SAMORA JULIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

NEXO

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Winds of Change Sweep Nation as Latino Population Grows

by Robert Aponte

A new **JSRI** publication, "Winds of Change: Latinos in the Heartland and the Nation," provides an updated assessment of U.S. and midwestern population dynamics over the decade of 1980-1990. It finds that Latinos accounted for over half of the total population growth in the Midwest over the period and that the bulk of this growth was centered in Illinois, particularly Chicago. The growth was largely of Mexican origin and appears to have been primarily immigrant driven. An even more phenomenal growth occurred at the national level, where Latinos added nearly eight million to their ranks. The Mexican origin component also dominated the growth there, but to a lesser extent.

The research shows that midwestern Latinos sustained a significant decrease in real income and a corresponding increase in poverty, while the region's whites experienced a moderate economic decline and the region's blacks sustained a devastating blow. However, the region's severe economic setback was not matched at the national level. Indeed, median household income for the region began the 1980's higher than that for the nation, but ended lower. In addition, the report notes that while Latinos continue to trail blacks and whites in educational attainment, there is more catching up going on than meets the eye, as the aggregated averages appear biased downward by the presence of lesser educated immigrants. Finally, the report shows that a substantial amount of immigration and internal migration, of recent vintage, is bringing large numbers of Latinos to rural areas of the Midwest, even as the major urban magnet of Chicago may be shedding some of its gravity.

Highlights

The population shifts in the Midwest, among Latinos and non-Latinos alike, are similar to the corresponding shifts in the nation as a whole in some respects, but not others. These similarities and differences are easily detected from a comparison of Figures 1A and 1B. First, as shown in Figure 1A, the population of the midwest grew by only 800,000 persons over the decade, an increase of only about 1.3% (from slightly more than 59 million to slightly less than 60 million). By contrast, as Figure 1B shows, the nation's total

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April 7th Conference

Latinos in the Social Sciences

JSRI invites your participation on April 7, 1997 in a conference entitled, "Transforming the Social Sciences through Latina/o Studies." Its focus will be the role that Latino studies or studies of relevance to Latinos, needs to play in the curriculum. For example, some have proposed that Latino issues simply be added to existing disciplines by including some readings on Latinos. Others feel that Latino Studies is a discipline in its own right and beyond merely infusing existing classes with a Latino perspective, higher education needs to establish Latino Studies in the same way that it has given status to Black (African-American) Studies.

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Inside

FROM THE DIRECTOR'S DESK

Heartland Latinos: New and Critical Dimensions

Four trends are affecting the Latinization of the nation's heartland: First, the growing importance of labor intensive agribusiness processing plants in various communities of the Midwest; Second, the increased employment of Latino workers, above and beyond other workers, in many of these new plants; Third, the increased need for community resources oriented towards Latino settlers for services like schooling, housing, English language, job training, and recreational activities and; Fourth, the greater signs of socio-cultural tensions related to the first three trends and the desire of Latino organizations and labor groups to ameliorate conditions.

Before concluding that Heartland Latinos pose problems of "illegal" aliens, welfare users, and major social costs in Midwestern places, we should concentrate on more facts and understanding of the dynamics behind these trends. In particular, we should devote considerably more time and attention to these questions; 1)What is the extent of Latino population growth in the Midwest and the magnitude of socio-cultural problems? 2) Why is this growth occurring and what is being done locally to address the new needs of communities and Latino settlers? 3) What are the consequences and correlates of the concomitant ethnic transformation, especially in small rural communities? 4) What are the policy and community development implications of Latino growth as related to the jobs that are found? and, 5) How can the body of research and information be applied for improved community relations and planning?

While studies suggest that Heartland communities are experiencing a form of Mexicanization or Latinization, what is not pointed out is that the distribution of Latinos is not uniform and spread out across all places. It occurs primarily in communities where packing plants and new forms of agribusiness processing have generated a large demand for non-local labor. **JSRI** studies have found that rural communities with Latinization have not been prepared for the increasing demands for housing, schooling, diverse cultural interests and public services. That, in fact, Latino workers and families are bearing the burden of major adjustment costs. Our reports have also shown that meatpacking creates unusually high population turnover. The work is difficult, unpleasant, and dangerous, and the job hierarchy is relatively flat. Some plants encourage workers to leave to avoid paying health benefits, which are usually only offered after the first six months of employment. Turnover is, therefore, very high, as workers have a hard time staying at the job for a long period of time due to illness, injury, problems with (and harassment from) management, economic insecurity, and dislike of the job. Plants recruit from Texas and California and hire new workers to fill vacancies, so there is a constant stream of newcomers to the host communities. Because poultry and meat packing jobs pay low wages, and because they attract the most vulnerable workers, poverty and correlates of poverty are increased. There appear to be too few studies which, in turn, examine the net returns which communities can gain from their agribusiness firms. We do not know, for example, if the firms are generating local revenues to cover costs related to health and social services of local workers. What we do know is that local and state governments have showered the meatpacking giants with millions in tax rebates and subsidies, without similar investments in Latino workers.

It is also beginning to look like local, state, and federal government policies have been largely reactive in response to Heartland Latinos. For example, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has expanded its retention facilities in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to go along with further "border" patrollers operating in Iowa and nearby states.

But is "border" enforcement the solution to Heartland Latinos who supply the labor to Midwest plants? Do INS round-ups improve conditions? We at **JSRI** think not!

We should not forget as well that historically, Latinos have come to the Midwest for almost a century to work as farm laborers, or in urban factories. These Latinos have been largely U.S. born and migratory workers. While Midwest Latinos have worked in many different industrial sectors, and still work as migrant and seasonal farm workers, we should not be surprised that larger numbers of Latino migrants are filling jobs of the meat packing industry. Large scale meat processors, such as Swift-Amour, IBP, Inc., and Sarah Lee's Bil-Mar turkey plant, offer year-round jobs that pay at least $6 an hour — relatively higher and more stable earnings than are possible as seasonal farm workers. Despite harsh employment conditions, jobs at these meat packing plants are relatively important to Latinos. Spanish speaking is not a problem and there is relatively little local competition for many of these routine and unpleasant jobs. Though work hours vary, rarely do the plants close down as workers and machines operate in a steady cadence of more output, less waste and little down-time in processing. Shouldn't rural communities be expected to see increases in Latinos and the concomitant service needs, as workers settle with their families and tend to bring children in larger numbers into schools, recreational programs or downtowns?

For the most part, however, neither the industries that are attracting Latinos to the Midwest, nor the communities that host the plants, have planned sufficiently for the integration of the new workforce. In general, policies have been reactive rather than pro-active, and they continue to be so. Meatpacking plants make no attempt to prepare places for the changes that they can expect, or to encourage development of proactive policies and programs. Some communities have tried to prepare for changes in their communities prior to the installation of a new processing plant. In Garden City, Kansas, for example, a ministerial alliance began a public education program when negative rumors started circulating about refugees who began arriving in the 1980s. Because of these efforts, newcomers were at least tolerated by most established residents, although it is less certain whether they have been integrated into the community. Lexington, Nebraska hired consultants to estimate housing needs for the new population expected from the installation of a new meat packing plant. However, this need was drastically underestimated, due to the plant's low projections of worker turnover and non-local hirings. In general, proactive policy has mostly consisted of saying "yes" or "no" to industries proposing new plant construction.

Changing ethnicity need not bring about ethnic tensions, but there are, nonetheless, negative feelings of established residents. One article in the Daily Globe, a newspaper in Worthington, Minnesota, found that an overwhelming majority of residents surveyed felt that the influx of minority groups into their community had not been good for the community, and many made shockingly racist comments about the newcomers. In some California communities, settled Latinos often provide services to newcomers. But in the Midwest, immigrant workers often obtain services from non-Hispanic providers, making them more visible in their communities. Nonetheless, changes in local culture due to Latino settlement can be seen as positive — adding diversity and international flavor to the community, and not threatening to the survival of the traditional culture of the community. But as yet, little positive is being developed.

Here at the Julian Samora Research Institute, we have taken the lead in documenting the Latinization of rural places, especially with regard to communities in Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. We are looking for collaboration from other researchers to address the wide range of issues and concerns. We are particularly interested in hearing from community leaders, especially from the Latino population, to give us a sense of the situation of increasing rural Latinization. In order to speed this process along, we invite our readers to share whatever ideas and suggestions they have that relate to Latinization. Please call me or send a message via the **JSRI** web server: <***http//www.jsri.msu.edu***>.

Thank you,

Refugio I. Rochín

Special appreciation to Elaine Allensworth, Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at Michigan State University, who assisted with details in the above.

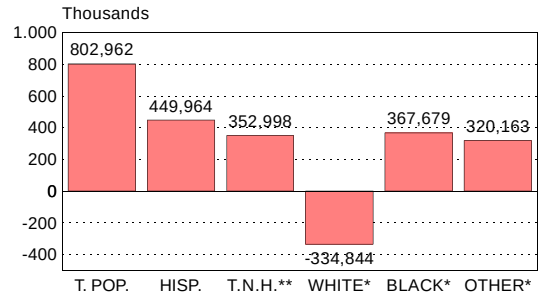
Winds of Change

(continued from page 1)

population added more than 22 million people, a hike of better than 10% (from just over 226 million to just under 249 million). Nevertheless, in each instance, Latino growth exerted a considerable impact on the overall pattern.

As Figure 1A shows, Latinos account for fully half of the total population growth of 800,000 in the Midwest while the region's non-Hispanic whites actually drop by over 300,000! Non-Hispanic blacks

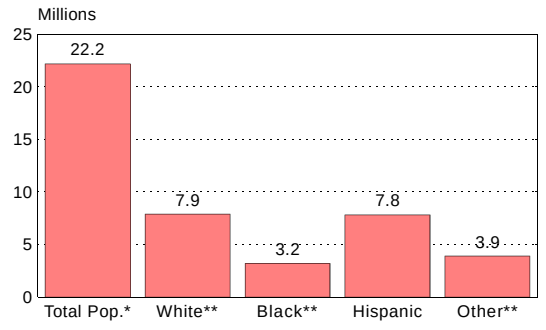
FIGURE 1A. POPULATION CHANGE IN THE MIDWEST BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1980 - 1990



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.
** Total Non-Hispanic = Non-Hispanic White + Non-Hispanic Black + Others.
*Non Hispanic.

and "others" (e.g., Native American, Asian American, etc.) in the region also show growth, but less than that experienced by Latinos. Likewise, the national level data in Figure 1B show that Latinos increased by some 7.8 million over the decade, adding well over twice as many people to their ranks as did blacks, and fully twice as many as did "others." Moreover, Hispanic growth nearly matched that of non-Hispanic whites, who added only some 7.9 million persons to their ranks, despite

FIGURE 1B. UNITED STATES POPULATION GROWTH BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1980-1990

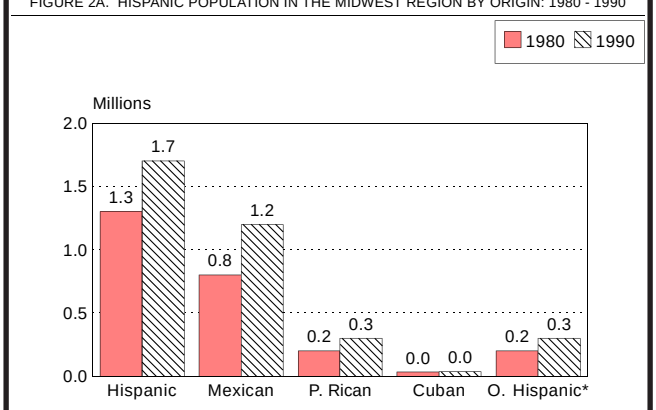


*Total Population.
**Non-Hispanic.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

their vastly larger starting size. Indeed, non-Hispanic whites began the decade some 12 times the size of the Latino population, but ended it only eight times as large. Thus, the relative impact of the Latino growth was enormous.

Figures 2A and 2B, for the Midwest and the U.S. respectively, focus solely on Latinos and reveal some striking similarities in patterning. They depict Hispanic

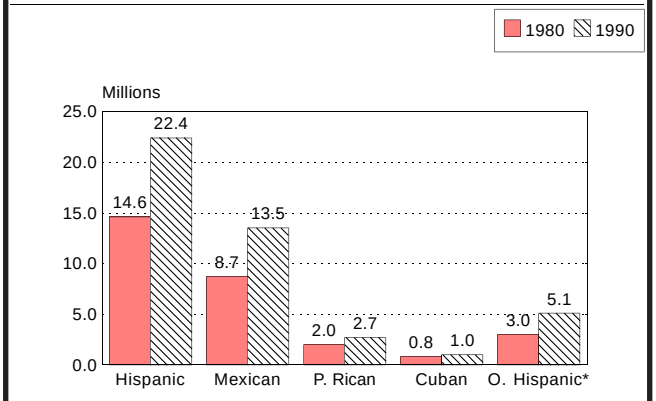
FIGURE 2A. HISPANIC POPULATION IN THE MIDWEST REGION BY ORIGIN: 1980 - 1990



*Other Hispanic.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

population counts for the two census dates by national origin category. In each case, it is clear, the brisk Latino growth is mainly a reflection of the largest group, Latinos of Mexican origin, advancing its lead over the others. Figures 4A and 4B show the Latino growth in the Midwest, by state, for all Hispanics (4A) and for Hispanics by national origin groupings (4B). The story is unambiguous: the regions' Latino population, and the group's growth, are centered in Illinois. As can be seen in Figure 4A, approximately 300,000 Latinos were added to the state's population over the intercensual interim — practically three quarters of the full region's growth — and most of the added population (well over 200,000) was of Mexican origin (Figure 4B).

FIGURE 2B. HISPANIC POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES BY ORIGIN: 1980 - 1990



*Other Hispanic.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Winds of Change

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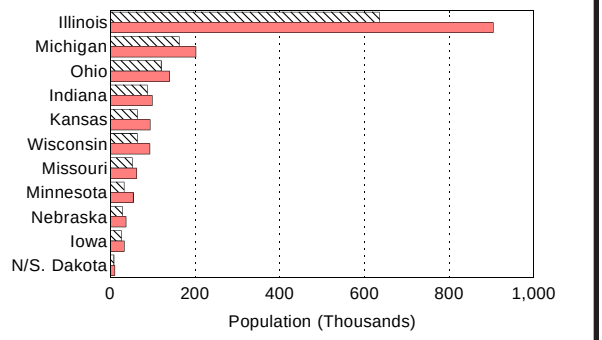
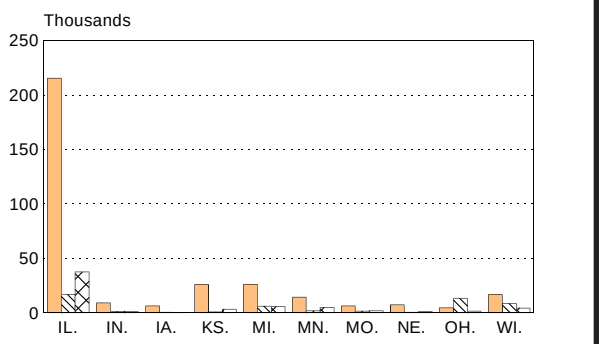
FIGURE 4A. HISPANIC POPULATION IN THE MIDWEST BY STATE: 1980 - 1990



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

FIGURE 4B. HISPANIC POPULATION GROWTH IN THE MIDWEST BY ORIGIN AND STATE: 1980-1990

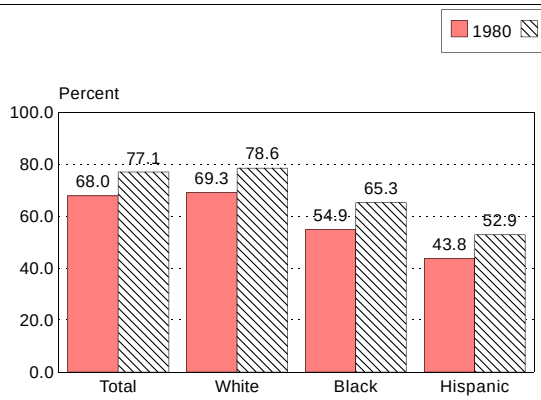


Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Figure 7 provides the key to understanding the phenomenal growth of the Latino population of the Midwest. It shows that immigrants account for almost half of all Illinois' Mexican origin Latinos, in contrast to the rest of the region, where the immigrant contribution averages under 14%. Even Michigan, which holds the second largest component of Latinos (and of Mexicans, if taken separately), holds a Mexican origin population that is only 10% immigrant.

Turning to education, Figures 8A and 8B show high school completion rates for Latinos and others in 1980 and 1990. At both times, Hispanics trail the others by a substantial margin. However, it is likely that the influx of immigrants accounts for a substantial portion of the lag. Figures 9A and 9B show that all Latino groups have advanced in high school completion between 1980 and 1990, but Mexicans remain solidly behind all others. However, as Figure 9C clearly shows, the educational gap between Mexicans and the others in the Midwest is centered in Illinois, where the presence of immigrants is strongest.

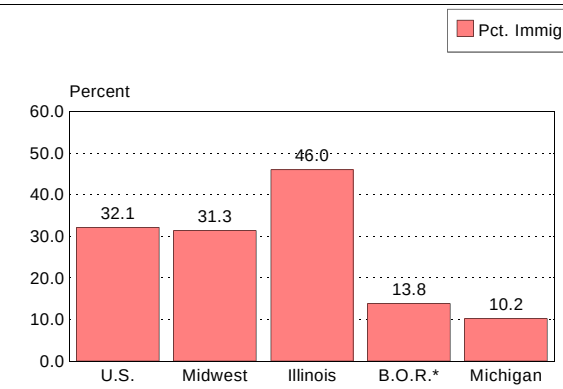
FIGURE 8A PERCENT WITH AT LEAST 12 YEARS COMPLETED SCHOOLING, AGES 25 AND OVER BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN IN THE MIDWEST: 1980 - 1990.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Whereas only 39% of adult Mexicans in Illinois completed 12 years of schooling, some 58% of adult Mexicans within the balance of the region (over 45% of the region's Mexicans) did so! This latter figure matches the comparable one for Puerto Ricans and nearly matches that for Blacks at both the regional and national settings (Figures 8A and 8B). This strongly supports the notion that immigrants are depressing Latino (particularly of Mexican origin) educational attainment figures. Since the nation received even more Mexican immigrants than the region, in relative or absolute terms, it stands to reason that the immigrant presence has obscured educational attainment gains by the native born of Mexican origin at the national level as well. Further, since Mexicans dominate the Latino category, it affects the aggregated statistics as well.

FIGURE 7. ESTIMATED PROPORTION IMMIGRANT IN MEXICAN-ORIGIN POPULATION, 1990: U.S., THE MIDWEST, AND SELECTED MIDWESTERN AREAS



* Balance of Region (Midwest minus Illinois), [accounts for 45.7% of Mexican Origin population].
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

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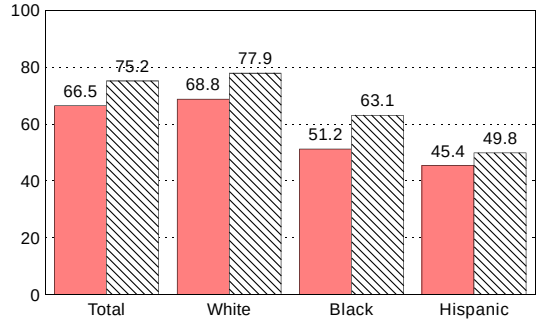
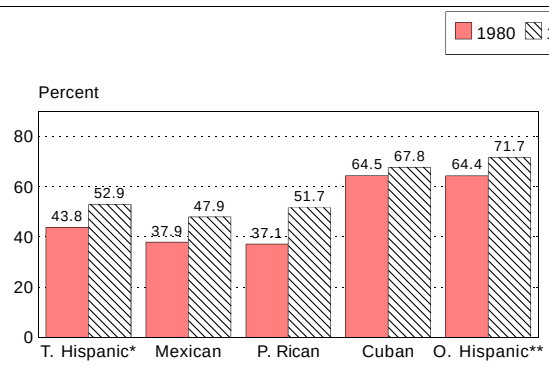
FIGURE 8B. PERCENT WITH AT LEAST 12 YEARS COMPLETED SCHOOLING, AGES 25 AND OVER BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980 - 1990



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

On an economic note, the report shows that the Midwest's people fared quite poorly over the decade, experiencing both increased poverty and falling household incomes, while the nation at large sustained only modestly rising poverty. Indeed, by the decade's

FIGURE 9A. PERCENT WITH AT LEAST 12 YEARS COMPLETED SCHOOLING, AGES 25 AND OVER IN THE MIDWEST BY HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1990

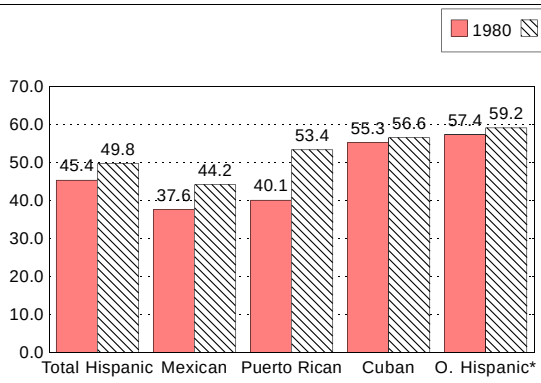


*Total Hispanic
**Other Hispanic
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

end, the median household income for the total population of the nation stood nearly $1,000 higher, in inflation-adjusted dollars, than that for the Midwest, a sharp reversal from 1980 when the region was favored by over $2,000! As shown in Figures 12A and 12B, declines in median household income in inflation adjusted dollars exceeded $2,000 for blacks, topped $1,000 for Latinos, and reached some $800 among whites. By contrast, all three groups registered modest gains in median household income at the national level, as shown in Figures 13A and 13B.

The final topic in the report concerns the emerging trend of rural Latino growth in the Midwest, a vast departure from the earlier noted pattern. This has mainly occurred in such states as Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, and draws on Latino migrants from both Mexico and other parts of the U.S. The key magnet for the movement is a string of meatprocessing plants that have recently shifted to, or expanded in, these midwestern areas. However, since much of this transformation has taken place after 1990, little evidence of it can be found in the decennial count data that the report mainly draws on. Thus, only a preliminary assessment of the movement can currently be made.

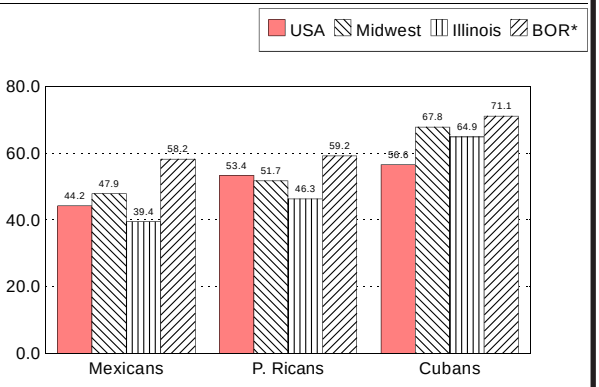
FIGURE 9B. PERCENT WITH AT LEAST 12 YEARS OF SCHOOLING , AGES 25 AND OVER BY HISPANIC ORIGIN IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980-1990



*Other Hispanic
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Garden City, Kansas, the first community to host a new meatpacking facility in the area, already had a long standing Hispanic community in 1980 when the plant opened. Nevertheless, dramatic Latino growth followed the plant opening. For example, even though the city's overall population grew substantially over the decade (by some 33%) the proportion accounted for by Latinos increased from about 16% to about 25%. In addition, Lexington, Nebraska, a town of some 10,000,

FIGURE 9C. PERCENT WITH AT LEAST 12 YEARS OF SCHOOLING, AGES 25 AND OVER BY HISPANIC ORIGIN: THE U.S. AND SELECTED STATES AREAS, A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT: 1990



*BOR = Balance of Region (Midwest minus Illinois).
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Winds of Change

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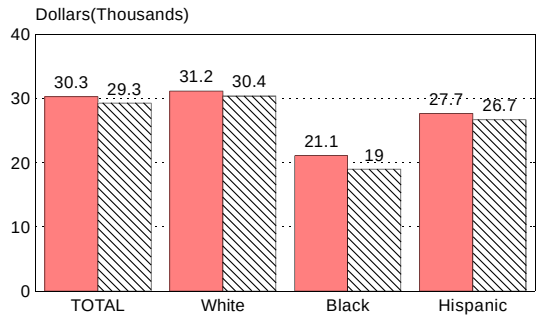
also hosted a plant-opening in 1990. Within a scant three years, the town's Latino component rose from about 5% of the total to about 24%, a fact that became certifiable only because a special census was held in early 1993.

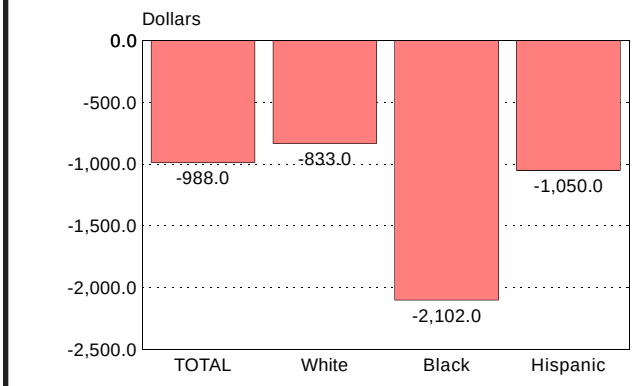
FIGURE 12A. MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN THE MIDWEST BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1979-1989



In Constant (1989) Dollars.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

In a similarly rapid fashion, the Hispanic population of Storm Lake, Iowa, rose from 102 persons in 1990 to an estimated 1,250 in 1996, in response to the new plant there. Thus, the town's entering kindergarten class of fall 1996 was estimated to be 47% "minority" (translation: mainly Hispanic), according to newsmedia coverage. In closeby Marshalltown, Iowa, where meatpacking has also expanded, the number of Hispanic students in the school district rose from 40 in 1990 to some 400 in 1996. Similar accountings abound in Minnesota, as well, notes the report.

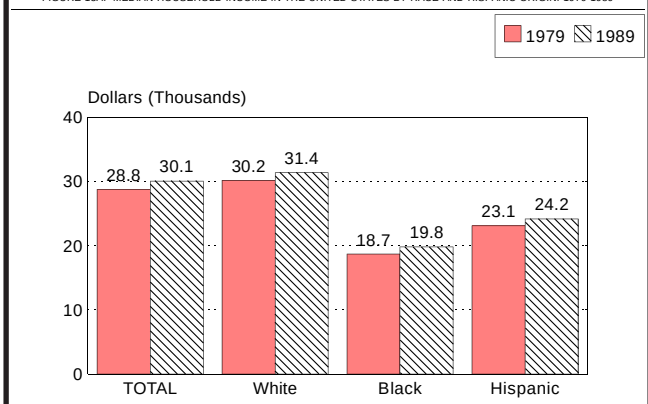
FIGURE 12B. CHANGE IN MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN IN THE MIDWEST: FROM 1979 TO 1989



In Constant (1989) Dollars.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Finally, the report shows that substantial evidence indicates that many of the meatpackers may lack legal status. For example, since 1992, the INS has reportedly raided 15 plants in the Iowa and Nebraska area, arresting over 1,000 employees. Some 500 more, who failed to turn out for work after the raids, also presumably lacked legal status. Indeed, the INS director for the two-state area estimates that of the 220 plants in his beat, perhaps 25% (12,000) of the workers are undocumented.

FIGURE 13A. MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1979-1989



In Constant (1989) Dollars.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

If these movements are truly indicative of things to come, they may soon provide more balance to the region's Latino settlement patterns than might seem possible in light of the earlier noted findings of the report. However, while the Chicago-centered growth and concentration seems impregnable, in fact, the report notes changes in the pattern that may well signal less growth there in the future. In fact, the Mexican population growth in Illinois (and thus, Chicago) during the 1980's, a decade of record Mexican immigration to the United States, was actually declining, relative to its extent in the previous decade!

Figure 16 shows the Mexican origin population of all the region's states from 1970 to 1990. A careful visual inspection of the data for Illinois shows that the state's Mexican origin population actually grew more, in absolute numbers, between 1970 and 1980, than between 1980 and 1990! This strongly suggests that the state is drawing less people than previously.

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MY TURN

Welfare Reform: A New Nativism Neglects the Facts

by Lourdes Gouveia

Throughout U.S. history, views of the poor and of our social obligations to them have shifted periodically.

In the 19th Century, the distinctions between the able-bodied and impotent poor, later translated into moralistic distinctions between the worthy and the unworthy, were used to justify the absence of community obligations toward many. This was particularly true in the case of those individuals deemed as "strangers" or outsiders to the community (Katz, 1989).

Later, in the 1960's, the plight of the poor rose to the forefront of public debates and culminated with the generous programs of the War on Poverty. Today, the pendulum seems to have swung the other way. Reminiscent of the 19th century moralistic discourse, rationales for federal and state welfare have emphasized the need to reform individual behavior, from the need to instill a sense of responsibility, allegedly lacking among the poor (thus the title "The Personal Responsibility Act), to promoting sexual abstinence among the younger ranks of the poor. Republican governors in states like Michigan, and Democrat governors in states like Nebraska, joined the national outcry about inflated welfare rolls and made campaign promises to overhaul their states' welfare reform system. In both cases, they moved ahead of the passage of the National Welfare Reform Act of 1996 and implemented several changes. Two legislative bills, LB224 and LB445, constitute the backbone of Nebraska's new welfare program, titled "Employment First" and "intended to move families rapidly into the mainstream of Nebraska's economy."

Nebraska's new welfare program requires that:

- welfare recipients enter contracts with the state promising to find jobs within two years.
- cash benefits be cut off after two years-earlier than what the federal law stipulates.

Likewise, the attitudes of native-born Americans toward each new wave of immigrants have oscillated between tolerance and exclusion. Today, we appear to be in the throes of a new nativism; of an isolationist movement among Americans, lamentably including small segments of the Latino population, who feel they must protect themselves and their local communities from outsiders. In this climate of economic insecurity, immigrants are seen as taking jobs and eroding the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Native born (Espenshade et al.1996-7; Kennedy 1996). Moreover, as in the 19th Century, immigrants are increasingly perceived as the "strangers" who are not only inflating welfare rolls, but are considered outside the purview of our social obligations toward the poor. These views have found expression in social movements such as the English Only movement, as well as in the new and highly restrictive immigration and welfare laws of 1996.

But as in other times in history, the connection between both welfare and immigration policies, and the objective dimensions of the problems they seek to address are rather tenuous. Instead, perceptions, ideology, and politics become more compelling than reality.

In the case of welfare and the poor, and if we look at the state of Nebraska, for example, claims about dramatic rises in Aid for Dependent Children (ADC) cases, used to justify welfare reform, are baffling when confronted with the state's own data. In Nebraska, not unlike much of the nation, the number of cases and expenditures associated with ADC and most other welfare programs had been in sharp decline since 1993. Most analysts agree that a major reason for the decline in this state is the rising availability of jobs offering livable (though not exceptionally high) wages in a context of tight labor supplies. This has allowed many to move, on their own, from welfare to work. This last fact wrests credibility from the "individual behaviors" argument bandied about by welfare reformists and others who view welfare recipients as people who do not want to work.

As Milo Mumgaard, the Director of the Nebraska Appleseed Center for Law in the Public Interest in Lincoln said recently, getting people from welfare to work in Nebraska is not an attitudinal problem, rather "what we have is a problem with people supporting themselves in the labor market" (Cordes 1997)[1]. In fact, one of the persistent problems nagging this state is that of a combined pattern of low unemployment and low wages, itself an effect of the prevalence of low wage

Welfare Reform

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and devalued industries such as meatpacking and a severe "brain drain." These economic structural causes of poverty and welfare dependency have remained at the margins of the welfare policy discussions and their outcomes.

In the case of anti-immigrant reforms and movements, the distance between ideology and data and the intellectually reasoned arguments that accompany them is just as daunting. Consider the case of nativist movements such as English Only, whereby sympathizers are oblivious to compelling research showing that the U.S. is the country with the highest rate of mother tongue shift toward (English) monolingualism, and thus, among Latino immigrants, it is not English, but Spanish, that is in constant danger of disappearing (Portes and Rumbaut 1996).

Similarly, two of the major arguments underpinning immigration reform and limiting welfare benefits to immigrants stand on scientific quicksand. One is the argument that immigrants are largely to blame for the rising costs of welfare. The other is that immigrants are "displacing" native labor. Let's look at each of these arguments separately:

"Immigrants are largely responsible for the increasing costs of welfare." Most of the research conducted on this issue points toward three major findings (From Fix and Zimmermann 1995).

- Use of public benefits among immigrants is heavily concentrated among refugees and elderly immigrants;
- Use among non-refugee working-age immigrants is about the same as for natives (5.1 vs. 5.3%); and,
- Despite welfare use increases among the immigrant elderly, immigrants who are poor remain substantially less likely to use welfare than other poor Americans.

In spite of these findings, immigrants have been singled out for nearly half of the budget cuts mandated by the new federal welfare reform bill. Latino immigrants, their citizen and non-citizen relatives, and the communities where they live and work, stand to be particularly affected by these cuts. Despite the hopes of the budget cutters, savings to state budgets from denying benefits to immigrants may be minimal or negative. In the specific case of Nebraska, denying ADC benefits to immigrants represents savings of about $380,000 a year, or as the Administrator for Public Assistance put in a recent interview, "I spend 25% more on prescribed drugs, one of the small little pieces of Medicaid, than on the entire ADC program" (Gouveia Interview January 1997).

Photo by Refugio I. Rochín, Nov. 1996, Marshall, Minn.

"Latino immigrants are displacing native labor and putting downward pressure on wages." Despite such views, recent studies make clear that the interaction between rising immigration, job displacement and declining wages is far from straightforward and often counter-intuitive. Three major trends can be discerned at this time.

Based on census data, the one group that clearly shows a higher likelihood of joblessness as immigration increased in the last years is immigrants themselves. In other words, because they are highly concentrated in a few labor markets, immigrants tend to compete with each other, rather than with native labor, as these already devalued industries continue to shrink employment and/or new waves of immigrants inflate the existing labor supply (Waldinger 1996; Wilson and Jaynes 1996-97).

(continued on page 10)

[1] Similar problems with the use, and lack thereof, of social science data to support welfare reform in Michigan and at the national level has been amply documented. See for example JSRI's Research Report #17 by Fayyaz Hussain, October 1996.

Welfare Reform

(continued from page 9)

Studies also showed that concentration of immigrants in a particular industrial sector decreased the risk of joblessness among Hispanics and recent immigrants. However, these same studies also suggest that as immigrants become more concentrated in a particular industrial sector, the odds of joblessness in the ranks of blue collar workers also increase (primarily among whites, African Americans and long-term immigrants). The unconfirmed suspicion is that the availability of cheap immigrant labor may lead employers in these sectors to reduce wages, devalue working conditions, and resort mainly to targeted recruiting via immigrant networks, in effect locking out native applicants. However, authors of these studies, such as Wilson and Jaynes (1996-97) admit that even when concentration of immigrants in some industry sectors seem to increase the risk of joblessness for some groups, this conclusion is drawn from measures of industrial concentration that are too broad and insufficiently refined. In fact, they concede that it is quite possible that native workers are underrepresented in labor markets where immigrants are entrenched because they voluntarily left those jobs some time earlier. This may have been triggered by new opportunities for upward mobility or its flip side: restructuring within that particular industry sector resulted in the erosion of relative pay, prestige and/or job security. In other words, the co-presence of large numbers of immigrants and unemployed native workers within a particular area or labor market does not necessarily reflect a cause and effect relationship.

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The difficulty of answering these questions based solely on census data highlights the need for complementary qualitative studies. I have found such studies particularly useful when looking at the increasing presence of Latino immigrants in the food processing sector. I have researched most specifically the meatpacking industry and the rural community which today host the large majority of meatpacking plants (Gouveia 1994; Gouveia and Stull 1995).

Neglected by many analysts of industrial change, studies about the recent restructuring of the agrofood sector illuminate with great poignancy how the decline in wages and erosion of good working conditions in this sector had very little to do with the immigrant labor force which now labors in the various components of this sector. Rather, intensified competition from other commodities or global production sites, drove industry managers into experiencing with a whole plethora of cost-cutting strategies which included plant closings, geographic decentralization within and outside the U.S. borders, elimination of union contracts, and the adoption of "flexible" employment strategies.

Labor responded accordingly. In cases where unions managed to retain some power, and plants have modernized, senior native workers stayed on and came to occupy the higher-paid, skilled position within a particular plant or sector. Conversely, new immigrants have been increasingly recruited and have accepted the devalued, deskilled, jobs, which, despite much talk about plant modernization and the need for highly educated and skilled labor, are still quite abundant within labor intensive agroindustries. This is most evident in the fruit and vegetable sector (Garcia 1992). In cases where unions have lost significant power and restructuring has involved the wholesale devaluation of wages and job conditions, native labor has exited these labor markets almost completely and, firms, through a revival of direct and network recruitment practices, have gradually secured a new immigrant labor supply. The meatpacking industry represents a clear example of this latter trend (Gouveia 1994).

In short, these studies strongly support the view that, despite recently sounded alarms by scholars like Borjas or the general public, Latino immigrants continue to be used primarily as a replacement of no longer available labor pools. Even if immigrant presence is occasionally found to put pressure on jobs and wages, many more instances are still found where the immigrant inflow has helped create new jobs and conditions for upward mobility for native workers. In fact, this is quite apparent in the community I have researched where the influx of new immigrants has

(continued on next page)

Welfare Reform

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generated a flurry of new jobs for the old "Hispanic"/Mexican American population which today is needed to perform a new array of "culturally-appropriate" and language-specific tasks in the various social and private agencies.

Let us now return to illustrations from Nebraska and examine the consequences of welfare and immigration policy reforms for immigrants, communities and agroindustrial sectors.

Nebraska today relies heavily on meatpacking for its economic well being and meatpacking relies primarily on new Latino immigrants for an adequate labor supply. When the "old line" packers (Swift, Armour) closed during the 1960's and 70's and a new breed of packers (IBP, Momfort) opened plants in rural areas, close to cattle supplies and far from unions, labor shortages soon began to manifest themselves. Meatpacking wages had been cut in half by the 1980's and benefits previously protected by master union contracts evaporated with the latter. From the point of view of the industry, increased efficiency and productivity was partly achieved by a process of deskilling whereby jobs are split into simpler, repetitive tasks. From the point of view of the workers, this translated into increased line speeds and the highest injury rates of any industry in the U.S. Gradually, white ethnics, African Americans, and Mexican Americans left the industry or lost their jobs when the old plants closed in Omaha. The last wave of native, rural-based, workers the industry had attracted soon shunned these jobs and native workforces were never again to look at meatpacking as a place where they wished to work.

Today, Latinos make up the majority of the labor force in most meatpacking plants. This includes IBP in Lexington, Nebraska, where I have done research for the past six years and where Latinos make up 80% of the labor force. This and the fact that Hispanics will make up an increasingly high percentage of Nebraska's population and labor force in the near future, were far from lost to state policy makers. The implicit consensus was to retain benefits for non-citizens by not even addressing the question directly.

However, this implicitly inclusive move was shaken by the new restrictions imposed by new immigration and federal reform laws. Several concerns were probably in the back of the legislators' minds:

Meatpacking jobs are ultimately seasonal as packers often cut down hours or even shut down for days when cattle prices are high and supplies are low. Wages fall a few dollars above or below the poverty line and families are constantly at risk of going without.

In Nebraska, about 2,200 immigrants, of an estimated 18,000 legal immigrants received food stamps in 1996. Few of these new immigrants have worked or can prove to have worked the 40 quarters now required for permanent residents to remain eligible for food stamps. This affects women in particular who tend to be concentrated in informal or formal labor markets where documentation of time worked is not easily obtained.

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Meatpacking is a high-injury occupation. In the absence of union contracts and poor health benefits, workers seldom file or win workers compensation cases. As new immigrants also become ineligible for SSI benefits to the injured and disabled, state officials understand they are looking at a potentially serious problem.

High turnover rates in the meatpacking industry (100% a year or more is not uncommon) produce social instability and increase costs to communities and their various services. The new immigration law, with denies benefits to new arrivals and requires immigrants' sponsors to have access to significant resources, effectively undermines the family reunification policies of the past. It was precisely these policies which were contributing to the formation of a more settled immigrant population in communities like Lexington, Neb.

Confronted with these threats to their economic base, Nebraska legislators, at the urging of Gov. Nelson have introduced recent legislation to retain legal permanent residents' eligibility to public benefits, including food stamps. The bills have been advanced from committee to the full legislature with no opposition from any law maker. However the fate of the approximate 400 PRUCUOL families remains unaddressed.

(continued on page 16)

JSRI Conference

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Universities across the country are grappling with such issues as the changing demographics of the student body makes issues of diversity in academics more pressing. Universities need to explore the impact of their institutional context as increasing numbers of minority students, especially Latinos, enter academe. Universities must also find ways to educate a diverse student population and how to assess the outcomes of diversity programs once they are implemented. They also face the challenge of preparing the overall student body to function in a world of increasing diversity, both locally and globally. With the Latino population due to become the largest U.S. minority group in the very near future, issues related to Latinos have particular salience and urgency.

Since all undergraduates must take social science classes as part of the required curriculum, the manner in which Latinos are portrayed, discussed, analyzed or ignored is of key concern to those concerned with the education of Latino youth. It is also of importance in the preparation of the general student population for the faculty to reconsider the basic foundations of the standard curriculum. The questions to address are many: How best to educate students for a diverse society, how best to adapt the University curriculum to changing social and ethnic realities, how best to serve this changing student population in terms of issues of diversity. These and related topics will be covered in the conference, especially as they relate to the recruitment and retention of Latino students in higher education.

The conference will be held at the MSU Student Union. It is free and open to the public, but seating is limited. Pre-registration will assure entrance. Please call or mail the attached registration to the address given.

Panels will be moderated by MSU Social Science faculty. For more information or to register for the conference, contact **JSRI** at (517) 432-1317, fax (517) 432-2221, or e-mail us at *jsamorai@pilot.msu.edu.* Information is also available on **JSRI**'s web site <www.jsri.msu.edu>.

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TRANSFORMING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES THROUGH LATINA/O STUDIES

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TRANSFORMING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES THROUGH LATINA/O STUDIES

Michigan State University Student Union • Monday, April 7, 1997

8:00 CHECK IN
2nd Floor Union, outside of Parlor Rooms B, C
Continental breakfast for registered participants.

8:45 INTRODUCTIONS
Parlor Rooms A,B,C

Refugio I. Rochín, Director and Professor
Julian Samora Research Institute

Maxine Baca Zinn, Professor of Sociology
Michigan State University

9:00 DIMENSIONS OF LATINA/O COMMUNITIES/BORDERS
Moderator - Lynne Goldstein, Anthropology

Richard Griswold del Castillo
Professor of Mexican American Studies
San Diego State University
HISTORY FROM THE MARGINS: CHICANA/O HISTORY IN THE 90'S

Carlos Velez-Ibañez, Dean and Professor
Humanities Arts & Social Sciences,
University of California, Riverside
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: BORDERS, TRANSNATIONALISM, LOCALITY & IDENTITY

10:15 IDENTITY AND LATINA/O STUDIES
Moderator - Chris Vanderpool, Sociology

Joan Moore, Sociology
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
LATINO STUDIES: THE CONTINUING NEED FOR NEW PARADIGMS IN SOCIOLOGY

Deena Gonzalez, Asc. Prof. Chicana/o Studies
Pomona College
(Title Pending)

Rafael Chabran, Chair, Foreign Lang. & Lit.
Whittier College
CHANGING PARADIGMS IN CHICANO STUDIES: HISTORY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, ETHNOGRAPHY IN LITERATURE

11:45 BREAK FOR LUNCH

1:00 CHALLENGES IN THE ACADEMY: EDUCATION IN A CONTEXT OF DIVERSITY
Moderator - Merry Morash, Criminal Justice

Ramon Torrecilha
Social Sciences Research Council
(Title Pending)

Arturo Madrid, Professor of Humanities
Trinity University
(Title Pending)

2:15 POLITICS, WORK, AND IMMIGRATION
Moderator - Steve Gold, Sociology

John Garcia, Professor of Political Science
University of Arizona
THE BROWNING OF AMERICA: POLITICS AND POWER FOR LATINO COMMUNITIES AND ITS COLORATION ON POLITICAL SCIENCE

Silvia Pedraza, Asc. Professor of Sociology
University of Michigan
THE CONTRIBUTION OF LATINO STUDIES TO THE STUDY OF IMMIGRATION

Victor Garcia, JSRI Post-Doc and
Associate Professor Anthropology
Indiana University, Pennsylvania
BRINGING ANTHROPOLOGY HOME: LATINA/O STUDENTS, UNIVERSITY CURRICULUMS, & COMMUNITY RESEARCH

4:00 THE LATINA/O: NARRATIVES & ISSUES
Moderator - Maxine Baca Zinn

Alfredo Mirandé, Professor of Sociology
University of California, Riverside
HOMBRES Y MACHOS: MASCULINITY AND LATINO CULTURE

Mario Barrera, Professor of Ethnic Studies
University of California, Berkeley
DEALING WITH IDENTITIES: FROM SOCIAL SCIENCE TO MYTH

Questions from the audience.

5:00 CONCLUDING REMARKS & RECEPTION
Refugio I. Rochín, *JSRI*
2nd Floor Union Concourse. An opportunity to meet the panelists and enjoy light refreshments.

FACULTY NEWS

Dr. Rene P. Rosenbaum, **JSRI** Faculty Associate, presented his paper "Advancing Adaptive Change: The Case of FLOC's Leadership and Organizational Development Initiative" at the Society for Applied Anthropology's Annual Meeting in early March. FLOC, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, was founded as a union in 1967 to represent Midwestern farmworkers. Rosenbaum's presentation, based on his manuscript, focused on the adaptiveness of FLOC's development initiatives, touched on the group's leadership and labor education strategies, and pondered the farmworkers population's ability to interact within their own environment. The SFAA's 1997 annual meeting was held in Seattle, Wash.

Closer to home, **Dr. Rosenbaum** and his wife, **Mary Beth**, announced the birth of their son, **Alex Antonio**, on Jan. 21. Alex, the Michigan couple's second son, weighed in at nearly 9.5 pounds.

Dr. Victor Garcia, an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP) where he teaches courses on Latin America, economic anthropology, and cultural anthropology, is a research fellow with **JSRI** for Spring term. His research experience on Mexican farmworker populations and rural Mexican enclaves in California and Pennsylvania has brought him national recognition as a leading researcher on these subjects. More recently, as a consultant for the U.S. Census Bureau, he developed field methods and strategies on how to locate and enumerate "hidden" and "hard-to-count" Mexican migrants in California and Pennsylvania.

During his stay with **JSRI**, he is working on articles on how the restructuring of agriculture has lead to the emergence and growth of "Mexican" enclaves in California and Pennsylvania. In California, he studied the enclave process in the Santa Maria Valley, a major vegetable growing region; and in Pennsylvania, he examined the new Mexican settlements in southern Chester County, a leading mushroom producing area. Over the last two decades, many communities in the two agricultural regions have experienced a rapid population growth as a result of Mexican immigration. Dr. Garcia will be with **JSRI** until June.

Dr. Victor Garcia

In addition to work on her book about immigrants in the meatpacking industry, **JSRI** Postdoctoral Fellow, **Dr. Lourdes Gouveia** has been pursuing her international research interests while at the **JSRI**. She recently finished an article titled "Re-Opening Totalities: Globalization Theory and Agrofood Restructuring in Venezuela" which will appear in D. Goodman and M. Watts (eds) *Postindustrial Nature: Culture, Economy and Consumption of Food* published by Routledge Press. In March, she spoke twice at Iowa State reflecting her transnational research interests: one was "Cut to the Bone: Latino Journeys into Meatpacking Jobs" and the other was "Global-Local Linkages in the Restructuring of Venezuela's and Colombia's Agrofood Systems." **Dr. Gouveia** was also a **JSRI** panelist discussing the meatpacking industry during Agriculture and Natural Resources Week at MSU and led a workshop on the local consequences of globalization for the Department of Anthropology. She will present her research on Venezuela at a forthcoming "Charla" organized by Latin American Studies in late March. Besides her academic accomplishments, **Dr. Gouveia** has been busy as a member of the Program committees of both the American Sociological Association and the Midwest Sociological Society as well as a member of the Rural Sociological Society's nominations committee.

Dr. Lourdes Gouveia

Juan Marinez, **JSRI**'s Assistant Director for Outreach, participated in a "Changing Racism" training program in Raleigh, N.C. The program focused on recognizing, understanding, and appreciating one's own culture as well as the culture of others. He was also recently invited to join the Kellogg National Leadership Program on diversity in Michigan.

Here in East Lansing, Marinez assisted **JSRI** colleague Marcelo Siles with a workshop during MSU's Agriculture and Natural Resources Week that brought scholars, agriculture industry experts, and farm labor representative together. He also went before the Governor's Agriculture Labor Commission to talk about **JSRI**'s ongoing research and outreach efforts.

JSRI Hosts Scholars

JSRI has hosted over a dozen visiting scholars in recent months. They came to share their research and areas of expertise on a wide variety of topics involving the Hispanic population.

"Nutrient Intake, Social Correlates, and Differential Birthweight: A Study of Women of Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Mexican Descent" was the topic presented Jan. 10 by **Dr. David A. Lopez**, an MSU alumnus. On Feb. 27, **Dr. Ed Munoz** presented "Latino Sentencing Dispositions, 1987-1991" including discussion of the racial/ethnic bias in the Midwest's rural criminal justice system, and the sentencing dispositions of Latinos within those systems.

JSRI also sponsored **Dr. Angelina Pedroso** and **Lt. Colonel Castillo Kickbush**, a 19-year United States Army veteran, as keynote speakers for the *Dia de la Mujer Conference* which took place at MSU on Feb. 21.

Baldemar Velasquez, Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), spoke on "New Opportunities in Agribusiness: The Workers' Perspective" on March 4 during a week-long series of workshops held in conjunction with MSU's "Agriculture and Natural Resources Week" Program.

Ernesto Vigil, Chicano scholar and activist, is scheduled to present at the MEXA National Conference to take place on MSU's campus April 10-13. His current work involves at-risk youth. **Maria Sanchez**, a doctoral student at Harvard University, is also scheduled to speak in April. Her topic will be on "19th Century Chicana Fiction."

In addition, **JSRI** will bring a number of scholars to participate in **JSRI**'s annual conference being held April 7 at MSU's Student Union *(see story on page 1)*.

Special thanks to Endowment Donors

JSRI wishes to thank all of those who responded to our recent request for contributions to the *Julian Samora Endowed Scholarship Fund*. **JSRI** will be awarding the first scholarships this Spring. We want to build the Endowment Fund so that we can help more students. Donations continue to be welcome.

If you can help, please make your check payable to Michigan State University and mail it to **JSRI** with a note indicating it is for the Endowment. Your ongoing support is gratefully received.

NEWS FROM JSRI

JSRI is pleased to announce a number of new publications available as part of its CIFRAS, Research Report, Working Paper and Occasional Paper Series. Recently released publications include:

CIFRAS 5 Aponte, Robert and Marcelo Siles, *Winds of Change: Latinos in the Heartland and the Nation.* (1997) (no charge)

WP-29 Lopez, David *An Annotated Bibliography of Research on Low Birthweight Among Latinos: A Working Paper*. (1996) $3.00

RR-15 Johnson, Kevin, *Proposition 187: The Nativist Campaign, the Impact on the Latino Community, and the Future.* (1996) $3.00

RR-17 Hussein, Fayyaz, *Social Welfare Reforms in Michigan: Intent & Implications for the Poor.* (1996) $3.00

RR-19 Rosenbaum, Rene, *Migration and Integration of Latinos into Rural Midwestern Communities: The Case of 'Mexicans' in Adrian, Michigan.* (1997) $3.00

RR-20 Saenz, Rogelio and Cynthia M. Cready, *The Southwest-Midwest Mexican-American Migration Flows, 1985-1990.* (1997) $3.00

OC-21 Martin, Philip L., J. Edward Taylor, Michael Fix, *Immigration and the Changing Face of Rural America: Focus on the Midwestern States.* (1996) (no charge)

OC-23 Arias, Armando, *Viable Global Networked Learning.* (1996) (no charge)

OC-24 Chavarría, Jesus, *Fieldnotes on Hispanic Entrepreneurship.* (1997) (no charge)

These and other **JSRI** publications are available by mail or via the internet. For a comprehensive list of publications, call or write **JSRI**, or visit our web site at <www.jsri.msu.edu>.

Welfare Reform

(continued from page 11)

At a time when ideology and a new nativism dominate policy making, it becomes particularly incumbent upon social scientists, and Latino social scientists in particular, to engage in rigorous and dispassionate analyses about the complex forces that are generating the displacement of and antagonism toward the world's poor within and across national boundaries. The powerful agents representing agroindustrial capital today avail themselves of cost-cutting and profit maximization strategies which include the incorporation of global labor pools into "flexible" strategies of production-from part time employment to enhanced capacity to rapidly move operations from site to site-from Iowa to Indiana or to Michigan — as political and economic costs increase. Globalization, as we often label this process, is uneven but its consequences resonate in every locality. Meatpacking may be an extreme case, but it is emblematic of many of the changes that are occurring in the agroindustrial and other economic sectors and which are still insufficiently examined.

A "fear of falling," among the working and middle classes has helped fueled anti-immigrant, anti-poor sentiments which are harnessed by self-serving bureaucrats and politicians who conveniently blame the voiceless for today's budget deficits and our social ills. In fact, all of us are constantly at risk of falling into chaotic analyses which conflate the costs of global economic restructuring strategies (based on reduced wages and increased demand for tax abatements), with "the cost of immigrants" who are about the only labor pool which still flocks to these devalued economic sectors.

Yet, today, immigrants represent an important economic lifeline for states like Nebraska and, especially, for rural communities like Lexington which could have otherwise been destined to join their neighboring ghost towns in the aftermath of the farm crisis of the 1980's. Immigrant networks (formed by documented and undocumented workers) also subsidize the costs of hiring, recruitment and training for particular jobs and industries. Contrary to recently popular views about the low quality and diminished chances for upward mobility of this new immigrant wave, and against formidable odds, immigrant families in communities like Lexington, Nebraska, are settling, moving out of meatpacking jobs and into self-employment, and buying houses at very high rates.

Immigrants, for the most part, are here to stay. Their children are the future of this country and of the multiple communities they occupy. Invidious distinctions and politics of exclusion represent the biggest peril to that future. As Latino social scientists we must resist attempts to drag us into the categorization machinery cranked out to divide us into us and them, into the deserving and the undeserving. Instead, we must provide the kind of intellectual leadership which moves the focus of our studies and political activities away from concerns about the ultimately meager costs of the poor — legal or illegal, domestic or foreign, Chicano or Central American — and toward the larger and long-term costs of business practices and economic models which erode the social contract and fragment communities.

Dr. Lourdes Gouveia, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Nebraska, Omaha, is a JSRI Postdoctoral Fellow working here through June. References for this article are listed on the web version of the report; access <www.jsri.msu.edu>.

DID YOU KNOW....

…Hispanic children are far less likely to have health insurance than White or Black children? *About 27% of Hispanic children were without health insurance in 1995 compared to 15.3% of Black children and 13.4% of White children.*

…Of those covered by insurance, Black and Hispanic children are significantly more likely to be covered by Medicaid, the Federal program for the poor? *Almost 45.5% of Black children, 37.4% of Hispanic children, and 18.3% of White children were so insured.*

MSU hosts national MEXA conference

Michigan State University MEXA (Movimiento Estudianti Xicano de Aztlan) is the proud host of the 1997 National MEXA Conference, April 10-13. The **Julian Samora Research Institute** (Refugio I. Rochín, Director) is a co-sponsor of this annual event. **JSRI** provided travel funds for two students, to attend a February liaison meeting in Fullerton, Calif. Per the national MEXA constitution, the host of the national conference must hold at least three liaison meetings in different states to permit resolutions and suggestions to be given to the national host. The liaison in California was held at Cal State Fullerton and co-hosted by the Solevar Community Organization, Chicano Studies Student Association - Cal State Fullerton, and the Brown Berets de Aztlan.

The Cal State Fullerton meeting was extremely productive and created unity between non-MEXA organizations and recognized the work of Xicano activists not privileged enough to attend college. MSU's MEXA chapter voiced a clear message to MEXAs in California as well as other Xicano organizations… "we can no longer be just a social club." In Juan Gomez Quinones' book, *Chicano Politics - Reality & Promise 1940-1990*, he emphasizes a clear 6-point criticism regarding the cause of the political activism decline of MEXA. He states that "membership responsibility became little more than what was expected within college social clubs." His statements seem true; MEXA chapters are, at best, only sporadically involved in issues such as Xicano student recruitment and retention, or the promotion and implementation of Xicano studies. The first criticism he mentions is "a loss of organizational direction and purpose." MSU's chapter has addressed this issue by putting forth two very progressive amendments to the national MEXA constitution.

Many view this year's conference as a turning point of MEXA because of the progressive agenda put forth by the hosting chapter at MSU. As discussed in the position paper written for the conference by Ernesto Todd Mireles, and co-authored by Daniel Osuna and Apaxu Maiz, MSU MEXA submitted a resolution to form a national headquarters. The "site" of the national headquarters would rotate to the national conference host each year. MEXA needs to become a community-based, non-profit organization if it is to address issues pertinent to Xicano students and community.

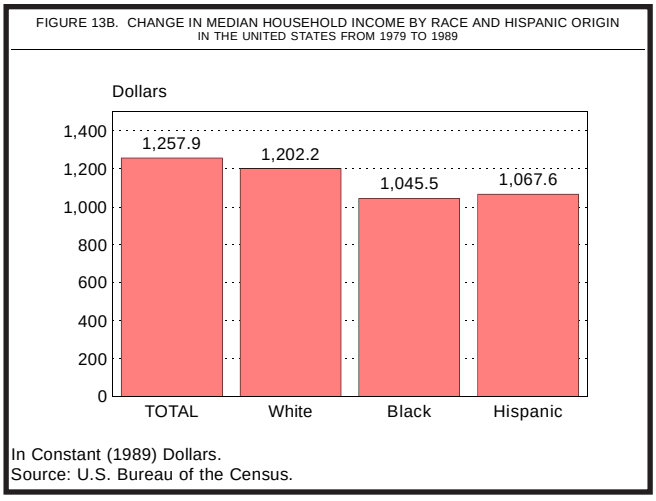
The second of our resolutions is in regards to the name of the group. The group is officially called MECha by many chapters. MSU MEXA presents an amendment to the national constitution that would change the spelling of Chicano in the acronym to Xicano. Michigan State MEXA has been spelling the group's name MEXA for the past two years. Constitutional resolutions and amendments are voted on the final day of the national conference.

It is important to note this is the first time the national MEXA conference will be held outside the Southwest. This historical event recognizes that activism is present in the Midwest. For more information on the national MEXA conference, contact Daniel Soza at (517) 886-4923 [email: sozadani@pilot.msu.edu.] or Emily Marroquin at (517) 333-3571 [email: marroqui@pilot.msu.edu].

Winds of Change

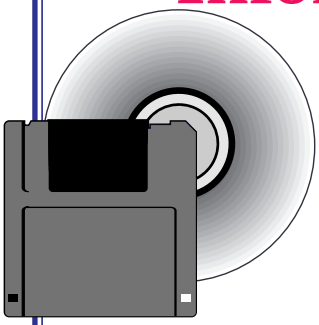
(continued from page 7)

Thus, the report ends with the following item of particular relevance to the Midwest. The restructuring of the meat processing industry has clearly resparked Latino movement to the region's hinterland, at the same time that the region's historic "magnet" to Latino growth — Chicago — is either drawing less people or losing some of its holding power. However, until the census of 2,000 provides the necessary details, the extent and character of these opposing dynamics will remain well beyond our immediate grasp.



*This article was written by Robert Aponte, based on the CIFRAS 5 (Statistical Brief) he co-authored with Marcelo Siles. Figures are numbered as in the CIFRAS, which is available as part of the **JSRI** publication series.*

Information on the World Wide Web



JSRI Home Page. Get the latest updates, publications, and information from the Midwest's premier Latino research center at Michigan State University. This site is continually updated to include local events and recent releases of interest to the Nation's Latino population.
http://www.jsri.msu.edu

South and Meso American Indian Rights Center Home Page. This site provides access to a variety of resources on the indigenous people of Latin America.
http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/nativeweb/abyayala

MEChA Home page. El Sexto Sol de MEChA of the University of Texas, Pan-Am has created a MEChA Home page. This page is still under construction, but will eventually represent MEChA chapters nationwide.
http://www.infochase.com/org/welcome

National Clearinghouse for ESL Literacy Web. Resources provided include links to ERIC and the National Institute for Literacy as well as links to text files of most ERIC digests on adult ESL literature published by NCLE.
http://www.cal.org/CAL/HTML/ncle.htm

Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Inc. Provides information on topics like Hispanic Congress members, legislative updates, and Latino voting demographics.
http://www.chci.org

Hispanic Association for Corporate Responsibility. For information on Hispanic issues on the corporate level.
http://www.hacr.org

Society for Local and Regional History at Southwest State University. Information about Regional Studies at Southwest State University and resources on regional or ethnic history can be found at this web site.
http://www.sapa.com/sslrh-ssu
http://www.southwest.msus.edu/sslrh.

UPCOMING EVENTS

Julian Samora Research Institute Conference on Transforming the Social Sciences through Latina/o Studies. This conference is being held April 7 at Michigan State University's Student Union in East Lansing, Mich. A dozen scholars will focus on the role that Latino studies, or studies of relevance to Latinos, play in today's curriculum. Pre-registration is strongly encouraged to ensure seating. Call, write, or e-mail **JSRI**, 112 Paolucci Bldg., MSU, E. Lansing, MI 48824-1110, (517) 432-1317, jsamorai@pilot.msu.edu.

National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) XXIV Annual Conference. NACCS will hold its national conference at the Radisson Hotel from April 16-29 in Sacramento, Calif. "Chicana y Chicano Scholarship: Un Compromiso Con Nuestras Comunidades" will refine intellectual leadership and confront problems facing Chicanos today. Direct inquiries to the NACCS National Office, Eastern Washington University, Monroe Hall 202, MS-170, Cheney, WA 99004.

10th Annual National Conference on Race & Ethnicity in American Higher Education (NCORE). This conference will be held in Orlando, Fla. from May 29-June 2. The conference include workshops on differences between Latinos and their implications for higher education, as well as nativism and anti-immigrant bashing at the end of the 20th Century. The keynote speaker is Dolores Huerta. For more information, contact Dr. Maggie Abudu, Executive Director, Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies, 555 East Constitution, Suite 209, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73072-7820; Phone: (405) 325-3936; Fax: (405) 325-3940.

University of California, Los Angeles Conference on Chicana/o Cultures: New Perspectives on Chicana/o Cultures. This conference will be held from May 15-17 and seeks to explore the many ideas, trends, and currents that have helped shape Chicano culture during the last 20 years. For further information, contact Javier Rangel, Conference on Chicana/o Cultures, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1532.

Latina Conference draws 600 to MSU

"Advancing and Not Forgetting" was the theme of the 1997 "Dia de La Mujer" 4th annual conference, sponsored in part by the Julian Samora Research Institute. The all-day event brought approximately 600 Latinas from Michigan and the Midwest together at Michigan State University to celebrate their history and their future.

JSRI brought Lt. Colonel Consuelo Kickbush, recently retired from the U.S. Army, and Dr. Angelina Pedroso of Northeastern University to the MSU campus to speak to the assemblage of women who ranged in age from young to old, and in experience from high school to life school. Both Kickbush and Pedroso delivered powerful messages urging the women to explore their potential and not let anything, least of all a lack of self-confidence, stand in their way.

Conference workshops included topics on health, immigration, feminism, education, leadership, work and family issues. The conference was co-chaired by Leticia Arellano, former **JSRI** graduate student associate and Lourdes Kuthy, Executive Director of the Midwest Consortium for Latino Research and organized by the MSU Office of Minority Student Affairs.

MONEY MATTERS

The Jane Addams-Andrew Carnegie Fellowship. This program is designed to help recent college graduates strengthen their commitments to voluntary action. The 10 month program includes a $15,000 stipend as well as opportunities to interact with business, nonprofit, and government leaders. Direct inquiries to (800) 854-1612.

Lowrider Magazine is offering a scholarship to assist Chicano/Latino students in finishing their college education. To be eligible, students must be of Latino descent and meet the following criteria: *3.0 grade point average or higher. *Active college sophomore, junior or senior. *Provide two letters of recommendation from individuals who can reasonably evaluate you (i.e. instructors, clergy, employers, counselors). *Provide a 2-page, typed and double-spaced, essay describing one of the following topics in your own words: *"Overcoming obstacles in my path," "Stopping violence in America,"* or *"La Raza vs. U.S. Politics."* *Submit a brief personal profile consisting of name, address, phone number, age, ethnic background and major. For additional information, send a SASE to: Lowrider Magazine Scholarship Fund, PO BOX 648, Walnut, CA 91788-0648. The deadline is May 31, 1997.

The Olga Scarpetta Award, co-sponsored by the Program for the Analysis of Religion Among Latinos (PARAL) and the Olga Scarpetta Memorial Fund, is for the best student paper in social science research among Latinas/os.

Any graduate or undergraduate student, who has not yet completed the dissertation requirements for a doctorate in the Social Sciences or Humanities, is eligible. Papers can be received as late as Sept. 1, but those submitting them by May 1 will be assigned a mentor who will work with the student to improve aspects of form and content. For more information, write to or call, PARAL, Graduate School and University Center, CUNY, 33 West 42nd Street, Room 420BN, New York, NY 10036-8099, (212) 642-2957, Fax: 642-2914, E-Mail: paral@email.gc.cuny.edu.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Creative Writing Specialist in La Raza Studies. This Assistant Professor tenure track position will begin in Fall 1997. A scholar-activist with an M.F.A or terminal degree in Creative Writing or a related field is preferred. The application deadline is February 10. For more information, contact Carlos B. Cordova, Professor and Director, Central American Research Institute, La Raza Studies Department, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132; Phone: (415) 338-2419; E-Mail: cordova@sfsu.edu.

Associate or Full Professor and Director of the Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education. A doctorate in education or a related field and a proficiency in a language other than English are required for this position. Experience with funding proposal writing and in program development is preferred. Application review begins February 1. To apply, send a letter of interest, along with a curriculum vitae and three letters of recommendation to Chair, Search Committee, Director of Center for Bilingual Education, College of Education, Office of the Dean, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-0211.

Associate /Full Professor in Chicana/o Studies. A strong background in Chicana/o Studies and/or relevant comparative cultural and gender studies are required for this nine month appointment. Application review begins Feb. 18 and will continue until the position is filled. Direct inquiries to Yvette Flores-Ortiz, Ph.D., Chicana/o Studies Search Committee, University of California, Davis, Davis, CA 95616; Phone: (916) 752-2421; Fax: (916) 752-8814.

Assistant Professor of Bilingual Education. This position requires a doctorate in education or a related field and proficiency in Spanish. The application deadline is Feb. 1, but applications will continue to be accepted until the position is filled. Direct inquiries to Alfinio Flores, Chair, Search Committee for Bilingual Education, Curriculum and Instruction, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-0911.

Assistant Professor, Latino Studies Program. The University of Massachusetts, Boston currently invites applicants for this faculty position. Requirements for this position include a broad intellectual and scholarly interest including the contributions to Hispanic American/Latino Studies in the social sciences or humanities. Application review begins March 15 and will continue until the position is filled. For more information, contact Lucia Mayerson David, Chair of Latino Studies Program Search Committee, Institute for Learning and Teaching, University of Massachusetts, Boston, 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02123-3393.

Tenure-Track Position in Chicana and Chicano Studies. The University of California, Los Angeles currently seeks applicants for this position. Priority areas include Chicana/o expression and Chicana/o ethnicity and identity. Applications consideration will begin March 15. For further information, contact Professor Raymund Paredes, Chair, César E. Chávez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies, UCLA, 7349 Bunche Hall, P.O. Box 951559, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1559.

Assistant Professor of Latin American Studies. A Southern Cone and Andean Countries emphasis is preferred for this one to three year position. A Ph.D. is required for all applicants and prior teaching experience is also favored. For further information, contact Dr. Riordan Roett, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Outreach Assistant. Hispanic Radio Network, Inc. invites applicants for this outreach position. Responsibilities include developing and distributing press releases and promotional materials as well as answering calls in Spanish and providing referral information. The Hispanic Radio Network, Inc. also has positions available for a Listener Response Coordinator, an Editorial Assistant, and a Research Assistant. Fluency in English and Spanish is required. For more information, fax the Hispanic Radio Network, Inc. at (505) 982-6889.

Visiting Professor in Chicana/o Studies, Department of Comparative American Cultures, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. The Department of Comparative American Cultures is considering hiring a visiting professor in Chicana/o Studies (field open). The department is comprised of interdisciplinary programs in Asian/Pacific American Studies, African American Studies, Chicana/o Studies and Native American Studies. We are currently interested in receiving brief statements of interest from prospective applicants. If you are interested please contact Marcos Pizarro immediately (509) 335-1826 (pizarro@wsu.edu).

Cesar E. Chavez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana/o Studies. The UCLA Cesar E. Chavez Center is seeking to fill a tenure-track position in Chicana and Chicano Studies. Preferred beginning date is July 1, 1997. Rank and area of research and teaching interests are open although preference will be given to candidates eligible for tenure and to candidates with interdisciplinary interests. Priority areas include Chicana/o expression, especially visual culture and aesthetics, folklore, social theory, Chicana Feminism, Chicana/o identity and ethnicity in a comparative context and gay/lesbian or queer studies. The Cesar E. Chavez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies is an academic unit within the Division of Social Sciences in the College of Letters and Science at UCLA. The consideration of applications will begin March 15, 1997, and will continue until the position is filled. Applicants should send dossiers including a writing sample to: Professor Raymund Paredes, Chair, Cesar E. Chavez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies, UCLA, 7349 Bunche Hall, Post Office Box 951559, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1559. UCLA is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer.

Latino/a Studies Position (Extended Search), **Assistant professor, tenure-track.** The Department of English and Latino/a Studies Program seek a qualified candidate to teach half-time in the English Department and half-time in the Latino/a Studies Program. The home department for this position will be the English Department. The successful candidate will teach Introduction to Latino/a Studies and upper level courses and seminars in the Latino/a Studies Program, and in the Department of English. The successful candidate will teach select topics in Minority Literatures of the United States, Literature and Culture, and senior-level seminars in the candidate's research area, and will teach graduate-level courses in Literature and Culture, and develop new courses. Qualifications: Ph.D. in hand by Aug. 15, 1997. Preferred: Reading/Writing knowledge in Spanish. Proposed Start Date: Aug. 16, 1997. Send letter, CV, and writing sample to English/Latino/a Studies Search Committee, Attn. Dean Zora Zimmerman, 202 Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011-1201. Screening begins February 15, 1997 and continues until position is filled.

Assistant Professor (History), tenure track position. The University of Texas, Pan American, in Edinburg is seeking applicants for an assistant professor with Mexican and Latin American areas of concentration. Interests in women's history, Brazil, and the Southwest are a plus. Ph.D. required; teaching experience preferred. Send letter of application, vita, transcripts, and three letters of recommendation to: Dr. Rodolfo Mocha, Chair, Dept. of History and Philosophy, UT-Pan Am, Edinburg, TX 78539. Application screening begins April 7.

READING MATTER

Cuentas y Memorias: Mexican Americans in Miami, Arizona, 1920's-1940's. (20 pps., $5.00). Provides brief oral histories and photographs of early Mexican American families and townsites of Miami, Ariz. To order, make out a check or money order to Committee to Preserve Mexican American History and send order to Christine Marin, Curator/ Archivist, Chicano Research Collection, P.O. Box 871006, Hayden Library, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-1006; Phone: (602) 965-2594; Fax: (602) 965-9169; E-Mail: iaccnm@asuvm.inre.asu.edu.

Hispanic Psychology: Critical Issues in Theory and Research. (Sage Publications, 382 pps., $25.50). This book explores the shifting gender roles in Hispanic culture as well as the ethnic identification of Latinos. In addition, it covers issues of homeless Latinas living with AIDS and Chicano gang members. For more information, E-Mail: order@sagepub.com.

Doctor Magdelena. By Rosa Martha Villareal (Tonatiuh-Quinto Sol). This novella is the story of a woman's journey to self-discovery. For more information, see the TQS Web Site at http://www.tqsbooks.com.

Border Visions: Mexican Cultures of the Southwest United States. By Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez (University of Arizona Press, 384 pps., $45 hardcover, $19.95 paperback). Explores intercultural relations as well as cultural identity along the U.S.-Mexico border.

Protean Literacy: Extending the Discourse on Empowerment. By Concha Delgado-Gaitan (Falmer Press, 208 pps., $24.95 paperback). Discusses the relation of literacy to the lives of Latino immigrants in the community of Carpenteria, Calif. The author shows the way knowledge gained at school is integrated into their social and personal lives.

The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California. By Martha Menchaca (University of Texas Press, 250 pps., $17.95). Discusses the continuing discrimination experienced by Mexican-origin people of Santa Paula, Calif. The Mexican-Americans of this community are "outsiders", according to the author, as she supports through her research of newspapers, church records, and court cases.

The Matachines Dance: Ritual Symbolism and Interethnic Relations in the Upper Rio Grande Valley. By Sylvia Rodríguez (University of New Mexico Press, 240 pps., $45 hardcover, $25 paperback). Explores this dance today as well as its history and bases in medieval dramatizations of Christians' conflicts with the Moors.

READING MATTER

Con Respeto: Bridging the Distances Between Culturally Diverse Families and Schools — An Ethnographic Portrait. By Guadalupe Valdés (Teachers College Press, 256 pps., paperback $22.95). The author provides a look into the lives of 10 Mexican immigrant families. Her study reflects on the impact of typical family intervention programs designed to promote success in school on these diverse family units.

Latin American Economics Abstract Journal. Published as a part of the Economics Research Network, this new abstract deals with all aspects of the economic environment of Latin America. For more information, access their web site at http://www.ssrn.com.

Chicana Creativity and Criticism: New Frontiers in American Literature. Edited by María Herrera-Sobek and Helena María Viramontes (University of New Mexico Press, $17.95). A collection of original prose, criticism, poetry, and visual art by and about Chicanas.

Daughters of Self-Creation: The Contemporary Chicana Novel. By Annie O. Eysturoy (University of New Mexico Press, $27.50 cloth, $15.95 paperback). The author's study argues that class and race are of crucial significance in the female coming-of-age process.

Tender Accents of Sound: Spanish in the Chicano Novel in English. By Ernst Rudin (Bilingual Review/Press). This new book provides innovative scholarship on the use of Spanish in the Chicano novel. Using Chicano prose in English published between 1967 and the late 1980's, topics covered include the language of Chicano literature and the Chicano novelist as a translator of cultural differences. For more information, contact Karen M. Akins at (602) 965-3867, Fax: (602) 965-8309.

Mexico Megacity. By James B. Pick and Edgar W. Butler (Westview Press, $85). The authors explore demographic, economic, environmental, and other aspects of Mexico City, drawing on geographic-information-systems analysis.

Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala. Edited by Edward F. Fischer and R. McKenna Brown (University of Texas Press, $30 hardcover, $14.95 paperback). A collection of essays on topics including relations between Maya-Indian activists and Maya-studies scholars.

Mass Media and Free Trade: NAFTA and the Cultural Industries. Edited by Emile G. McAnany and Kenton T. Wilkinson (University of Texas Press, $45 hardcover, $24.95 paperback). Discusses the possible effects of NAFTA on the flow of films, television programs, and other "cultural products" in Mexico, Canada, and the United States.

The **Julian Samora Research Institute** is the Midwest's premiere center undertaking research on issues of relevance to the Hispanic community.

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