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NEXO

The Official Newsletter of The Julian Samora Research Institute
The Midwest's Premier Latino Research Center

Using Technology to Enhance Survival Skills Among Latino Migrant Farmworkers[1]

by Jean Kayitsinga and Rubén Martinez, Samora Institute

The incorporation of Latinos into the different sectors of U.S. society is crucial for the future of the nation. Of particular importance is the lack of knowledge among the poor, particularly the very poor, about institutions, their functions and services. This project used selected modules of *Éxito en el Norte*, a series of Spanish-Language videos produced by Experience Education in cooperation with Iowa State University Extension, to increase the knowledge of Latino farmworkers in Southwest Michigan about specific societal institutions and how these institutions function and can help them make a successful transition to life in the United States. This study was done in collaboration with TV DOS 2 (International Media Exchange) and the Van Buren Intermediate School District in Michigan.

We begin by providing an overview of farmworkers and their characteristics in the U.S., a conceptual framework on Latino population growth in the Midwest, and the importance of incorporating them into institutional and community life. Second, we present the results of a quasi-experimental design that evaluated the effects of *Éxito en el Norte* videos on Latino migrant knowledge levels of societal institutional functions and services.

Latino Farmworkers in the U.S.

Latinos are the largest ethnic minority group and the fastest growing population segment in the United States. Additionally, over the past two decades this population segment has experienced considerable geographic dispersion, with immigrants in particular moving to new destination cities across the country. In 2000 approximately 40 percent of all Latinos across the country lived outside the traditional settlement areas of the Southwest (Kandel 2008). The Midwest region, for example, gained more than 1.1 million Latinos between 2000 and 2008, reflecting an increase of about 35.2 percent.

In agriculture, approximately one million hired farmworkers and two million self-employed farmworkers comprise the estimated three million workers in the nation's farm labor force. Hired farmworkers are essential to the nation's agricultural industry, particularly in sectors such as fruits and vegetables, which are highly labor-intensive (Kandel 2008).

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[1]This project was funded by Families and Communities Together (FACT) Coalition at Michigan State University.

The Settlement Phases of Latinos/as in Lansing

by Rubén Martinez, Ph.D. Rocío Escobar, M.A., Julian Samora Research Institute

Although the Latino/a population in Michigan is comprised of a broad range of subgroups from diverse backgrounds (Caribbean, South and Central America, and Mexico), the overwhelming majority is comprised of Mexican-American and Mexican-origin families. Many of these families were part of the stream of migrant farmworkers who, over the past several decades, came to Michigan and the Midwest mainly from South Texas to work the fields and pick the crops. The migrant stream is a seasonal pathway tied to the agricultural industry which farmworkers follow every year, moving from place to place as agricultural work is available.

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Meeting the Challenges Posed by the Demographic Shift

From the Director *Rubén O. Martinez*

For the past 20 years, the Julian Samora Research Institute (JSRI) has been actively engaged in the generation, dissemination and application of knowledge on Chicano and Latino community issues in the Midwest and across the nation. In that process it has also been instrumental in the professional development of students and scholars, and in promoting public forums on key forces and trends in our society. Indeed, major societal changes have occurred since the Institute's inception.

Technological, demographic, and globalization forces have transformed the daily lives of people not only here but across the globe. As these processes have unfolded, the status of Latinos has not improved substantially; and in some areas, it has deteriorated. Within this context, JSRI continues to focus on key issues facing our communities and the larger society, primarily by focusing on the results of a summit on Latino issues and an interstate initiative on Latino and immigrant communities.

Last July, JSRI hosted a statewide summit on Latino issues. Participants identified the following as key challenges: 1) education, 2) immigrant rights, 3) health and health care, 4) civic engagement; 5) media portrayals of Latinos, 6) economic development, 7) jobs and employment, 8) Latino-focused Statewide Network, 9) gender relations, and 10) civil rights and discrimination.

For improvements to occur in these areas, Latinos must organize themselves, build capacity, and exert the influence necessary to bring about desired changes. As Frederick Douglass once said, "Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will." At the same time more research is needed to inform those who seek to make improvements among Latino communities and the larger society.

In addition, this past year JSRI was active in the development of an interstate initiative focusing on "Latinos and Immigrants in Midwestern Communities." Organized as North Central Education/Extension Research Activity 216 (or NCERA 216), it promotes collaborative research, education and outreach among scholars and practitioners across the twelve Midwestern states in the following six areas: 1) promoting family involvement in education, 2) advancing entrepreneurship and economic development, 3) building immigrant-friendly communities, 4) building diverse organizations, 5) strengthening Latino families, and 6) expanding civic engagement.

Although developed separately from the issues identified at the summit, the overlap is clear and fertile for collaboration as the two efforts move forward. In November, JSRI hosted a meeting for NCERA 216 participants to develop an organizational structure that will facilitate its work over the next five years.

Finally, JSRI's 20th Anniversary Conference on "Latino/as in the Midwest" following the NCERA meeting featured panels focusing on these and other critical issues. Scholars and practitioners shared the results of their work as they sought to build new relationships that will enhance our capacity to contribute to the stock of knowledge, its dissemination, and its application. As JSRI looks to its next 20 years it invites participation by those interested in the building of a truly inclusive, just, and more vibrant society through research-informed transformational practices.

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Julian Samora Research Institute
301 Nisbet Bldg., MSU
1407 S. Harrison Road
East Lansing, MI 48824-5286

(517) 432-1317 • www.jsri.msu.edu

Dr. Rubén O. Martinez, Director

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Book Review

Latino Lives in America: Making it Home

2010. Luis Ricardo Fraga, John A. Garcia, Rodney E. Hero, Michael Jones-Correa, Valerie Martinez-Ebers and Gary M. Segura. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Reviewed by
Jennifer Tello Buntin

In this book, a group of well-respected political scientists examine some of the consequences and implications of the recent growth of the U.S. Latino population. *Latino Lives in America* addresses key issues facing Latinos in the United States through an analysis of the data from the recent Latino National Survey (LNS) and, more significantly, a heretofore untapped resource, the focus groups that preceded the LNS. By combining these two data sources, the authors' findings give new voice to the socially, economically, and ethnically diverse Latinos in the U.S. today.

Drawing on the narratives provided within the focus groups, the book focuses on several key issues of concern for Latinos in the U.S.: 1) seeking the American Dream, 2) education, 3) discrimination, 4) living in rural America, 5) transnationalism, 6) pan-ethnicity and collective action. In each of these areas, the authors argue that Latinos "frequently hold potentially conflicting sets of values that they themselves feel are simultaneously achievable and desirable" (pg. 186). Recognizing these tensions and contradictions requires a new perspective on Latino identity, community, and political participation.

This book is well written and provides a complementary analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. Regarding the focus group data, the diversity of the participants is impressive. However, more information regarding the selection and recruitment process for the participants, as well as the decision-making process for the location choices is needed.

Overall, this book would be a great read for anyone concerned with the state of Latino lives in the U.S. today. The voices of the participants express key concerns regarding the future of Latinos in America that need to be addressed not only for the well-being of Latinos, but for the well-being of the country as a whole.

faces of students

Tia Stevens is a fourth year Ph.D. student in the School of Criminal Justice at MSU. She received her M.A. in Sociology and Criminology from Bowling Green State University and her B.A. in Sociology from Oakland University. Tia's research interests focus on juvenile justice and the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. At the Julian Samora Research Institute, Tia has been involved in several Latino-related research projects, including studies on political attitudes, juvenile delinquency, and educational achievement. As part of her own research, Tia is working on ways to best meet the needs of girls from low-income families and girls who are involved in the juvenile justice system. Her aim is to help keep them out of trouble and to succeed in school. Her ambition is to take a faculty position at a research-oriented university and to expand and continue to pursue her research interests.

A senior in commercial tourism, **Omar Arellano** is interested in entrepreneurship. Born and raised in Mexico City, Omar immigrated to Detroit where he graduated from high school and then moved to East Lansing, where he now attends MSU. Omar's goals are to one day assist in developing tourist areas in Mexico and thereby help enrich the economy of local communities. Toursim would generate new jobs and income in the proposed areas and would benefit the community. To support his dream, Omar has been a participating member of Culturas de Razas Unidas and has assisted in many Hispanic-and diversity-oriented events, such as Latin Xplosion, an event that allows for the exposure of Latino culture within the MSU community.

Only a freshman, **Ricardo Borromeo** is a law student in the making. Born in Mexico but raised in the United States, Ricardo has had the opportunity to experience the spectrums of the Mexican culture, as well as the American culture. Growing up, Ricardo witnessed the many hardships Latino immigrants encounter to come to, and remain in, the United States. At Michigan State, Ricardo's goals are to ultimately obtain a law degree in order to help those without voices. At the same time, working in the Julian Samora Research Institute, Ricardo hopes to expand his knowledge of the challenges facing Latino immigrants and how to make a difference in this world.

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Migrant farmworkers comprise approximately 12 percent of the overall hired farmworker workforce, the majority of which consists of settled farmworkers (Kandel 2008) and other types of farmworkers. Latinos comprise approximately 43 percent of all hired farmworkers in the U.S., which means, contrary to popular stereotypes in society, that the majority of all hired farmworkers are non-Latinos. The overwhelming majority of migrant farmworkers are Latinos, including immigrants from Mexico and, to a lesser extent, from Latin America. In addition, almost all noncitizen farmworkers are of Hispanic origin (Kandel 2008).

Hired farmworkers have a long history of "precarious" nonstandard employment (Findeis, Snyder, & Jayaram 2005). Indeed, agricultural work has long been known to be among the most hazardous occupations. Further, hired farmworkers are disadvantaged in the labor market relative to most other U.S. wage and salary workers; they have twice the unemployment rate and more than double the poverty rates of all wage and salary employees (Kandel 2008). In addition, they experience substandard housing conditions, limited educational opportunities, exposure to occupational hazards (including pesticides), limited access to healthcare, and limited use of social services.

Migrant farmworkers, in particular, are further disadvantaged and earn less than settled farmworkers (Kandel 2008). Findeis and associates (2005) found that "international shuttlers," that is, those who work in the United States but maintain permanent residence in their country of origin, generally do not receive non-work-related health insurance or care – whether from employers, through public services, or through long-term opportunities for betterment – to enhance their well-being, and are more likely to be among those who suffer the long-term consequences associated with the lack of health care.

By comparison, settled farmworkers are more likely to receive employer-provided benefits as well as public assistance, although this population is less likely to participate in public assistance programs despite their eligibility (Findeis, Snyder, & Jayaram 2005). Many newcomers forego or lack access to routine health care, including prenatal visits, and use emergency and community clinics instead (Brodway 2007; Erwin 2003).

Latinos in general are nearly three times as likely to be uninsured as non-Latino Whites, and the rate is even higher among noncitizen Latinos (about 3.5 times higher) when compared to U.S. natives (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith 2008). In addition, the shortages of doctors and health care professionals in rural communities, especially those who are Spanish-speaking, and lack of information about existing health services are reasons for Latino migrant farmworkers' lack of access to health care.

Latino workers are also disadvantaged when it comes to media portrayal of crime and their lack of knowledge of the legal system and immigration laws. For example, the recent Latino influx has been linked by the media to increases in crime rates despite the facts showing otherwise. Rumbaut (2008), for example, shows that immigrants are less likely to commit crimes and immigrant teens are less likely than natives to engage in delinquent behaviors. Sampson (2008) also indicates that cities of concentrated immigration are some of the safest places in the country. Crowly and Lichter (2009) found that declines in crime rates in the 1990s were greater in new Latino destination counties than in other counties. New immigrants, especially undocumented workers, may actually be more likely to be victimized and not report a crime because of fear of deportation (Crowly and Lichter 2009).

Finally, there is clear evidence that education and proficiency in English make a difference relative to the range of job possibilities open to many immigrants. In turn, this can affect the types of housing and other social needs that are available to immigrant farmworkers and their families. Given the general lack of bilingual service providers in southwestern Michigan and Michigan generally, which frequently leads to cultural misunderstandings and mistrust between Latino migrants and public agency representatives, it is imperative that migrants be supported in the development of skills that will allow them to interact effectively with institutional representatives.

Background and Information Networks

The recent Latino population growth in the Midwest and other new destinations has been fueled partly by international migration and internal migration from other regions of the United States, natural increase, local labor market opportunities such as meat processing, the enactment of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, increased security at and difficulty of border crossings, and social networks built on strong social

ties to family and community of origin (See Kander & Cromartie 2004; Durand, Massey, & Charvet 2000; Saenz & Torres 2003; Crowley & Lichter 2009; Johnson & Lichter 2008; Brodway 2007; Kandel and Parrado 2005; Durand & Massey 2004; Pfeffer 2008; Pfeffer and Parra 2004, 2006, 2009; Martin, Fix, & Taylor 2006).

How can Latino migrant farmworkers, especially newcomers, survive, integrate, and participate fully in the life of their new communities? We argue that the answer to this question depends on their social capital or social connections that people have, including including those that tie them to social networks inside and outside their own groups, especially those who are better positioned in society (Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000; Coleman 1988; Bourdieu; Portes 1998; Lin 2001; Nee & Sanders 2001; Szreter and Woolcock 2004). Pfeffer and Parra (2009) show that strong social ties, weak ties, and human capital all play a role in the integration of immigrants into local economies, but they play different roles depending on the human capital endowments or skills sets of individuals (p. 265-256).

Although most immigrants use strong social ties to gain new information and employment opportunities, strong ties do not always lead to better information or better employment opportunities (Burt 1992, 2001; Granovetter 1973, 1974, 1983). Newcomers may have strong ties with their group members, but have weak ties in their receiving community. The social capital of newcomers, which is based mainly on social relations within their own communities, may have helped them migrate to the United States or move from established settlement areas to new destinations and to obtain agricultural employment, but it may not help them obtain other employment (Portes 1998; Waldinger 1995), obtain greater returns on human capital (Sanders and Nee 1987; Nee & Sanders 2001), open a new business or create a foundation that promotes the integration of other members of their group into the community (Pfeffer and Parra 2009). The social capital of immigrant social networks may also hinder their opportunities to enter mainstream labor markets (Masse 1999; Waldinger & Lichter 2003; Pfeffer and Parra 2009). Pfeffer and Parra (2009) found that Latinos with more schooling, English speaking skills, and immigration documents are most prepared to form social ties that enable them to take advantage of business opportunities that cater to the growing population of immigrants. Those who are self-employed draw on social ties to attract customers at the same time that they provide group members access to certain market opportunities. Latinos in Southwest Michigan, like other newcomers in rural communities of the Midwest, initially arrive in these communities using social networks among family and friends, but often have few social ties that would link them to labor markets outside of agriculture or give them information that can help enhance their lives.

The economic needs of most Latino migrant farmworkers also do not necessarily translate into public assistance or other social services such as healthcare as a result of low linking social capital. Many Latino newcomers, especially undocumented workers, are reluctant to ask for government or institutional assistance. Instead, they rely on family and friends or on specific nongovernmental service organizations in their communities, such as Latino centers and churches (Crowley & Lichter 2009).

Moreover, the growing cultural diversity in the United States may impede constructive community responses to immigration and present barriers to the incorporation of immigrants (Putnam 2007). We assert that Latino migrant farmworkers, especially newcomers, have low bridging and linking social capital and that influences their capacity to adapt to the host communities. Our main objective in this article is to assess whether or not the use of the *Éxito en el Norte* videos increases the information and knowledge of Latino migrant farmworkers in southwestern Michigan about specific societal institutions and their functioning that may help them access services available through core institutions in the United States.

Data and Methods

Quasi-Experimental Design

This study used seven of ten of the *Éxito en el Norte videos* to help Latino migrant farmworker learn about the following aspects of American society: taxes, employment, healthcare, education, finances, housing, and legal system. The project used a mixed methods approach which included a quasi-experimental design and qualitative interviews with participants. The quantitative results from the quasi-experimental design are presented in this article. The design included the use of a seven-video-instructional program (treatment) under two group conditions – video only and video plus discussion with summer program personnel. Two groups of 35 adults each were assigned to each of the two treatments.

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Participants in the two groups had ties to the seven-week Summer Migrant Education Program (SMEP) at the Van Buren Intermediate School District (VBISD) in Van Buren County in Michigan.

An objective knowledge assessment instrument was developed that covered each of the seven instructional videos. The instrument, which was translated into Spanish and pilot tested, consisted of 50 multiple choice questions relating to the seven topical areas. The seven videos were distributed to the participants at their homes by SMEP personnel over a period of five weeks. The following hypotheses were tested:

H_1: *Participants will significantly increase their knowledge of societal institutional functions and processes after treatment (i.e. post-test mean > pre-test mean).*

H_2: *The video-plus group will experience the greatest increase in knowledge of institutional functions and processes (i.e., mean knowledge for video-plus group > mean knowledge for video-only group).*

H_3: *Native and foreign-born migrant farmworkers will experience similar levels of increase in knowledge of institutional functions and processes as a result of the interventions (i.e., mean knowledge for foreign-born migrant farmworkers = mean knowledge for native migrant farmworkers).*

It was expected that after watching the videos, participants would increase their knowledge in each of the areas covered by the videos. The design is summarized in the following exhibit:

Experimental Group	Pre-test	→ (Treatment)	Post-test
Video-only group	μ_{10}	Watched videos only	μ_{11}
Video-plus group	μ_{20}	Watched videos +Discussions	μ_{21}

Where:

μ_{10} is the mean knowledge of institutions for video-only group before the treatment;

μ_{20} is the mean knowledge of institutions for video-plus group before the treatment;

μ_{11} is the mean knowledge of institutions for video-only group after the treatment; and

μ_{21} is the mean knowledge of institutions for video-plus group after the treatment.

Procedures

The VBISD personnel in the Summer Migrant Education Program were trained in June, 2008, receiving information and an overview of the project, the videos, the assessment tests, and their roles in recruiting and conducting discussions of the videos.

In addition to the assessment instruments, information on the demographic characteristics of participants was collected. The study was conducted in three stages: 1) pre-test knowledge assessment and demographic questionnaire completion; 2) treatment sessions, which consisted of 5-weeks of watching videos; 3) and a post-test knowledge assessment. The video weekly sessions began in July, 2008 and ended in early August, 2008.

In the first stage of the study, participants were asked to complete a short demographic questionnaire and were given a pre-test to determine the base level of their knowledge about institutions and their functioning. The pre-test assessment focused on taxes, public assistance, health care, education, finances, immigration, and the legal system. An analysis of knowledge discrimination for each item on the pre-test assessment tool indicates that the test was an adequate discriminator of knowledge.

In the second stage, participants were in one of the two-treatment groups: video only and video plus discussion with summer program personnel. Each group started out with 35 participants. Of the original 70 participants, 33 dropped out or did not complete the study (47%). At the end there were 20 in the video-only group and 17 in the video-plus group. This was partly due to the chilly climate generated by anti-immigration forces and ICE raids in the region, and the end of work on one crop and the need to move on to the next one.

Immediately following the completion of the time period allotted for the viewing of the seven videos, participants were given a post-test to assess the effects of the treatments on their knowledge in the areas covered by the videos. The post-test instrument was identical to the pre-test instrument. Participants were not given a follow-up post-test similar to the pre- and post-test questions. Therefore, there is no way of knowing the extent to which the knowledge gained was retained over time.

Measures

The dependent variable is the overall knowledge of institutions. The knowledge of institutions measure is a composite index that summed all correct answers out of 50 assessment questions. Each correct answer on each question was coded 1, and wrong responses where coded 0. The reliability test reveals a Cronbach's alpha of .81 for the pre-test and .84 for the post-test. To assess which knowledge of institutions they knew the most, separate knowledge indices of institutions were computed, summing up correct answers on questions regarding knowledge of public assistance services, taxes, finances, health care, and school services.

Factors and Confounding Variables

Experimental group variables: coded 1 for the video only group and 2 for the video plus discussions group. Foreign-born status was coded 1 if participant was born in Mexico and 2 if a participant was native born. Educational attainment was measured in years of education completed. Control variables include age (years), gender (1=female, 2=male), and marital status (1=married, 2=not married). Table 1 provides descriptive statistics of all variables used in the analysis.

Data Analyses

Two types of statistical techniques are used in the analyses: the repeated analysis of variance and the analysis of covariance. Analyis of variance (ANOVA) is used to test whether there are significant differences in knowledge of institutions before and after treatment (i.e., after participants have watched all the videos) between the two groups (video only and video plus discussions). Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) is used to assess the effects of the treatment, experimental group, foreign-born status, and education and age as covariates, while also controlling for gender and marital status.

Our analysis proceeds as follows: First, we estimate an analysis of variance of knowledge of institutions on experimental group and time of assessment (model 1). Second, we run an analysis of covariance with education as the main covariate (model 2). Finally, we control for other demographic characteristics of participants by adding in the equation, foreign-born status, age, gender, and marital status variables (model 3).

Table 1. Descriptive Characteristics of Population under Study (N=37).

CHARACTERISTICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Experimental groups		
Video only	20	54.1
Video plus discussions	17	45.9
Gender		
Male	11	29.7
Female	26	70.3
Age		
18-24	7	18.9
25-29	13	35.1
30-44	11	29.7
45+	6	16.2
Educational Attainment (years)		
< 9 years	24	66.7
9-11 years	7	19.4
12 years or higher	5	13.9
Marital Status		
Married	11	29.7
Not married	26	70.3
Number of Children		
No children	6	16.2
1	6	16.2
2	8	21.6
3	6	16.2
4	3	8.1
5 or more children	8	21.6
Immigrant Status		
Born in Mexico	33	89.2
U.S. natives	4	10.8
Language Spoken		
Spanish only	31	83.8
Both English and Spanish	6	16.2
Total	**37**	**100**

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Paired Samples T-Tests

Table 2 contains the means and standard deviations of participants' knowledge for pre-test and post-test assessment scores and paired mean differences between the pre-test and post-test scores. The results in table 2 show that the overall mean knowledge score significantly increased by almost 7 points on average between the pre-test and post-test assessments. The mean score differences between the pre-test and post-test assessments were significant for knowledge on taxes, public assistance services, health care, financial services, and legal systems. However, the mean difference between the pre-test and post-test scores for public school services was not statistically significant.

Table 2. Knowledge Test Mean Scores and Paired Samples Mean Differences.

Knowledge	Pre-test (n=37)		Post-test (n=37)		Paired differences		P*
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	
Overall knowledge	24.8	7.6	31.6	8.8	-6.8	9.5	.000
Taxes	3.1	2.0	4.8	2.6	-1.7	2.9	.001
Public assistance	4.6	1.9	6.0	1.5	-1.4	2.0	.000
School services	3.9	1.4	4.5	1.6	-0.56	1.8	.066
Health care	3.5	1.6	4.7	1.6	-1.2	2.0	.001
Financial services	3.0	1.4	3.7	1.7	-0.7	1.9	.033
Legal systems	6.2	2.2	7.5	2.2	-1.3	2.5	.003

**significance (2-tailed) paired samples t-test.*

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Analysis of Variance (Model 1)

Summarized in Table 3 are descriptive statistics for knowledge scores by groups and the results of the ANOVA model. The results in Table 3 indicate no significant interaction between experimental groups and time ($F=2.56$; $df=1, 35$); $p>.05$). The results in this table also indicate no significant difference in knowledge by experimental groups ($F=.68$, $df=1, 35$; $p>.05$). However, a significant difference in the scores on knowledge was found for time (pre-test vs. post-test) ($F=20.56$; $df=1, 35$; $p<.001$). These results suggest a significant increase in knowledge by participants after the treatment (post-test) when compared to their pre-treatment knowledge (pre-test).

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics and Analysis of Variance Table for Means Knowledge Scores.

KNOWLEDGE TEST MEAN SCORES				
	Pre-test		Post-test	
Groups	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Video only	25.1	7.9	39.6	8.3
Video + discussions	24.5	7.4	33.9	8.8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE				
Source	Type III SS	df	MS	F
Between-subjects Effects				
Intercept	58723.36	1	58723.36	649.38***
Experimental group	61.31	1	61.31	.68
Between (error)	3165.04	35	90.43	
Within -subjects Effects				
Time	889.23	1	889.23	20.56***
Group x time	110.85	1	110.85	2.56
Within (error)	1513.56	35	43.25	

*** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01$; * $p<.05$

Analysis of Covariance (Model 2)

Table 4 displays the ANCOVA results of knowledge scores adjusting for educational levels. The results in Table 4 show significant difference in knowledge by education ($F=10.63$; $df=1, 34$; $p<.001$). Education explains about 24 percent in knowledge (partial $Eta^2=.24$, not shown). The results in Table 4 also show that once education is added in the model, no significant difference in the scores on knowledge is found for time (pre-test vs. post-test; or the difference in scores between time1 when the pre-test was given and time2 when the post-test was given) ($F=3.37$; $df=1, 34$ $p>.05$). The results in Table 4 show no significant difference in knowledge by experimental groups ($F=.73$, $df=1, 34$; $p>.05$) and no significant interactions between education and time ($F=.72$; $df=1, 34$; $p>.05$) and between experimental groups and time ($F=.13$; $df=1, 34$; $p>.05$).

Table 4. Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) Table for Knowledge Scores, Adjusting for Education.

Source	Type III SS	df	MS	F
Between-subjects Effects				
Intercept	8550.31	1	8550.31	120.58***
Experimental group	52.00	1	52.00	.73
Education	754.05	1	754.05	10.63***
Between (error)	2411.00	34	70.91	
Within -subjects Effects				
Time	149.60	1	149.60	3.37
Education x time	5.79	1	5.79	.72
Group x time	109.66	1	109.66	.13
Within (error)	1507.77	34	44.35	

*** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01$; * $p<.05$

Analysis of Covariance (Model 3)

Table 5 displays the results of an analysis of covariance for knowledge, adjusting for education and controlling for foreign-born status and gender. Controlling for foreign-born status does not change the model. The results do not show any significant difference in knowledge between foreign-born migrants and native-born migrants ($F=.02$, $df=1, 33$, $p>.05$). No other variables show significant difference in knowledge, except education ($F=8.00$, $df=1, 33$; $p<.001$). Examination of Table 5 indicates no significant difference in knowledge by gender ($F=.07$; $df=1, 31$; $p>.05$). However, a significant difference in knowledge was found for time ($F=6.56$; $df=1, 31$; $p<.05$), education ($F=7.45$; $df=1, 31$; $p<.01$), and for the interactions between experimental group and time ($F=8.03$; $df=1, 31$; $p<.01$) and that between experimental group, gender, and time ($F=13.09$; $df=1, 31$; $p<.001$).

Summary of Experimental Research Data Analysis

The analyses above indicate that:

1. Participants significantly increased their knowledge of societal institutional functions and processes after treatment, i.e., after they have watched the videos (pre-test versus post-test mean differences).
2. Contrary to hypothesis 2, there was no significant difference in the scores on knowledge by experimental groups (video only v. video plus).
3. Significant difference in the scores on knowledge by education was found and once education was adjusted, the significant difference in knowledge for time disappeared.
4. Consistent with hypothesis 3, no significant difference in the scores on knowledge between foreign-born and native-born migrant farmworkers was found.[2]
5. After controlling for gender, a significant difference in the scores on knowledge was found for time, education, and for the interactions between experimental group and time and that between experimental group, gender, and time.

Conclusions

The project provided information to migrant farmworkers in southwestern Michigan on taxes, employment, healthcare, education, finances, housing, and legal system issues to increase their understanding of institutional functions and services that could affect their lives and help them successfully integrate into Michigan communities. Our findings show that migrant farmworkers in southwestern Michigan significantly increased their knowledge of U.S. institutional functions and processes. Although knowledge of U.S. institutions increased slightly more for migrant farmworkers who watched the videos and participated in the discussions as compared to those who only watched the videos, no statistically significant differences in the scores on knowledge of U.S. institutions were found between the two groups (video only v. video plus). In a sense, this is an important finding because it shows that participants can learn through one-way communication via videos without interacting with other persons directly.

Our findings also show statistically significant differences in the scores on knowledge of U.S. institutions by education levels of migrant farmworkers. Once education was adjusted, however, the significant differences in knowledge of U.S. institutions between the pre- and post-test assessment times disappeared. Also, as we expected, we found no significant differences in the scores on knowledge of U.S. institutions between foreign-born and native-born migrant farmworkers.

Our findings also showed no statistically significant differences in the average scores on knowledge of U.S. institutions between men and women. However, we found statistically significant differences, after controlling for gender, in the scores on knowledge of U.S. institutions for time (pre-test v. post-test), education, and for the interactions between experimental group and time, and between experimental group, gender, and time. This latter finding suggests that, overall, migrant farmworkers gained knowledge of U.S. institutions by watching *Éxito en el Norte* videos; migrant farmworkers with relatively higher education increased their knowledge of U.S. institutions more than those with less education; increases in knowledge of U.S. institutions between the pre- and post-test assessment times varied significantly between the two groups, with migrant farmworkers in the video-plus group experiencing the greatest increase in knowledge of institutional functions and processes than those in the video-only group; and that increases in knowledge of U.S. institutions between the pre- and post-test assessment times varied significantly between the two experimental groups and by gender.

Table 5. Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) Table for Knowledge Adjusting for Education, Controlling for Foreign-Born Status and Gender.

Source	Type III SS	df	MS	F
Between-subjects Effects				
Intercept	3421.18	1	3421.18	44.16***
Experimental group	48.58	1	48.58	.63
Education	576.91	1	576.91	7.45**
Foreign born[2]	.51	1	.51	.01
Gender	5.12	1	5.12	.07
Between (error)	2401.46	31	77.47	
Within -subjects Effects				
Time	219.43	1	219.43	6.56*
Education x time	3.67	1	3.67	.11
Group x time	2.68.64	1	268.64	8.03**
Foreign born x time	64.14	1	64.14	1.92
Gender x time	48.43	1	48.43	1.45
Group x gender x time	438.03	1	438.03	13.09***
Within (error)	1037.59	31	33.47	

*** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01$; * $p<.05$

[2] The results should be interpreted cautiously since there are fewer natives than foreign-born cases.

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JSRI Turns 20!

The Julian Samora Research Institute celebrated its 20th anniversary by hosting a conference on November 5 through 7, 2009. The 20th Anniversary Conference theme was "Latino/a Communities in the Midwest" and was attended by more than one hundred fifty scholars, students, faculty, and staff.

The platinum conference, held over the three day period, focused on issues affecting today's Latino populations in the Midwest. The conference kicked off on the evening of November 5th with a musical concert featuring Sones de México Ensemble Chicago and the MSU Graduate Brass Quintet. Led by MSU Conductor Raphael Jimenez, the musical groups played a variety of musical pieces both together and separately, including some by MSU composer, Ricardo Lorenz. The audience showed their appreciation with a standing ovation at the conclusion of the concert.

Midwest Group of Latino Scholars and Activists Move Forward

JSRI hosted the second organizational meeting of the North Central Education/Extension and Research Activity 216 (NCERA 216) on November 4th and 5th in tandem with the 20th anniversary conference. The purpose of the NCERA 216 is "to organize collaborative research, education, and outreach opportunities on Latinos and Immigrants in Midwestern Communities."

The interstate initiative encourages and fosters multidisciplinary research, education, and outreach efforts on Latinos and immigrants in the region. It seeks to establish and maintain regional linkages among researchers and outreach specialists, promote community development, and develop plans to identify and obtain funding for single- and multi-state projects relating to Latinos and immigrants.

Faculty and extension employees participated in the NCERA 216 meeting, as did members of Chicano/Latino Studies research centers and programs, and community organizations. Former members of the Midwest Consortium for Latino Research also participated in the event.

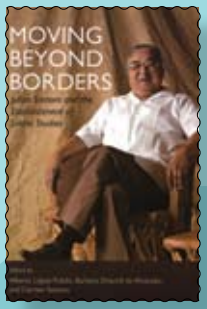
During the gathering, thematic subgroups were formed around particular areas of interest including immigration, organizations, and family. Members then broke up in to small groups and discussed necessary directions for research and community involvement in order to better meet the needs of Latinos in the Midwest.

Several participating members will make professional presentations on their work at the *Cambio de Colores* conference at Columbia, Missouri in May.

President Lou Anna K. Simon welcomed the conferees on the morning of Friday, November 6th. Over the next day and a half, conference attendees selected from 18 different panels or presentations on Friday and Saturday morning, and were part of a scheduled Plenary Luncheon on Friday featuring Dr. Jorge Bustamante, a student of Dr. Samora and a leading expert in the field of international migration. Dr. Bustamante has been the recipient of many awards and honors including a nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize by the Comisión Permanente of the Legislative Power of México. A mix of nationally-known and emerging scholars and researchers presented and participated in panel discussions on: globalization, demographics, culture and arts, health disparities, race and ethnic relations, immigration, and diversity leadership.

This conference aimed to advance critical knowledge necessary to address the needs and issues related to the growing Latino population in the United States. In addition, a growing community of scholars interested in Latino research in the Midwest emerged from across the nation, including Indiana, Illinois, Texas, Nebraska, Missouri, Idaho, Iowa, Connecticut, New Mexico, New York, California, Wisconsin and Michigan.

Special events throughout the conference included a documentary screening of "Made in LA" which featured the lives of three Latina immigrant garment workers. The Insititute's namesake, Dr. Julian Samora, was also honored with a continuous showing of a video tribute. In addition members of the Samora family were present to promote the book *"Moving Beyond Borders: Julian Samora and the Establishment of Latino Studies,"* and to help celebrate the unveiling of the Samora Bust which now resides at the Institute in the Nisbet office building.



The conference closed with a Plenary Panel featuring three farmworker labor leaders: Jesus Salas, founder of Obreros Unidos in Wisconsin in 1966; Baldermar Velasquez, founder and President of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Ohio since 1967, and Lucas Benitez, co-founder of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers in Florida in 1993. All three spoke of the workplace conditions facing farmworkers and the challenges of improving them ◈

Transnational Labor Symposium Issues Brings Speakers to Campus

This academic year JSRI and the Department of Sociology partnered on the "Transnational Labor Symposium Series" with support from the Office of Inclusion and Intercultural Initiatives, Michigan State University. Transnational labor issues are becoming increasingly important in terms of human rights, public health, workplace, and social incorporation and other issues as the global economy continues to take hold. Speakers in the series make an open presentation, a class presentation, and have a roundtable discussion with graduate students when they visit the campus.

The first speaker in the series was Dr. Rigoberto Rodriguez, Chicano and Latino Studies, CSU Long Beach. Dr. Rodriguez visited the campus in October, 2009, and spoke on building leadership and capacity building with Spanish-speaking transnational workers involved in volunteer-based organizations in southern California. The title of his open presentation was "Action Research for a Transnational Era: Three Case Studies of Mexican Immigrant Bi-national Change Efforts." His work is becoming increasingly recognized locally and across the nation.

The second speaker in the series was Dr. Jeffrey Cohen, Ohio State University. Dr. Cohen visited the campus in February, 2010, and spoke on the demographic, economic, and social impacts of migration to the United States on new sending villages in the state of Oaxaca in the southernmost part of Mexico. His open presentation was titled "Labor and Transnational Migration: Linking Rural Mexico and the US." In addition to his ongoing work in Oaxaca, he is currently studying the migration of Mexicans to Columbus.

The Settlement Phases of Latinos/as in Lansing

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Over time, some of these Latino workers opted out of the transient migrant life, settling more permanently in Midwestern communities. The decision to separate from the migrant stream is the start of a complex process of settlement which we have framed in three phases. First, is the phase of "settling out" (*estableciéndose fuera*), which involves leaving the migrant lifestyle. This is followed by "settling down" (*estableciéndose en la vecindad*), which involves moving into a neighborhood, finding employment, and adjusting to a residential lifestyle. Finally, the third phase is that of "settling in" (*estableciéndose en la comunidad*), which involves becoming part of the larger community by joining organizations.

This article focuses on the life experiences of first-generation settled-out migrant workers and family members who left the migrant stream in pursuit of non-migrant lifestyles in Lansing, Michigan. This same phenomenon occurred within other cities in Midwestern states since the early decades of the 20th century, although perhaps in greater numbers in the 1950s and 1960s. Coming from the migrant stream, workers sought employment in what was then an expanding economy, one based on a growing manufacturing sector such as the automobile industry. Through time, these pioneers developed new communities that are today comprised of multiple-generation families. A great factor supporting and motivating this settlement process was access to higher paying non-agricultural jobs which provided opportunities for more prosperous, routine lifestyles in the city.

Storytelling is a feature of human existence used to socialize the young, to highlight the social norms of a society, and to provide entertainment. Like storytelling, oral histories help us make sense of our past and support the documentation of particular events or processes that individuals or groups of people have experienced. This study provides in-depth accounts by elderly members of the Latino community in Lansing regarding their personal experiences during the settling out process. Their accounts help deepen our knowledge and understanding of particular human experiences and their ways of perceiving life. In this project, this method is used to explore senior settlers' stories and the establishment of Latino communities in Lansing, Michigan. In order to explore the complex experiences of former migrant workers, we conducted oral history interviews with elder Latinos whom we learned from others were among the early Latino families that had settled in Lansing. In this article we present preliminary information collected during the past ten months from the ongoing project, "Oral History of Latinos/as in Michigan," underway at the Samora Institute. A profile of the interviewees is provided below.

Participants

Of the 22 participants that have participated in this study, 12 are women and 10 are men. In most cases, they were former migrant workers who were part of the Texas-based migrant stream. In terms of birthplace, 13 were born in Texas and had Mexican ancestry, four participants were born in Mexico, and two individuals of Mexican ancestry were born in Michigan. Three participants were from the following countries: Cuba, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. These were not migrant farmworkers. The average age of participants at the time of the interview was 73 years. The period in which individuals relocated into Michigan is wide-ranging. The earliest year a participant or his/her family settled in Michigan was 1931, and the most recent time an individual in the group settled in this state was 1992. The majority of individuals (13) settled in Michigan in the 1950s and 1960s.

Participants' levels of education were quite varied, with eight participants having attended elementary school; followed by seven who received secondary education; five attended high school; and seven more had college education. Within the group only two participants received no formal education, and those with higher education obtained it after having settled out of the migrant stream.

At the time of the interviews all participants were retired. However, the majority of participants remained actively involved in their community as volunteers in social service or religious activities. The former occupations that participants reported included field worker, factory worker, home-maker, domestic service

worker, laundry attendant, school tutor, nurse, legal translator, construction worker, railroad worker, musician and singer, private business owner, religious leader, store manager, administrative secretary, and board member/ CEO of non-profit organizations. Only information from those who were migrant workers is used in this article.

Settling Out and Building Communities in Lansing

An interesting phrase used frequently in migrant communities is that of "settling out." For outsiders, its meaning is not always readily evident. For some, this phrase might seem confusing, ambiguous or unclear. What does it mean? In actuality, the phrase "settling out" is embedded within the lives of migrant workers, particularly migrant farmworkers. "Settling out" means leaving the migrant stream and establishing a permanent residence. The "settling-out" process is one of leaving one lifestyle for another. It involves a fundamental change in one's life which requires a different set of skills sets, a different orientation to the world, and a different location within society. Usually, it comes as a result of a deliberate decision to pursue a different way of making a living based on the structural opportunities available to them, although it may come as a result of unplanned circumstances.

Despite the backbreaking aspect of farm work, some former migrant workers have fond memories of their lives spent in the fields. They enjoyed their contact with nature and working side by side with their children, other family members and close friends. As a woman participant recalls: "We liked traveling and working in the fields. We made it sort of a game. I was with my children, I was happy." However, all participants, without exception, recognize the hardships they went through, particularly in terms of inadequate housing facilities, long exhausting work hours in the fields, harsh weather conditions, lack of access to regular education, low wages, and so on. Many of the former migrants who were interviewed shared comments that illustrate these harsh working conditions. One stated: "Work in the fields was very difficult; you suffer riding in the back of the trucks," and another pointed out, "We didn't have bathrooms."

Given the hardship of migrant work and the volatility of the agricultural industry, when weather can ruin an entire season of harvest, it is only natural that many laborers aspired for better ways to make a living. The opportunity to pursue even basic education, such as writing and reading was very limited due to the constant mobility and lack of financial resources.

One participant commented: "[My grandparents] followed the crops every year for 9 months." This situation prevented their children from ever completing their education beyond elementary school.

The period from 1945 through 1973 was a time of economic expansion in which migrant farm workers could leave the migrant stream and readily find job opportunities in Michigan and other Midwestern states. The local economic structure in Lansing offered attractive employment opportunities in which individuals could leave the hardships of the migrant stream and quickly find employment in other sectors of the economy. The railroad industry had initially brought Mexicans to the Midwest, but the manufacturing industry was the major industry at the middle of the 20th century. In Lansing there were sugar and chemical processing plants, and the automobile and related industries were flourishing at the time, providing numerous job opportunities to recently settled-out workers.

The settling-out phase also refers to migrants' psychological separation from the migrant stream (meaning, their personal motivations to leave the cycle of migration), including when, where, and why they decided to settle. Several former migrant workers commented that a great motivation to leave the migrant stream was the desire to improve their quality of life. This was achieved through more stable financial means for living, medical insurance, access to education, and the opportunity to have a safe retirement. Regarding their reasons for leaving the migrant stream, several settlers expressed: "We were real poor. We had no insurance, no benefits, nothing." In terms of a psychological detachment, one participant said: "When I was 18 years old, I was able to apply for a job by myself. Then I said: "Yo me salgo" [I'm getting myself out (of the migrant stream)]." Other participants had different aspirations for themselves: "When I was 16 years old I said: I don't want to do this. This is not for me. I want to do something different."

While working in the migrant stream, many times families did not have the means to invest in their children's education. However, for many former migrant workers, education was highly regarded as a pathway out

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of the hard work in the fields and into better employment. The majority of parents sought opportunities for the educational advancement of their children. Thus, better educational opportunities were a strong motivation for settling out of the migrant stream. Yet, as several women interviewees commented, many fathers at the time held traditional views of their daughters' roles and were not highly supportive of their education when they were growing up. Education was commonly reserved for boys. However, it was common for women to search for educational opportunities after they married and left the migrant stream. This was often done with the support of their partners. Depending on their education, they found jobs in school districts, non-profit organizations, and so on. Those who obtained a higher education found jobs as nurses, translators, and case workers. They normally were occupying occupational positions from which they could reach out to the most disadvantaged group within the Latino community, the marginalized migrant field workers.

There were also other personal motivations involved in the decision to settle in Lansing that intersected with financial reasons. Several participants refer to the need for starting an independent life as a new family. One woman participant recalls her husband saying: "We go and raise our own family the way we want to. Not the way my mother wants or anybody wants. Not anyone!" Yet, as one might expect given that life has elements of the unknown, for another woman participant settling in Lansing was a matter of personal life circumstances. She used to work at a canning factory in Texas and in the fields during harvest, following the Texas migrant stream throughout the years. However, when she suffered a back injury related to her work at the factory she came to Michigan to visit her children, who had already "settled out" in Michigan. After separating from her husband who lived in Texas, the participant ended up settling in Lansing. She states: "[Due to marital problems] I decided to separate from him. That is why I came here. Then my son got an operation here. When I came to Lansing I was disabled (physical injury). I received disability and had to stop working. It's sad. I didn't really come to stay, but I ended up staying here up until today." This particular life experience reflects another dimension regarding the influences that shaped peoples' decisions to settle and how chance played a stronger role in the lives of some of them.

Settling Down *(Estableciéndose en la vecindad)*

The "Settling Down" phase (*Estableciéndose en la vecindad*) has to do with how Latinos/as settled into their neighborhoods and integrated themselves into a residential lifestyle; this involves enrollment in schools, employment, renting and then purchasing homes, buying vehicles. This phase is about the challenges migrants face in the shift from one lifestyle to another, as newcomers to neighborhoods, and in accessing and using social supports in their community. It involves the process of acculturation, including the development of a bicultural identity, which is the process of adopting values and customs from the American culture while keeping strong ties to their own culture (in this case, Mexican or Tejano culture). There are different degrees of acculturation that each individual experiences relative to the dominant culture, with intentionality being at the center of the process. For example, one participant recalls: "All my children were born in Michigan. First, they don't speak Spanish. I told them: 'You have to speak both languages; Spanish is your language too.' But when they started with the music, they learned Spanish." At the same time that this participant wanted his children to be connected with their cultural roots, he also recognized the fact that speaking English would provide a level of job-security for them. Implied in the statements above is the potential for generational clashes that occur over language and culture within families. These occurred among settlers and their children who grew up having a different life experience: "Many times my children, they wanted everything here. I said to them: 'No, you have to work, not just whatever you want.'"

The Challenges of Settling Down

For the pioneer settlers there were many challenges when they first arrived in Lansing. There were emotional and material costs that attended the change in lifestyle due to the lack of cultural and social familiarity with the new place. "When I first came there weren't many Latinos," stated one participant, implying a lack of community and social networks. However, being among the first Latinos/as to reside in town gave participants a sense of accomplishment and pride. The context of reception for the pioneers, however, was not always welcoming.

This participant recalls White people's prejudice toward the new settlers: "From time to time you find yourself with a problem with somebody that was not used to being with Mexican people and are prejudiced." At the same time, she recognized that the climate was generally more positive here than in Texas: "We haven't felt any marked discrimination over here [such as the one] I have seen in Texas."

Several interviewees shared accounts of how strange it was that White American residents were not able to understand them when they spoke English. One lady recalls thinking at the time: "I don't know why these gringos don't understand what I am saying!" Other participants commented that language was one of the most difficult barriers to overcome in the new lifestyle: "The language was the hardest for me, the language and adjusting to a new lifestyle." Still, they adapted. One participant explained how he overcame the language barrier: "I taught myself English by reading the [Lansing] State Journal".

More recent settlers also referred to similar challenges regarding language, but within the already established Latino community: "The most difficult thing for me was the English. Many people that know Spanish speak to you in English. I was humiliated once … for asking a question in Spanish. I recommend to young people that they learn English so they don't suffer like I did."

For other participants the lack of mobility within the city was problematic: "The hardest thing was not being able to move around; you couldn't because you didn't have a car or didn't have a way to get around. All the time you had to be looking for a ride. So we stayed at home [most of the time]."

Overcoming Challenges

Migrants had varied ways for coping with the experience of settlement. They were resourceful and resilient. They also remained optimistic. One participant framed it this way: "When I have problems I think that they will be resolved. One way or the other I have to resolve them. But I've not had any major problems." It is interesting that several former migrants did not perceive settling down as challenging when compared to the life they had as migrant farmworkers.

Above all most participants relate that their adjustment in their new location was not that difficult, especially when compared to the hardships of farm labor. One female participant shared: "I really [didn't] have any hard times in Michigan." She also relates the fact that it was fairly easy to buy a home with the small down payment sellers required: "It was easy. It wasn't too… they didn't ask for too much money. I think we were paying about $89 a month. We only had to give about $500. That was good, you know."

Most of the new settlers depended on the emerging social networks of family and friends: "One has to depend a lot on other people that are already here, that are established, and [learn] the way they do things. They give you an opinion about how to do things." Another participant related: "[I adjusted by] getting to know new people. I taught myself to live my [new] life. This is like another life to me, another life phase. [Before] all I did was work. Here I had to stop working [all the time]." Pioneer settlers that established themselves in Lansing around the 40s and 50s obtained assistance from others, but ultimately they had to depend mainly on themselves for acquiring jobs and finding new living arrangements.

Settling In *(Estableciéndose en la comunidad)*

The third and final phase, "Settling In" (Estableciéndose en la comunidad), centers on how Latinos/as settled into their communities by becoming involved in secondary organizations such as religious and civic organizations, particularly by assuming leadership roles. In this phase, the establishment of a religious organization for Spanish-speaking Latinos/as by the first Latino/a settlers was pivotal for the emerging Latino community of Lansing, Michigan.

From the early generations of newcomers emerged the need to come together with the other few families that lived in Lansing at that time. According to one of the first settlers, little by little they were able to gather around 25 families who practiced the Catholic faith at the end of the 1950s. In the beginning they used to gather in people's houses and basements to practice their religious beliefs. Around 1960, they gathered temporarily at a Chapel in East Lansing.

As the Mexican-American community increased they began advocating to the bishop for the establishment of a Catholic Church for Spanish-speakers. Participants remember that they worked hard to demonstrate the

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need for a "Hispanic church" for their community: "We helped, we did advertisement, [and] we prepared food. All of this was for the bishop to see how active we were and he allowed us to buy the church," remembers one of the participants. In 1961, the Diocese of Lansing purchased a Methodist church located in an African American neighborhood and was given the name "Cristo Rey Church."

Establishment of the Cristo Rey Church near downtown Lansing was critical to the "settling in" process, as it provided not only religious and spiritual sustenance, but also opportunities for leadership roles, a concrete sense of community, social life, and an organizational base from which to address social and community issues.

Over time, Cristo Rey Church moved its location several times. In 1966, the church was demolished to construct the Interstate 496 through the downtown area of Lansing. Mass services resumed in 1968 at a newly build dual-function facility on Ballard Street in north Lansing. Besides serving as a site for religious services, the facility housed the newly created Cristo Rey Community Center, which over the years has sought to meet the diverse needs of the growing Mexican-American and Latino communities through an array of services.

Gradually, the Cristo Rey congregation outgrew the facility on Ballard and the need for a different facility became evident. The community center remained on Ballard Street, but Cristo Rey Church was reestablished at South Washington Avenue in 1979, and then moved to its current location on Miller Road in 1998.

Through the Cristo Rey Church the Mexican-American and Latino community has had the opportunity to continue nurturing their cultural roots. One of the major annual events is the Fiesta. The Fiesta was first called Holiday in Mexico, and its purpose was to celebrate the Mexican-American culture, as well as raising funds for the church. This event is considered to be "Mid-Michigan's largest Hispanic festival featuring arts and traditions" by the Arts Council of Greater Lansing.

Cristo Rey Church has served Latinos/as as a platform for social advocacy, socioeconomic integration to the community, cultural revitalization (replenishment), and provided a net of social networks, material and social support, and opportunities to develop Latino/a leaders. One participant comments: "When I came to Michigan I didn't knew anybody. The only place I saw people was at church. There in the church I started getting to know people." Another one said: "I started feeling more integrated to the community [when] I was invited to the church. That is when I started developing [in the community]."

Settling In and the Pursuit of Social Justice

Through our interviews, we have found that the Latino community in Lansing is characterized by a strong sense of commitment to social justice, social change, the pursuit for equal opportunity, and a strong sense of solidarity with contemporary migrant farmworkers. It is quite understandable that first-generation settlers have been concerned with such issues given their own life experiences and background as migrant workers.

Due to farmworker advocacy organizations, the working conditions for farmworkers have improved somewhat from those that prevailed in the 40s, 50s, and 60s, particularly with regard to housing, health services, and wages. Yet, migrant farmworkers continue to be the poorest and most vulnerable workers in the country. Farmwork is also widely recognized as one of the highest-risk occupations in the country, with workers facing exposure to pesticides and harsh weather conditions.

Improvements came primarily as a result of farmer worker's struggles led by César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, Baldemar Velásquez, Jesús Salas, Lucas Benítez and others. Several of the participants in the present study recall César Chávez, the nationally known farmworker labor leader, and his strong presence in Lansing and throughout Michigan. Following the initial work of Ernesto Galarza in California in the 1950s, César led the struggles for fair wages and humane housing and work conditions for farmworkers. Inspired by these leaders and by their own sense of injustice which grew from their experiences working in the fields, settled-in former-migrant workers have been highly active aiding the migrant farmworker population over the past several decades.

In Lansing, Members of Cristo Rey Church have been highly involved in improving the welfare of migrant workers through different venues. Since its establishment, one participant recalls, the priest and church members visited the migrant camps and provided them with basic

necessities such as blankets, hygiene kits, clothes, and homemade meals, in addition to providing them with spiritual support and teaching them Catechism. In addition, the Cristo Rey Community Center has been critical to the delivery of social and health services to Latino and other communities.

Conclusion

The Latino settlement process of migrant farmworkers in Lansing, Michigan has been a dynamic interplay between contextual factors (forces that push and pull settlers) and personal decision making (individual motivations for settling out). The role of kinship and informal social networks has been central to the Latino settlement process, which continues to replenish the Midwest with new Latino/a generations. Central to the development of the Latino community was the establishment of Cristo Rey Church through the efforts of settled-out migrant families.

Overall, participants in our study view themselves as "very lucky" and fortunate in their lives after their decision to come to Michigan. One settler reflects: "No, I didn't have a hard time [settling down]. We were lucky that we came to Michigan, if not, I would be back in Texas, struggling." In general participants reported feeling "very satisfied" about their decision to come here and for the prosperity they were able to attain for themselves and their families. Participants also consistently agreed that life would have been more difficult if they had stayed in Texas or working in the fields.

In terms of the process of settlement, a cycle was observed among the participants. Participants in this study settled out of the migrant stream, settled into neighborhoods, and settled into the larger community. Through these processes they consistently kept a strong connection with migrant workers who were still inside the migrant stream in order to help them in their struggle for survival. One of the pioneer settlers commented: "I see it interesting for the reason that we started, along with other families, to visit the migrant camps, we had so many activities with people who came from Mexico, we helped them any way we could and the people were very happy [to find help] because for many of them it was the first time that they were coming to the state of Michigan. We showed them the way, what it was that they had to do, what was the type of job they liked to do, things like that. And the years went by, and that started around the 60s, when we started going to the camps to help the new migrant workers."

Contrary to the common stereotype that characterizes immigrants as depleting the government resources, many participants reaffirmed their commitment to hard work as the means to attain a better quality of life. A male participant said: "[Many] people born and raised here expect the government to help them. We don't. We go to work, and we work hard to own what we have… We don't take no for an answer." A female participant commented that she worked hard in several jobs to support her family. She recalls her children saying: "If it wasn't for you, mom, we would have ended up on welfare." She continued, "And their father and I never liked asking for help like that." Another participant, whose dire circumstances required her to receive government aid temporarily, commented how she worked hard to be able to stand in her two feet again and moved out of the subsidized housing facility she was living in and into her own home.

In the 1950s more than 300,000 migrant workers worked Michigan's agricultural fields. Today, less than 50,000 come through the state, mainly due to the decline of the sugar beet industry and the mechanization of the industry. As this country continues to experience economic transformation attended by a deep recession, potential settlers are presented with a different set of challenges from those of their predecessors. Instead of manufacturing they are met by service sector jobs in hotels, restaurants and health care facilities which require low-wage and reliable labor, and by some opportunities in the roofing and landscape industries. Oral histories will help us tell their stories of challenge, adaptation, and the celebration of life no matter the hardships

All photos are provided by JSRI archives.

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In addition, findings from qualitative interviews (not shown here) highlighted what migrant farmworkers indicated they have learned from the different videos. On healthcare, they indicated they learned about health insurance from their employer, Medicaid and Medicare; how to obtain emergency insurance for their children; and about hospital and emergency care. Migrant farmworkers also indicated that they learned about taxes and tax filing, whether they have immigration documents or not, including using a Tax Identification Number (TIN) and claiming dependents. On education of their children, migrant farmworkers indicated that they learned about how they should be involved in their children's education. They further indicated that sometimes they do not get involved in the education of their children because of their work schedules. They conveyed that they learned about the availability of assistance at their children's schools. On finances, migrant farmworkers indicated that they learned about how to open bank accounts, saving money, using checking accounts, and for how much banks are insured. On public assistance, migrant farmworkers indicated that they learned about qualification requirements; how to apply for assistance; and the different benefits, including cash assistance, and food stamps.

Migrant farmworkers suggested that these videos can be improved by using simpler language they can understand and comprehend; by making them less boring; and by making them more specific on available services for migrants, including where and how to apply to those services. Migrant farmworkers expressed the need to learn the English language and believed that it would make their lives much easier in the U.S. society by helping them interact better with school systems, become more involved in the education of their children, learn about pesticide exposures, and learn about differences in the laws between states. Finally, migrant farmworkers expressed the need to learn more about IDs and drivers' licenses; their legal rights, the police; parenting education and childcare; and about education for men.

Migrant farmworkers are interested in learning more about the institutions in society. Communities are likely to benefit when migrant farmworkers increase their knowledge of the workings of U.S. institutions and are better informed about the laws, taxes, immigration, employment, education, and health services. Not only do communities benefit from the work of migrant farmworkers, but they may benefit more when migrants are knowledgeable and are fully integrated into and participate in community life. These findings inform us about the need to provide programming that can enhance the social capital of migrant farmworkers so they can access the services of societal institutions. Such programming would continue educating migrant farmworkers about U.S. institutions using media technology. In the long run, this would help migrant farmworkers overcome their fear of dominant communities, reduce their isolation, and increase their capacity to access existing public, private, and other social services. In short, educational programs promote their incorporation into U.S. society.

Limitations of this study are related to attrition and practical challenges of researching migrant farmworkers. They often lack transportation to meeting places; do not have a telephone where they can be reached; and they often do not have free time for interviews or learning information on videos or other curriculum, especially during peak harvest seasons. To be sure, they have busy schedules, work on more than one job, and have low-paying jobs that are labor intensive. As a result, workers may have little time or energy to learn about the institutions around them or even to become involved in the education of their children.

The use of television, radio, and other technologies may be the most effective ways to reach migrant farmworkers, especially those with little free time. The cultural and educational background of Latino migrants also presents special challenges for community education programs. On average, Latino migrant farmworkers tend to have low education levels and socio-economic status. Therefore, educational programs must be culturally sensitive, simple to understand, and be appropriate for individuals with a range of limited educational backgrounds

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