is actually required. While it is possible for all five deservingness criteria to emerge in a given site, they may not be emphasized to the same degree; notions of deservingness vary significantly by context (see Jeene et al., 2013).

Like other morally-laden constructs, such as poverty and dependency (Fraser & Gordon, 1994), deservingness is also frequently racialized (Omi & Winant, 2015); that is, it is assigned specific racial meanings that are understood as unchanging and inherent of non-white groups. Race scholars suggest that the purpose of racialization is to maintain white supremacy. When it comes to immigrant deservingness, two threads of research show that regardless of whether migrants are constructed as undeserving (Brown, 2013; Fox, 2012; Neubeck & Cazenave, 2001; Park, 2011) or deserving

(De Swaan, 1988; Will, 1993), they are racialized as “other.” Grace Yoo’s (2008) research exemplifies the former thread. In a content analysis of congressional transcripts leading up to the passage of the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, Yoo reveals that immigrants were rendered “undeserving” via their racialization as irresponsible, negligent, and noncontributing burdens to society. Susann Huschke’s (2014) work attests to the latter thread of research. In an ethnography of Latin American migrants seeking humanitarian aid in Berlin, Huschke finds that migrants in need of care might become deserving by performing racialized ideas about migrant docility and helplessness. Together, these strands of research show that racialization operates at the center of deservingness claims. What does this mean then in the context of spaces that invoke radical “all are deserving” philosophies? Are such spaces able to overcome the undeserving/deserving dichotomy? If so, how? If not, what deservingness criteria emerge and why?

### **The Catholic Worker Movement: Filling in for the State**

One case that inspires a radical approach toward inequalities is the Catholic Worker Movement. Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin co-founded the movement in 1933 during the Great Depression, a period when they felt the state was ill-equipped to meet the needs of the poor (Boehrer, 2003). While both are credited for the movement’s emergence, Day exemplifies the movement’s principles and inspires the movement’s ongoing legacy (Morton & Saltmarsh, 1997). Serving as an inspiration to other prominent leaders such as National Farm Workers Association Co-Founder Cesar Chavez and anti-war priest Daniel Berrigan (Morton & Saltmarsh, 1997; Ryan, 1994), Day conceptualized social change as a personal endeavor. Instead of calling for class revolution, as Marx did, she endorsed a spiritual revolution of the heart. In her view, eradicating poverty would require changing people’s hearts and minds—people would need to adhere to the seven corporal and seven spiritual works of mercy implicated in the Bible’s “Sermon on the Mount” (i.e., Matthew 25) and learn to see everyone as inherently-deserving Christ-like figures (Deines, 2008). To facilitate this, the movement’s founders and followers (also known as “Catholic Workers”) established indigent-serving “houses of hospitality” across the world (McKanan, 2008), spaces where people could know Christ through their service to the poor and other “disempowered populations” including immigrants, sex workers, and the homeless (Stock, 2014, p. 151). In 1980, Justicia y Paz (JyP) emerged as one of these spaces.

Like every house of hospitality, JyP practices the works of mercy by following four Catholic Worker principles: pacifism, hospitality, voluntary poverty, and personalism (Coy, 2001; Deines, 2008; Zwick & Zwick, 2005). While pacifism condemns violence, hospitality advocates compassion. In Day’s view, social change cannot be won by war; it must be won by love: serving Christ through serving the poor. Doing so effectively requires voluntary poverty and personalism, the movement’s other two principles. Voluntary poverty means rejecting capitalism and sharing in the experiences of the poor (Morton & Saltmarsh, 1997). It is not enough to simply *provide for* the poor—doing so

would be a form of “charity,” which Day (1952: p. 150) regarded “a word to choke over.” In order to synthesize charity and social justice, Catholic Workers have to *know* the poor, which requires learning about and experiencing the material conditions of poverty. Lastly, personalism means personally responding to needs no matter how big or small. This can range from something as mundane as cleaning a bathroom to more urgent things like taking someone to the hospital. Accordingly, personalism allows JyP to conceptualize “care” in broad ways. Care can refer to shelter, medicine, food, or anything else a person requests.

Informed by these principles, Catholic Worker philosophy and traditional Catholicism diverge in two important ways. First, Catholic Worker organizations attempt to structure their operations on more equal terms than those informed by traditional Catholicism. Segers (1978) explains: “In a ‘normal’ Catholic service, interpreting scripture is the priest’s prerogative; Catholic Workers [by contrast] allow everyone’s voice to be heard. This symbolically puts attendees and celebrants on the same level—a quite radical notion for traditional Catholicism” (p. 345). Conventionally, priests act as the voice of God and prescribe parishioners’ actions. Under Catholic Worker philosophy, volunteers and migrants work together to manifest Christ’s teachings. In practical terms, this means that “the distinction between workers and guests [is] frequently blurred” (Boehrer, 2003, p. 42). Second, inspired by Christian theology and personalist philosophy, Catholic Worker communities see Christ in everyone and make “no distinction... between the deserving and undeserving poor” (Segers, 1978, p. 228; see also Newman, 2015). In contrast, spaces inspired by traditional Catholicism frequently advocate for migrants’ deservingness by emphasizing their contributions to capitalist society (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016; Segers, 1978). Catholic Worker philosophy uniquely synergizes the compassionate orientation of conventional faith-based spaces with the anti-capitalist stance of secular social justice movements, arguing that systemic change requires a transformation of hearts and minds.

## Data and Methods

This study focuses on how and why deservingness considerations emerge in a Catholic Worker Movement-inspired context where everyone is inherently deserving. To address this, I volunteered and conducted 11 months of IRB-approved ethnographic fieldwork (September 2015–October 2016) with a Catholic Worker organization I call Justicia y Paz (JyP), a volunteer-run, community-funded non-governmental organization designed exclusively for poor undocumented migrants in Houston, Texas. The organization provides services including but not limited to food, basic medical care, and temporary gender-segregated shelter (i.e., a “men’s house” and “women’s house”) for up to 40 women and children and 65 men. I also conducted 36 semi-structured in-depth interviews with migrants residing at JyP (16 men; 2 women) and volunteers affiliated with JyP or Houston’s medical district (6 men; 12 women). I used ethnography’s immersive strength (Hammersley, 2018) to capture migrants’ and volunteers’

experiences and interactions, and I used interviews to learn about the deeper meanings and latent details of these interactions (Lamont & Swidler, 2014).

Participants varied over the research period. While most migrants (80%) were from parts of Latin America, including Mexico, Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, and Cuba, the remaining 20% were from the Horn of Africa (i.e., Eritrea and Somalia) and the Philippines. Most (80%) migrants were 21–60 years-old; others (20%) ranged in age between 61 and 76 years-old. Given the organization's target population (i.e., low-income undocumented migrants), class and legal status could be assumed across all migrants. Most volunteers were women, 19–25 years-old, and individuals who predominately self-identified as white. Typically, two male volunteers lived in the men's house while two female volunteers lived at the women's house. Men and women who did not live at the organization but routinely volunteered with JyP were mostly white retirees. With some exception, all volunteers were expected to serve a three-month minimum commitment at JyP, have a high school diploma, be at least 21 years-old, and have some "functional Spanish."

I noted my university affiliation and study focus prior to all data collection and gave all research participants pseudonyms. I jotted key non-identifiable fieldnotes throughout the day, elaborated on them at night, and later moved them to NVivo for management/analysis purposes. This allowed me to stay present during interactions and establish casual-feeling social interactions (Emerson et al., 2011). At various times, I shared my notes with volunteers and migrants in order to triangulate my data, ensure validity, and take greater stock of the ways my subjectivity and positionality informed my analysis (Holmes, 2013).

My race, gender, and spatial separation from JyP influenced my ethnographic interactions. As a fair-skinned, cis-gendered Latinx man, I was read as "ambiguously white," resulting in a combination of context-specific sentiments including authority, distrust, and curiosity. In terms of gender, the organization allowed me to interact with men and women volunteers but requested that I limit my interactions with migrant women, resulting in an analysis that centers predominately on migrant men. Moreover, unlike live-in volunteers who engaged with JyP constantly, I lived in a redeveloped condominium 10 minutes away, and most of my visits to JyP were limited to weekdays between the hours of 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. The exception to this was a two-week follow-up with the organization in the summer of 2017, during which time I lived at the men's house. While this setup allowed me to maintain a level of social distance and autonomy from the organization, it took me longer to nurture relationships. Ultimately, the living arrangement resulted in me being viewed as both an insider (i.e., a Catholic Worker) *and* outsider (i.e., a researcher). Generally, this insider-outsider simultaneity rendered me more trustworthy among both migrants and volunteers with critical perspectives/experiences. For example, when I explained the nuance of my volunteership to one person, they responded: "Yes, I know. This is why I am telling you these things." Multiple others warned me about asking questions that could be deemed "too critical" of JyP, suggesting that those who had done so in the past were asked to leave.

After volunteering with JyP for a couple of months and developing rapport, I deployed a snowball sampling approach to identify potential interviewees. When requesting an interview, I clarified my study's focus, emphasized its voluntary nature, and provided an English-Spanish consent form; migrants consented orally. Interview topics slightly varied depending on the interviewee but generally included: (1) biography; (2) migrant-volunteer interactions; (3) medical/social needs; (4) legal challenges; and (5) experiences at JyP. However, interviewees dictated the thematic direction, length (40–90 min), location (JyP, parks, cafes), language (English/Spanish) and notetaking format (written/audio-recorded) of the interviews. A professional translator transcribed and/or translated all 36 recorded interviews.

With the five aforementioned deservingness criteria in mind (Jeene et al., 2013)—control, attitude, reciprocity, identity, and need—I analyzed data in relation to the following question: under what condition(s), if any, is deservingness merited? In an iterative data collection/analysis process (see Katz, 2019), I identified and coded patterns of experiences associated with (1) labor, (2) indigence, and (3) Catholic Worker philosophy, resulting in an inductive understanding of the racialized conditions of deservingness in an “all are deserving” space.

## Results

### *From Migrant Guest to Migrant Workers*

According to the Catholic Worker principles of personalism and hospitality, every migrant that comes to the doors of JyP seeking care (i.e., medical provisions, shelter, and food) is regarded a “guest,” which in the context of JyP means someone who does not need to prove their deservingness. However, the guest status is not fixed. The following vignette illustrates a routine activity where migrant men apply address labels to thousands of newsletters prior to their mailout. In an exchange between Holland, a volunteer, and Pedro, a migrant, a status shift and hint of disproportionate power is illustrated:

Around 7:30 p.m., everyone begins to finish up. Pedro is among the last to finish and happily carries his stack to Holland. Pedro says, “God bless you, man,” placing his stack on Holland’s table. Holland smiles and replies, “God bless you too, sir! Come back Thursday, we’ll bless you again!”

The exchange between Holland and Pedro, though brief, illustrates a subtle commodification of “blessings,” which, in the context of the Catholic Worker Movement, take the place of wages. Within the philosophical parameters of the movement, “blessings” are understood as plentiful and infinite, located within a moral commons where all are equally deserving of their grace. In practice, however, blessings take on a finite form and become conditional incentives for productivity. Pedro’s labor

is exchanged for Holland's blessings, the former of which facilitates JyP's ongoing operations, and the latter of which is intended to incite hope, resilience, and fortitude. This shifts the relationship between Pedro and Holland from "guest and volunteer" to "laborer and employer" and hints at a latent capitalist framework wherein notions of mutual benefit and hierarchal reciprocity are blurred.

Despite the movement's philosophical orientation toward mutual benefit (Deines, 2008), discourses around reciprocity emerge among both volunteers and migrants. For example, Caleb, a volunteer, described migrant labor at JyP as a way for migrants to recompense the aid they have been given: "I think it's an ingenious way to do it—a way for them to kind of pay back what they received. So I don't really have any problem with it." For Caleb and several other volunteers, migrant labor is fundamental to the Catholic Worker Movement; it allows migrants to be both beneficiaries and collaborators of the movement. Rather than invoke the language of collaboration, however, Caleb employs the language of reciprocity, a common condition of deservingness (Jeene et al., 2013). This language of reciprocity reaffirms a power differential between migrants and volunteers. Migrants who fail to "pay back" JyP with their labor acquire a form of "debt."

Manuel, a migrant, further highlighted this power differential in his description of JyP:

Manuel: Everything in the US is a business, including shelters.... For example, this house is nothing without the immigrants. They are necessary so that this house can function.

Anthony: Why do you think this is the case?

Manuel: [Pause] Status quo. It's all good for business.

Manuel characterizes JyP as a business intent on maintaining the status quo. Though he does not specify the meaning of "status quo," his discursive use of the term "business" to describe JyP implies an organizational structure with some form of return in mind. In line with Dorothy Day's vision of the Catholic Worker Movement as a spiritual, rather than class-based, revolution of the heart (Morton & Saltmarsh, 1997), the "return" or "bottom line" of a space like JyP takes on a spiritual, rather than material, form. Volunteers and migrants are expected to reap these spiritual benefits equally. However, as the above exchange between Holland and Pedro illustrates, volunteers wield greater control over the distribution of these benefits. Migrants are not simply entitled to religious grace as the "guest" status might imply—they have to work for it.

The link between migrants' labor and their deservingness also extends outside the walls of JyP. The organization is not only a space for hospitality; it is also a space for recruiting migrant labor, as JyP's Director, Margaret, explained: "A few parishes put in their bulletins that we have workers." According to Margaret, this setup is intended to benefit migrants and give them a foot in the door for future employment. The caveat, however, is that this reifies the link between migrants' value and labor power. Almost



every week of the 11-month ethnography, Houston residents came to JyP and inquired about workers. Migrant men were paid variable rates up to \$16 an hour for home renovation and landscaping work throughout the city. Suburban residents also frequently called JyP to pick up donated furniture (e.g., couches, beds, and dressers) for free. Migrant men and I fulfilled these requests, and I regularly observed impersonal interactions. On one trip, Brandon, a 21-year-old migrant, and I drove 45 min from JyP to a suburban house. When we arrived, we noticed the house's aesthetic appeal—its clean-cut lawn, a beautiful flowerbed, and large, six-foot tall windows. Bradley, a white man who appeared to be in his 50s, turned to me, the white person:

“Come on in,” he says to me. Brandon follows. “So most of the furniture is in that room,” Bradley points to a bedroom just beyond the front door. He directs all his attention to me, hardly acknowledging Brandon. “The rest of it is upstairs. There are two twin-sized beds and a bunch of chairs. You can take it all.” Brandon and I get straight to work, carrying furniture in and out of the house for nearly an hour. After finishing, Bradley gives us a glass of water, and per his request, we give him a tax receipt.

Trips like this were typical. Homeowners frequently ignored migrant men who sometimes spoke fluent English but were racialized as less white than me. While migrants were regularly racialized as non-white docile workers, I, like other volunteers, was seemingly racialized as a white man whose body conveyed authority and credibility (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Moss & Tilly, 2003). Homeowners also often expressed gratitude for a service that would not cost them a penny, and they usually requested some form of tax receipt. In this way, the men's labor subsidizes an otherwise expensive task; JyP provides the truck and labor free of charge. In these exchanges, migrants are no longer conceptualized as guests of an “all are deserving” context; they are racialized as workers who serve the material interests of the white suburban elite.

The expectation that migrants participate in racialized labor is rooted in JyP's structural limitations. According to Margaret, relying on migrants' labor power is “the only way [JyP] survives.” Hundreds of migrants frequent JyP every year in need of food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. Addressing this enormous demand means that everyone has to contribute in some way. Jose, an undocumented Mexican man who manages the “men's house,” helps facilitate this. Every week, he meets with all the migrant men living at JyP and reminds them that they have to do their part to keep JyP running. While older (60+), sick, and disabled men are the exception, younger (<60), healthy, able-bodied men of any nationality who consistently refuse to participate in furniture pick-ups and other organizational activities (e.g., newsletter preparation) fail to meet the deserving “worker” role and are asked to leave JyP. Thus, for many, racialized labor becomes a condition of deservingness.

## *Racialized Indigence: The Difference between Giver and Given*

Migrants' deservingness also involves their racialization as indigent subjects. Volunteers not only internalize this racialization as "normal," but they also rely on it in order to safeguard their salvation interests.

Volunteers and migrant guests worked together every week to distribute food to other low-income individuals throughout the Houston region. One distribution reveals the centrality of racialized indigence in distinctions between those who provide care and those who receive it. As we waited for additional volunteers from the men's house to help with distribution, I was talking to Emily, a relatively new volunteer. This was her first distribution.

We hear a knock at the door. Emily looks at the clock on the wall. 5:55 a.m.—still too early for the distribution to begin. She walks up to the door and opens it. A heavyset Latino man with a large white mustache begins to walk in. I recognize him—it's Duncan, a migrant guest from the men's house. Emily immediately stops him. "Oh, not yet. Not yet," she tells Duncan, motioning him to return outside. Then Tom, another migrant says, "no, that's Duncan. He's here to help."

In mistaking Duncan for a recipient, rather than a volunteer, of the food distribution, Emily conveys a racialized understanding of who "the poor" are. Significantly, most of JyP's volunteers are white while most of those seeking food are men, women, and children of color. Accordingly, Emily uses Duncan's race as a signifier to distinguish between the "giver" and the "given"—that is, those who provide care and those who receive it.

According to Catholic Worker philosophy, the deserving poor have no race and can be anyone. In practice, however, volunteers regularly associate the racial meanings and conditions of poverty with Latinx identity. For example, Sylvia, a volunteer asked me to help her troubleshoot problems with JyP's van, an old Pontiac with a missing bumper, slashed up interior, and duct-taped rear-view mirror. After doing so, she stated, "I know this is going to sound racist, but I feel like a Latino driving this car." To racialize something means to assign it racial meaning (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 111). Here, Sylvia associates the material defects of the van with Latinx identity and racializes Latinx migrants as essentially decrepit, broken, or poor.

Like Emily's case above, however, this racialization has less to do with individual racism and more to do with latent racial understandings of who "the poor" are at JyP. All organizations are racial structures imbued with racial ideologies that justify, reproduce, and/or challenge racialization processes and the racial status quo (E. L. Bell & Nkomo, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Curington, 2020; Leonard, 2016; Ray, 2019; Ray & Purifoy, 2019; Wingfield & Alston, 2014). At JyP, Catholic Worker philosophy aligns with the racial ideology of colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2017) and conceptualizes the "deserving poor" in non-racial terms. JyP's Director, Margaret, explained: "For us, it's the works of mercy, you know, the Lord in the disguise of the poor who

come to us. That's what it's all about. It's the whole meaning of what we do." This philosophy suggests that anyone can be a Christ-like figure part of the "deserving poor," but it does not recognize that both deservingness and poverty are imbued with racial meaning. Poverty is so racialized that race has come to be understood as a "natural" signifier of impoverishment (Fraser & Gordon, 1994), hence Emily's misrecognition of Duncan as needy and Sylvia's association between Latinx identity and impoverishment. Without explicit engagement with the ways race factors into class mobility among migrants of color, race becomes an essentialized indicator of who "the deserving poor" are. Thus, in relation to the conventional deservingness criteria of *need* and *identity* (Jeune et al., 2013), racialized indigence becomes a permanent condition of deservingness at JyP—that is, a perpetual part of migrants' identities. Despite material actualities (e.g., a Latinx individual owning a corvette), migrants are never able to fully transcend their essentialized racialization as "the poor." To volunteers, migrants will always drive the broken-down van.

Consistent with Du Bois' (2015) concept of double-consciousness and the veil, racialized "others" are often able to see through the façade of colorblindness and know how to "play the game." As the following vignette illustrates, this is how even US citizens can become deserving of care in a space not intended for them. Rodney, a migrant, introduced me to a Latinx man named Josue for the first time. I asked Josue where he was from. He carefully looked at Rodney and the other men standing nearby and then returned his attention to me.

"Soy de Honduras" he responds. The other men then begin talking among themselves and Josue motions me to follow him outside. As soon as we're alone, he begins talking to me in English with a different accent than before. "Listen," he begins, "I need a favor. I'm not from Honduras. I'm from Louisiana and am an American citizen."

He shows me his passport and tells me that he came to Houston expecting to stay with a friend and getting a new job, but both prospects fell through. Like others, he learned about JyP by word of mouth.

Josue, an American citizen, gained access to a space designed exclusively for poor undocumented migrants by conscientiously playing into the organization's racialized ideas about what the deserving poor look and sound like; that is, he adopted the "suffering migrant" identity. Understanding JyP's mission and Catholic Worker philosophy, he spoke only Spanish with the other men, faked an accent, and invented a connection to Honduras. Although JyP routinely turns away citizens, it does not ask new arrivals for proof of identity or legal status. Cynthia, a volunteer, suggested that doing so would run contrary to the movement's principle of hospitality: "it's not for us to ask, 'are they taking advantage of the situation?'" Josue shared the truth with me because others informed him that I could help him obtain financial assistance for healthcare, but only if I had his real information. To everyone else, however, he was a poor Honduran migrant in need of help.

At JyP, migrants' racialization as perpetually indigent ensures a predominately white base of volunteers countless opportunities to "serve the poor" and fulfill spiritual interests. Ultimately, "serving the poor" is less about addressing the structural conditions of poverty and more about personal salvation. Kelly, a volunteer, shared:

Maybe [the Catholic Worker Movement's] not really changing the people we serve, but it really is changing me, and so I don't know what else you can do, I mean that to me is the single most important [thing]. That's what Dorothy Day is saying: 'It's a revolution of the heart, and it's your heart. It's not someone else's heart.' And so that's what [being a Catholic Worker] does to you. So yeah, I'm completely changed, and most people that come here are completely changed.... It changes you.

Echoing most of the other volunteers, Kelly asserts that although the movement is limited in its capacity the change migrants' underlying social conditions, it has completely changed her and fulfilled her own spiritual growth.

The Catholic Worker principle of "voluntary poverty" allows volunteers like Kelly to interact with and spiritually grow from the lived experiences of migrants without giving up the material/symbolic privileges of whiteness. "Voluntary poverty," if defined in terms of power, is an oxymoron; it is something JyP volunteers can opt in and out of while migrants cannot. While volunteers can follow Catholic Worker philosophy and shun away professional titles and "other trappings of power and status" (Segers, 1978, p. 230), they cannot "opt out" of the privileges their whiteness affords them. By practicing voluntary poverty, volunteers can purportedly experience the lives of "suffering migrants" without adopting the racialized *identity* of the always deserving and perpetually needy "suffering migrant." Migrants, on the other hand, can neither escape the trope of "suffering" nor experience the privileges of "volunteer" status. Indeed, migrants are racialized as indigent subjects.

## Discussion and Conclusion

I used ethnography and interviews to explore how and why deservingness considerations emerged in Justicia y Paz (JyP), a Catholic Worker Movement-inspired context where everyone is deserving of care. I found that low-income undocumented migrants' deservingness depended on their submission to racially subordinate positions of power that allow white interests to endure. Migrants were racialized as (1) *workers* whose labor could benefit the material interests of the white suburban elite and (2) *indigent subjects* whose impoverishment could serve the spiritual salvation interests of a predominately white base of volunteers aiming to "serve the poor." Contributing to the immigrant deservingness literature (Bianchi et al., 2019; Fujiwara, 2005; Marrow, 2012; Park, 2011; Viladrich, 2019; Yoo, 2008; Yukich, 2013a), this research shows that even in "all are deserving" contexts, pro-immigrant advocates can engage in racialization and perpetuate white supremacy.

Bell's (1980, 2004) theory of interest-convergence helps explain why this happens. Branching out of critical race theory (Crenshaw, 1988; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), which views liberalist contentions of equality with skepticism, interest-convergence theory posits that racial justice aims are not accommodated to unless such aims simultaneously benefit the white ruling elite. Bell developed this theory from an analysis of the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling to end segregation, illustrating that the Supreme Court's decision was premised less on manifesting racial justice and more on bolstering the country's anti-communist stance amidst the Cold War. While Bell's case reveals *intentional* concealment of underlying interests, the case of JyP shows that interest-convergence does not require intentionality. In accordance with colorblind racial ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2017), even the best-intentioned equity-oriented organizations can inadvertently promote white interests—and by extension, white supremacy. Simply operating within an “all are deserving” context is not enough to manifest social justice aims. JyP's organizational structure and philosophy latently advance white interests and produce the deservingness criteria of *reciprocity, need, and identity* (Jeene et al., 2013). Structurally, migrants' racialized labor power is key to JyP's survival, a benefit to the white suburban elite, *and* the primary means by which migrants can reciprocate what they have received. Philosophically, migrants who come to JyP are automatically racialized as perpetually indigent/suffering. That is, they are bestowed the racial identity of the “deserving poor,” a group that white volunteers can serve and spiritually grow from.

It is not surprising that pro-immigrant advocates engage in racialization and perpetuate white supremacy in “all are deserving” contexts because the “all are deserving” narrative exemplifies colorblind ideology. It does this in two ways. First, the framework conveys the false idea that volunteers and migrants operate with equal power; Catholic Worker Movement philosophy suggests that everyone is equally deserving of care and capable of providing care. However, volunteers and migrants do not participate in the movement on equal terms. In order to balance limited material resources with migrants' vast range of needs, volunteers become reliant on migrants' labor power, shifting migrants from the automatically deserving status of “guest” to the conditionally-deserving racialized status of “worker.” Moreover, volunteers racialize migrants as perpetually indigent, guaranteeing themselves infinite opportunities to “serve the poor” and fulfill spiritual salvation interests. For volunteers, there must always be a population to serve, and consistent with the movement's principle of personalism, they must always be ready to play the role of savior. Additionally, because volunteers get close to Christ by getting close to the poor, “saving the poor” means “saving themselves.” In this vein, Catholic Worker philosophy aligns with traditional Catholicism, where the poor are afforded “positive moral value because they present a way for the better-off in society to atone for their sins” (Jeene et al., 2013, p. 1107; see also Boyle et al., 2017; Brodman, 1998; Geremek, 1991). Despite intentions of mutual benefit and power in the Catholic Worker context, migrants play racially subordinate roles at JyP (i.e., as workers and indigent subjects) that benefit white interests.

Thus, “all are deserving” frameworks are not only limited but also potentially harmful. The “radical egalitarianism” (Segers, 1978) of JyP’s “all are deserving” framework is not the same as anti-racism because it actually reinforces, rather than challenges, white interests and white supremacy. In this way, the “all are deserving” narrative resembles “All Lives Matter.” As a form of white racist backlash to the Black Lives Matter movement, the All Lives Matter framework suggests that white lives are neglected, failing to recognize that today’s social institutions recurrently prioritize white individuals’ lives and well-being. Similarly, the “all are deserving” framework implies that race is irrelevant to deservingness, failing to recognize the history of white supremacy and that the concept of deservingness itself is already racialized with meanings that consistently categorize non-white individuals as “other” (Brown, 2013; De Swaan, 1988; Fox, 2012; Neubeck & Cazenave, 2001; Park, 2011; Will, 1993). This adds nuance to the existing literature on pro-immigrant advocacy. While other pro-immigrant and faith-based spaces actively construct distinctions between deserving and undeserving migrants (Fujiwara, 2005; Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016; Yukich, 2013a), JyP’s “all are deserving” framework doubles down on existing racialized meanings of deservingness, ultimately reinforcing a racial hierarchy where deservingness is contingent on racial subordination.

The second way JyP’s “all are deserving” framework reinforces colorblind racism is that it encourages volunteers to understand the social problem of poverty in individualist rather than structural terms. Manifesting the Catholic Worker Movement’s aims requires personal and dedicated service to the poor. But “serving the poor” and addressing the racial meanings/structures of poverty are distinct undertakings. Whereas other pro-immigrant Catholic-inspired organizations routinely create categories of un/deserving migrants by stressing migrants’ contributions to society (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016), Catholic Worker Movement-inspired spaces like JyP rely on and paradoxically perpetuate racialized ideas about who the “deserving poor” are. Everyone can be deserving of something, but the concept of the “deserving poor” itself remains imbued with racial meanings that disproportionately affect people of color (POC). Operating with a colorblind “all are deserving” ideology that neither challenges the racial meanings/structures of poverty nor recognizes the ways Catholic Worker philosophy serves white interests, JyP volunteers struggle to reconcile power differences between themselves and migrants. To more effectively reconcile power and explicitly address the racial meanings/structures of poverty, spaces like JyP would benefit from synergizing their aim of class justice (i.e., alleviating poverty) with the project of racial justice (i.e., anti-racism).

Migrants are increasingly turning to faith-based equity-oriented organizations like JyP for care (Frey & Pardo, 2017; Nicholson, 2018; Jimenez, 2021), and such Catholic Worker Movement-inspired spaces have only recently begun to consider steps toward becoming anti-racist communities. These steps include reckoning with the predominant whiteness of houses of hospitality and sharing resources, space, and ideas with POC-led organizations (Truax, 2018). A racial justice frame might also involve (1) facilitating/attending teach-ins about the historical racialization of poverty in the United States;

(2) advocating for migrant labor rights and protections; and (3) using newsletters to focus less on individual stories of “suffering migrants” and more on the structural/institutional forces that make migrant suffering and wide scale impoverishment a reality in the first place. Diverging from traditional Catholic Worker philosophy, which prescribes service to the poor, an anti-racist lens would commit Catholic Workers to the work of challenging poverty’s racial conditions and the institutions/spaces that uphold these conditions, including houses of hospitality. In short, a racial justice frame would help equity-oriented spaces like JyP (1) be more attentive to organizational practices/structures/philosophies that inadvertently perpetuate racialized notions of deservingness and (2) join a vast network of activists/scholars/communities that continue to do important anti-racist work.

### **Acknowledgments**

I am grateful for the support of migrants and volunteers at Justicia y Paz; this paper is written out of a place of love, friendship, and solidarity. I also thank the anonymous reviewers, Wenjie Liao, and the entire editorial team for their valuable feedback and hard work in making this special issue possible. This research was supported by the Ford Foundation.

### **Declaration of Conflicting Interests**

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### **Funding**

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This research was supported by the Ford Foundation.

### **References**

- Bell, D. A. (1980). Brown V. Board of education and the interest-convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review*, 93(3), 518–533. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1340546>
- Bell, D. (2004). *Silent covenants: Brown v. Board of education and the unfulfilled hopes of racial reform*. Oxford University Press.
- Bell, E. L., & Nkomo, S. M. (2003). Our separate ways: Black and White women and the struggle for professional identity. *The Diversity Factor*, 11(1), 11–15. <https://doi.org/10.2307/30040759>
- Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *American Economic Review*, 94(4), 991–1013. <https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828042002561>
- Bianchi, A., Oths, K. S., & White, K. (2019). Are the undocumented deserving? Health workers’ views of immigrants in Alabama. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 30(2), 820–840. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hpu.2019.0058>

- Boehrer, F. (2003). Anarchism and downward mobility: Is finishing last the least we can do? *Contemporary Justice Review*, 6(1), 37–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1028258032000055630>
- Bolger, D. (2020). The collective construction of need: Group styles of determining deservingness in christian social service agencies. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 63(1), 74–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2020.1788468>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). Racial attitudes or racial ideology? An alternative paradigm for examining actors' racial views. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 8(1), 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569310306082>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2017). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (5th ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Boyle, E. H., Golden, S., & Liao, W. (2017). The catholic church and international law. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 13(1), 395–411. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-110615-084534>
- Brodman, J. W. (1998). *Charity and welfare: Hospitals and the poor in medieval catalonia*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Brown, H. E. (2013). Race, legality, and the social policy consequences of anti-immigration mobilization. *American Sociological Review*, 78(2), 290–314. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122413476712>
- Capetillo-Ponce, J. (2008). Framing the debate on taxes and undocumented workers: A critical review of texts supporting proenforcement policies and practices. In D. C. Brotherton & P. Kretsedemas (Eds.), *Keeping out the other: A critical introduction to immigration enforcement*. Columbia University Press.
- Chavez, L. (2008). *The Latino threat: Constructing immigrants, citizens, and the nation*. Stanford University Press.
- Coy, P. G. (2001). An experiment in personalist politics: The catholic worker movement and nonviolent action. *Peace & Change*, 26(1), 78–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0149-0508.00179>
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1988). Race, reform, and retrenchment: Transformation and legitimation in antidiscrimination law. *Harvard Law Review*, 101(7), 1331–1387. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1341398>
- Curington, C. V. (2020). Reproducing the privilege of White femininity: An intersectional analysis of home care. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 6(3), 333–347. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649219885980>
- Day, D. (1952). *The long loneliness*. Harper & Row.
- De Swaan, A. (1988). *In care of the state*. Oxford University Press.
- Deines, H. (2008). The catholic worker movement: Communities of personal hospitality and justice. *Social Work and Christianity*, 35(4), 429.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). NYU Press.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (2015). *The souls of black folk*. Yale University Press.
- Emerson, R., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* (2nd ed.). The University of Chicago Press.



- Fox, C. (2012). *Three worlds of relief: Race, immigration, and the American welfare state from the progressive era to the new deal*. Princeton University Press. <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=2eMW3clGFHgC&oi=fnd&pg=PP2&dq=cybelle+fox+three+worlds+of+releif&ots=6SpGCAIg4w&sig=Cswm-C63JddbVnuIH2UIWr1HNgo>
- Fraser, N., & Gordon, L. (1994). A genealogy of dependency: Tracing a keyword of the US welfare state. *Signs*, 19(2), 309–336. <https://doi.org/10.1086/494886>
- Frey, B., & Pardo, A. M. (2017). Filling the migrant rights gap: Localized protections of international economic and social rights. *Public Integrity*, 19(2), 136–150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10999922.2016.1221304>
- Fujiwara, L. H. (2005). Immigrant rights are human rights: The reframing of immigrant entitlement and welfare. *Social Problems*, 52(1), 79–101. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2005.52.1.79>
- Geremek, B. (1991). *Poverty: A history*. A. Kolakowska, (trans.). Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Hackworth, J. (2012). *Faith based: Religious neoliberalism and the politics of welfare in the United States* (Vol. 11). University of Georgia Press.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. (2010). Attitudes toward highly skilled and low-skilled immigration: Evidence from a survey experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 104(1), 61–84. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055409990372>
- Hammersley, M. (2018). What is ethnography? Can it survive? Should it? *Ethnography and Education*, 13(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2017.1298458>
- Holmes, S. M. (2013). *Fresh fruit, broken bodies: Migrant farmworkers in the United States*. University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2006). *Religion and social justice for immigrants*. Rutgers University Press.
- Huschke, S. (2014). Performing deservingness: Humanitarian health care provision for migrants in Germany. *Social Science & Medicine*, 120(1), 352–359. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.04.046>
- Jeene, M., Van Oorschot, W., & Uunk, W. (2013). Popular criteria for the welfare deservingness of disability pensioners: The influence of structural and cultural factors. *Social Indicators Research*, 110(3), 1103–1117. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-011-9974-7>
- Jimenez, A. M. (2021). The legal violence of care: Navigating the US health care system while undocumented and illegible. *Social science & medicine*, 270, 113676. <https://doi.org/113676>.
- Katz, J. (2019). On becoming an ethnographer. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 48(1), 16–50. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241618777801>
- Kohut, A., Suro, R., Keeter, S., Doherty, C., & Escobar, G. (2006). *America's immigration quandary (hispanic trends)*. Pew Research Center.
- Lamont, M., & Swidler, A. (2014). Methodological pluralism and the possibilities and limits of interviewing. *Qualitative Sociology*, 37(2), 153–171. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-014-9274-z>
- Leonard, P. (2016). *Expatriate identities in postcolonial organizations: Working whiteness*. Routledge.

- Marrow, H. B. (2012). Deserving to a point: Unauthorized immigrants in San Francisco's universal access healthcare model. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74(6), 846–854. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.08.001>
- McKanan, D. (2008). *The catholic worker after Dorothy: Practicing the works of mercy in a new generation*. Liturgical Press.
- Morton, K., & Saltmarsh, J. (1997). Addams, Day, and Dewey: The emergence of community service in American culture. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 4(1), 137–149.
- Moss, P., & Tilly, C. (2003). *Stories employers tell: Race, skill, and hiring in America*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Murphy, C. (2010). The concept of integration in the jurisprudence of the European court of human rights. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 12(1), 23–43. <https://doi.org/10.1163/138836410x13476363652550>
- Nagel, C., & Ehrkamp, P. (2016). Deserving welcome? Immigrants, christian faith communities, and the contentious politics of belonging in the US South. *Antipode*, 48(4), 1040–1058. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12233>
- Neubeck, K. J., & Cazenave, N. A. (2001). *Welfare racism: Playing the race card against America's poor*. Psychology Press.
- Newman, V. (2015). The catholic worker movement. *Denison Journal of Religion*, 14(1), 3.
- Nicholson, M. (2018). The role of faith-based organizations in immigrants' health and entrepreneurship. In K. J. Appleby & D. Kerwin (Eds.), *2018 International migration policy report: Perspectives on the content and implementation of the global compact for safe, orderly, and regular migration* (pp. 87–100). Scalabrini Migration Study Centers. <https://doi.org/10.14240/internationalmigrationrpt2018>
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States*. Routledge.
- Park, L. S.-H. (2011). *Entitled to nothing: The struggle for immigrant health care in the age of welfare reform*. NYU Press.
- Ray, V. (2019). A theory of racialized organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 84(1), 26–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418822335>
- Ray, V., & Purifoy, D. (2019). The colorblind organization. In M. E. Wooten (Ed.), *Race, organizations, and the organizing process* (Vol. 60, pp. 131–150). Emerald Publishing Limited. <https://doi.org/10.1108/s0733-558x2019000060008>
- Ryan, C. (1994). The one who burns herself for peace. *Hypatia*, 9(2), 21–39. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.1994.tb00431.x>
- Schneider, A. L., & Ingram, H. M. (Eds.), (2005). *Deserving and entitled: Social constructions and public policy*. SUNY Press.
- Segers, M. C. (1978). Equality and christian anarchism: The political and social ideas of the catholic worker movement. *The Review of Politics*, 40(2), 196–230. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0034670500027935>
- Stock, P. V. (2014). The perennial nature of the catholic worker farms: A reconsideration of failure. *Rural Sociology*, 79(2), 143–173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ruso.12029>
- Truax, J. (2018). Combating racism, one community at a time. *Communities*, Vol. 178, pp. 47–51.

- Viladrich, A. (2019). “We cannot let them die”: Undocumented immigrants and media framing of health deservingness in the United States. *Qualitative Health Research*, 29(10), 1447–1460. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732319830426>
- Will, J. A. (1993). The dimensions of poverty: Public perceptions of the deserving poor. *Social Science Research*, 22(3), 312–332. <https://doi.org/10.1006/ssre.1993.1016>
- Willen, S., & Cook, J. (2016). Health-related deservingness. In F. Thomas (Ed.), *Handbook of migration and health* (pp. 95–118). Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Wingfield, A. H., & Alston, R. S. (2014). Maintaining hierarchies in predominantly White organizations: A theory of racial tasks. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(2), 274–287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213503329>
- Yoo, G. J. (2008). Immigrants and welfare policy constructions of deservingness. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 6(4), 490–507. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15362940802479920>
- Yukich, G. (2013a). Constructing the model immigrant: Movement strategy and immigrant deservingness in the new sanctuary movement. *Social Problems*, 60(3), 302–320. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2013.60.3.302>
- Yukich, G. (2013b). *One family under God: Immigration politics and progressive religion in America*. Oxford University Press.
- Zwick, M., & Zwick, L. (2005). *The Catholic Worker movement: Intellectual and spiritual origins*. Paulist Press.

### Author Biography

**Anthony Jimenez** is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Rochester Institute of Technology. He grew up along the US-Mexico border in El Paso, Texas and completed his doctoral program at the University of Minnesota. His research, supported in part by the Ford Foundation, focuses on border imperialism and the intersections between immigration and healthcare. In his prospective research, Anthony will explore how COVID-19 has shaped migrants’ home health care options and experiences.