

NEXO

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The Midwest's Premier Latino Research Center



Latino Farmers on the Rise

by Rubén Martínez and Robert W. Gardner

There are two significant dimensions to the demographic shift that is currently underway in the United States: 1) the Latino population continues to grow rapidly relative to other population groups, and 2) the White American population is aging and large numbers will soon be leaving the workforce and the economy as active participants. These two dimensions of the demographic shift already are impacting sectors of the economy, including agriculture. As in the general population, Latino farmers are increasing in numbers across the country.

The U.S. Census Bureau has projected that the Latino population will increase to nearly 133 million and comprise 30% of the overall population by 2050. Moreover, Latino children are projected to surpass the number of White children by mid-century. At the same time that this is occurring, the Baby Boomer Generation, which is comprised overwhelmingly of White Americans, will be retiring and entering what is fondly called the "Golden



Photo courtesy of <http://robertoerosalesblog.com>

Continued on Page 17

Cristo Rey Church in Lansing, MI¹

Cristo Rey Church was founded in Lansing, Michigan in October, 1961; it was the culmination of a long process by which the Catholic Diocese of Lansing continually sought to address the needs of the Spanish-speaking population in the city and surrounding communities. Immediately, Cristo Rey Church provided Spanish-speaking members of the greater Lansing area with a spiritual home that also contributed to meeting social, organizational, and other community needs. This brief history is based on archival records located at the Cristo Rey Church, the Catholic Diocese of Lansing, and the various libraries in Lansing. In addition, this work draws upon oral history interviews with eighteen individuals who, in one way or another, have been part of the history of Cristo Rey Church.

The historical narrative consists of five periods: 1) the 1940s and 1950s, or that period just before the parish was established, and the early years of the parish; 2) 1966 to 1968, when the parish was in transition following the demolition of the facility on Main Street in order to accommodate Interstate 496 construction; 3) 1968 to 1977, when the "Church" (or chapel) and the Cristo Rey Community Center were in the same facility at Ballard Street; 4) 1978 to 1998, when the Church was located on South Washington Avenue; and 5) 1998 to the present, when the Church moved to its current site on Miller Road.

Latinos in Michigan, and perhaps other parts of the Midwest, differ from those in the Southwestern United States in terms of the relatively higher proportion of "settled-out" migrant families that comprise the Spanish-speaking communities. Although a few thousand Mexicans resided in Michigan in the first decade of the 20th Century, their numbers rose in the ensuing decades due



1st Cristo Rey Church on Main Street²

¹This excerpt is taken from the forthcoming book titled "A Brief History of Cristo Rey Church Lansing, Michigan." This book is the product of a project led by Dr. Rubén Martínez in collaboration with Cristo Rey Church for its 50th Anniversary Celebration.

²The authors are thankful to Mr. Reynaldo Rendón for contributing the photographs for the project.

Continued on Page 3

From Whence Neoliberalism?

Rubén O. Martínez



There is great concern today that the nation is irrevocably divided along political party lines. Where did this deep division come from? The source of the division is a set of political views traceable to libertarianism and classical liberalism on one side and social liberalism on the other. Libertarianism, in all its various forms, holds individual liberty or freedom as the central organizing principle of society. This view advocates minimal intervention by the state, except to protect the rights of individuals. Society is organized on the basis of voluntary associations of free individuals. While there are socialist versions of libertarianism, the most powerful movement in our country today is free market oriented. Classical liberalism promoted, among other things, individual liberty, private property rights, due process and a laissez faire market economy – a market order free of government intervention. Free market libertarianism is a version of classical liberalism.

Today's powerful political movement occurring in the United States and across industrialized nations is called neoliberalism or "new liberalism." Its tenets are similar to those of libertarianism and classical liberalism – individual freedom and limited government. The revival of these political views is attributed to the ideas of Friedrich A. Hayek, an Austrian economist and political philosopher, and Milton Friedman, an American economist. Hayek was a member of the Austrian economists of the early 20th century who opposed not only socialism and collectivism but specifically the ideas of Karl Marx. Hayek lost the policy battles that followed the Great Depression to John Maynard Keynes, a British economist who advocated fiscal and monetary policies to lessen the impact of recessions and depressions, which contributed to social liberalism. His influence held sway for three quarters of a century and gave rise to the social liberal policies that became prominent following the end of WWII and were expanded during the 1960s with the War on Poverty programs.

The backlash that occurred in the 1970s to the Civil Rights Movement and the rise of the "welfare state" consolidated anti-communist, Christian fundamentalist, and free market fundamentalist movements into what came to be known as the New Right. Today that generation of conservatives is called the second New Right in deference to those figures in the 1950s and 1960s, such as Barry Goldwater, who coalesced and gave rise to the first New Right. While the first New Right failed to get Barry Goldwater into the White House, the second was successful in getting Ronald Reagan in for two terms. Today's neoliberals are members of the third and fourth generations of the New Right.

Reagan and his ally, Margaret Thatcher, were both followers of Hayek and his ideas, as was David Stockman, Reagan's budget director. In 1991, President George H.W. Bush presented the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Hayek. Anyone who seeks to understand the political divisions of the day must recognize the continuity of political beliefs from the New Right to the Koch brothers, longtime wealthy libertarians who have been funding hard-line right-wing politics for years. That continuity is found in the political beliefs of Friedrich Hayek. Having lost the policy battles to the Keynesians, Hayek turned to political philosophy in search of ways to promote his libertarian views.

It is difficult to separate the ideologue from the intellectual when it comes to Hayek's works following his turn to political thought. Perhaps because he reasoned in terms of dualities, pitting freedom against coercion and individualism against socialism, he was blinded to the broader spectrum of reality located between the dualities. Ultimately, Hayek did not go much beyond the ideas of classical liberalism. He did not believe in social justice, and held that if we wanted the benefits of a market order, freedom and prosperity, we must accept the inequalities that come with it. That is, the market order breaks the link between merit and reward, and sometimes the least deserving get the most rewards. One of the conditions of the freedom that comes with the market order is that individuals are responsible for their own lives, choices, and decisions. In short, so long as they are acting in their own self interest in accordance with the rules of the market order, they are responsible for their own welfare and that of their families. They must, however, not

NEXO

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subject others to their own arbitrary will, nor must the state subject them to arbitrary rule.

Hayek did recognize the importance of the state in ensuring that individuals did not fall below a certain level of resources. Reagan, in moving against the social liberal state, referred to this as the “social safety net” even though cuts were made to programs serving the poor. In other words, Hayek was not a radical libertarian, although he is known to have said in an interview in 1981, that while he opposed dictatorships, he preferred a liberal dictator to a democratic government that lacked liberalism. He also opposed discrimination, arguing that it was not consistent with the dynamics of a market order.

Today’s neoliberal movement promotes, among other things, shrinkage of the state through reduced social spending, including health care and infrastructure;

reducing taxes on corporations; privatization of government services and functions (military support, corrections, IRS debt collection, and other areas); elimination of public sector unions; and increased deregulation of the market. It is also imbued with strong anti-intellectual strains and powerful Christian fundamentalist values. In a sense, today’s movement is much more radical than Hayek. But it’s not uncommon for followers to distort the ideas of intellectual leaders of social and political movements, after all, they are engaged in political struggles. It is that distortion which led to Marx’s famous statement relative to the French Marxists, that if their politics represented Marxism, then he was not a Marxist. One wonders if Hayek were here today and observed the neoliberal movement bearing his ideas if he would say, “I am not a Hayekian.” 

Cristo Rey Church in Lansing, MI

continued from front page

to the region’s demand for cheap labor by the growing beet-sugar industry and the labor shortages created by World War I and World War II. Both wars brought millions of workers from Mexico to labor in agricultural fields across the country. In Michigan, most of them were unskilled workers who were recruited to work for the beet growers, who experienced labor shortages created by World War I. Others came to Michigan seeking work at Ford Motor Company and other by employment opportunities created by the economic boom following WWI (Alvarado and Alvarado, 2003).

Although Mexicans and Mexican Americans comprised the largest ethnic group among Latinos, Puerto Ricans and Cubans also immigrated in significant numbers. Puerto Ricans came to the United States in waves, with the greatest wave occurring after WWII, a time when the Midwestern economy needed entry-level workers. In 1947 and 1948, Puerto Ricans took advantage of the increased demand for seasonal workers by agricultural companies to enter the state in sizeable numbers. The Puerto Rican Department of Labor approved contracts guaranteeing suitable working conditions, which introduced thousands of Puerto Ricans to Michigan’s agricultural fields. Like Mexican *braceros*³, Puerto Ricans came to the Midwest in large numbers as contract workers and their U.S. citizenship, granted to them in 1917, allowed them greater ease of movement to and from their homeland (Valdes, 1992). Puerto Rican

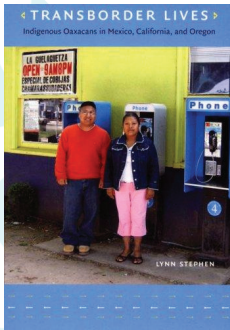
migrants quickly discovered that working conditions on the mainland failed to live up to the favorable depiction of the recruiting agencies. Many of the migrants to Saginaw were quickly tired of the poor housing, low pay and bitter cold, and left agricultural work after their contracts expired.

During the 1940s and 1950s, the automobile industry provided opportunities for farm workers to leave the migrant stream and settle in the cities, although employment opportunities in the automobile industry were not completely accessible due to racism. In an attempt to promote a sense of community and assist those in need, Mexican immigrants organized mutual aid societies, founded Spanish-language newspapers, and created a variety of local community networks and associations (Matovina & Poyo, 2000). Latinos expressed their culture and traditions through dances, sports, religious and civic activities, which helped them to develop a strong sense of belonging and community.

In the 1960s, a new group was added to the Latino mix—Cubans, whose increased migration to the United States resulted from the Cuban revolution of 1959. During the 1960s over a million Cubans were resettled throughout the country with the help of several religious and voluntary organizations and innumerable individual and family sponsors (Badillo, 2003). By mid-1963, the Catholic Relief Services in Michigan resettled some 114 Cubans in Lansing, 12 in Grand Rapids, 14 in Saginaw and 238 in Detroit (Ibid.).

On September 17, 1965, the *Lansing State Journal* cited the presence of Cubans and their upcoming

³Braceros were Mexican guest workers who came to the United States from 1942 to 1964, when the program ended following public criticism of their exploitation and the fact that they were used by growers to undermine the union organizing efforts of native-born farm workers. Ernesto Galarza, for example, a champion of farm workers, was a major critic of the program. The end of the program eliminated one of the major barriers to the successful organizing of farm workers and gave rise to leaders such as César Chavez and Baldemar Velasquez, both of whom worked with Lansing’s Latinos on behalf of farm workers.



Book Review

Reviewed by Daniel Vélez Ortiz
Julian Samora Research Institute

Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon
By Lynn Stephen; Duke University Press, NC, 2007

The author, an anthropologist, depicts the experiences of indigenous Oaxacans in their movement back and forth between the United States and Mexico in this award winning book. She discusses how the growing transnationalization of indigenous Mexican communities, within Mexico and across the border to the United States, requires them to face gender, racial, ethnic, class, and state border issues as well as collective efforts, networks, and transborder identities. The book details historical and present paths of migration for Oaxacans. Lynn Stephen delivers an ethnographic account that is very engaging and analytically sound. The book's organization and the author's use of rich description and images provide for flowing linkages of theoretical material to ground-level understanding.

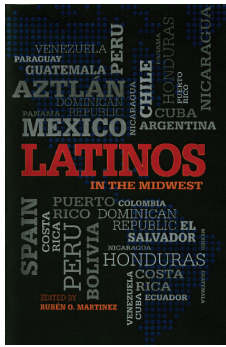
Stephen structured the book around the following major themes, gender issues, working environments, racial hierarchies (in the United States and Mexico), political activity, and community development. The author begins by presenting her conceptual approach to analyzing the lives of community members of Teotitlán and San Agustín. She centers the reader's attention on the transmigration experiences of Oaxacans between southern Mexico, southern California and Oregon. The term "transborder" is used to emphasize the social, racial, gender, colonial, class, and national juxtapositions that come to the forefront in the migration process. This term embodies the two-way movement and the interconnections of the migrant experience. Further, the author presents a particularly useful historical context of racial hierarchies and modes of exclusion that have impacted the lives, political participation, and economic opportunities for indigenous populations in Mexico.

Readers can readily see how communities are transformed on both sides of the border through economic, political, and civic ties across landscapes. The far reaching impact of this dynamic is seen in the descriptions of those community members who never leave their communities of origin. The author provides a suitable example through the presentation of the Organization of Oaxacan Migrant Communities (OCIMO), an indigenous organization created by Oaxacan transmigrants. This organization operates in the western United States, Baja California, and the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. Through OCIMO, Oaxacan communities are empowered to advocate for themselves through cultural, economic, and political initiatives on both sides of the border. Salient throughout the chapters are ways that indigenous communities value and maintain their culture, support their communities of origin and defend their rights as workers, especially in the United States.

Stephen applies the term cultural citizenship (borrowed from anthropologist Renato Rosaldo) to the context of indigenous Mexican immigrants that are increasingly vulnerable to racist sentiments in the United States as well as social and economic isolation in their communities of origin. Yet, indigenous Oaxacans do not fit into the mold of victims. On the contrary, the book offers a perspective in which indigenous Oaxacan communities survive social isolation, economic deprivation, and political alienation through their determination to find creative ways of maintaining their rich cultures. One example is the use of technologies such as the internet to increase their reach and access of information to benefit the transborder Oaxacan community. Transborder organizations like OCIMO might pave the way to future indigenous migrants in the United States and perhaps even globally to promote their rights and interests transnationally.

To a great extent, the author achieves her purpose of providing a rich description without compromising a detailed analysis of the social, cultural, economic, and political facets of living transbordered lives. However, a few limitations are worth noting. While the author acknowledges the role of racial hierarchies in the Mexican and U.S. contexts, further elaboration is needed in examining the relationships between indigenous Oaxacan transmigrants and the Latino community (including those of Mexican origin) in the United States. There was mention of Chicana/os in the text but it was not discussed in depth. In another instance, Stephen cites "Mexicana" managers at the workplaces of indigenous Oaxacan migrants in Oregon. Again, the dimensions of intergroup relations fell short when so much more discussion was warranted. Another area that deserves more attention was how the increasing anti-immigrant climate in the United States could impact the indigenous immigrant community. There was insufficient focus on the perceptions of the Oaxacans about the treatment of indigenous people in the United States. Incorporating theory and further analysis of these topics would have improved greatly this remarkable book.

Continued on Page 8



Book Review

Latinos in the Midwest, edited by **Rubén O. Martínez**, Michigan State University Press, East Lansing, 2011 (322 pages, \$34.95)

Reviewed by Michael J. Pisani, Ph. D.,
Professor of International Business, Central
Michigan University & JSRI Affiliated Faculty

Readers of NEXO understand the importance, need, and urgency of contemporary and relevant scholarship focused on Latinos in the Midwest. Such scholarship, particularly in the social and health sciences, provides for a better understanding of the complexity and diversity of Latino communities, potentially offering reasoned policy pathways based upon actionable research.

While Latinos have been a part of the social and economic fabric of the Midwest for more than a century, the study of Latinos in the Midwest is in its infancy. The present work under review seeks to redress this omission and provides a foundation in which further scholarship may grow.

Latinos in the Midwest, edited by Dr. Rubén O. Martínez (JSRI Director), is an important contribution to Latino Studies for three reasons. First, it brings together scholars and practitioners, under a single multidisciplinary volume, from a diverse array of disciplines, including agriculture, art, community development, counseling, criminal justice, education, health care, political science, psychology, and sociology, focused on the status of Latinos. Second, the region of focus—the Midwest—is center stage. Four essays look at the Midwest region as a whole, while the others focus on distinct sub-regions and topics. The more broadly reaching chapters spotlight the demographic character, political participation, interest, and efficacy, crime and punishment, and historical origins of Latinos in the region. Third, seven essays are in-depth case studies which look into a single topic within a specific location. One such compelling example describes the deleterious impact of an ill-timed and unnecessary mid-December 2006 immigration and customs enforcement raid on a pork-processing plant in central Iowa.

In all, *Latinos in the Midwest* contains eleven distinct thought-provoking chapters in addition to an introduction and conclusion. I wish to highlight two case study chapters in this review here. The first is a qualitative case study of Latino blueberry growers in southwest Michigan by Maria Josefa Santos and Antonio Castro-Escobar. Santos and Castro-Escobar interviewed 22 Mexican-origin blueberry producers and found that the majority of farms were: small (26 acres), operated by migrant entrepreneurs with natal ties to agricultural communities in Mexico and adult work-related ties to Chicago (but with almost no actual agricultural experience), already in blueberry production when purchased, and without many linkages to formal markets, finance, or information (especially agricultural extension). Several of these small businesses struggle with institutional regulations such as pesticide and fertilizer management because of language and relationship barriers. Nevertheless, some growers are beginning to network with successful co-ethnics to overcome these institutional and commercial barriers. The authors call for greater information exchange from within the Latino blueberry producers through the creation of a growers exchange as well as for institutions to align staff to the complexities of navigating Latino businesses including acquiring Spanish language ability and building personal bonds between agents of the state and growers.

The second chapter for extended comments describes the incorporation of the Latino community into Dayton, Ohio and is authored by Theo and Linda Majka. According to the authors, Latinos (mostly Mexican-origin) make up about 10% of the Dayton area population. In order to better understand Latino incorporation into the Dayton area, the authors undertook six focus groups (43 Latino participants) and interviews with 11 Latino connected community organizations. For all of those interviewed, English language acquisition was the biggest impediment toward Latino incorporation in Dayton. This may be the result of the more recent influx of immigrants into the Dayton area as well as the industries in which migrants, who were nearly all from Mexico, work (i.e., manufacturing, food, and agriculture). Other important stated inhibitors toward incorporation included transportation (specifically the difficulty in obtaining a driver's license) and legal status (for work and security). Agents of community organizations also felt cultural barriers, unfamiliarity with local institutions, and racism limited the ability of Latinos to become more fully integrated in the greater Dayton area. The chapter describes in further detail other issues such as housing, employment, education, health care, law enforcement, banks, churches, and so on. The Majkas' contribution illustrates the challenges and opportunities new Latino immigrants to the Midwest face in making a new home in a new place over time.

The target audience for this book includes scholars and students interested in the study of Latinos (including those who wish a sole focus on the Midwest or utilizing the Midwest as a comparison to other regions within the US, as the Latino experience is dynamic across regions), policy-makers, and change agents (primarily housed

Continued on Page 8

Dr. Espino Speaks on End of Life Decision-Making and Hispanic Elders



On April 22, 2011, the School of Social Work, the Capital Area Health Alliance, and the Julian Samora Research Institute hosted Dr. David V. Espino, Professor of Family Medicine and Geriatrics and Research Programs Coordinator in the Division of Community Geriatrics at the Department of Family & Community Medicine

at the University of Texas Health Science Center at San

Antonio. Dr. Espino spoke on the topic of decision making at the end of life (EOL) among Hispanic elders and included in his presentation data from the Decision-making at the End of Life among Mexican Americans (DELMA) study, a research project he and Drs. Rubén Martínez and Arthur Hernández conducted in San Antonio.

He emphasized autonomy and literacy as involving ethical issues relative to advance directives, which are legal documents that persons use to communicate in advance their decisions about end-of-life (EOL) care and treatment. He noted that there are nearly 3 million Hispanics who are 65 years of age and older with varying health conditions and independent living capabilities.



Dr. Espino described the cultural context of EOL decision making among Hispanics as including socioeconomic status, education, communication issues, and contextual autonomy. Compared to White and Black elders, Hispanics are least likely to have private or work-based health insurance and rely on Medicare and Medicaid for coverage. Approximately 47% have household incomes that are at or below poverty level, and nearly two-thirds of them have less than an 8th grade education.

Data from the DELMA study indicated that older Mexican Americans who participated in the project were more likely to agree with physician-assisted suicide, and while religiosity/spirituality was not a major factor impacting their agreement, it was among Whites. Relative to aggressive therapies (such as use of a feeding tube) in a context of terminal illness, functional or economic status may be more important factors in their decision making than religiosity/spirituality.

According to Dr. Espino, translation of information and family involvement play pivotal roles in end of life decisions. By getting to know patients, health care providers can improve the quality of care provided, avoid problematic stereotypes, and ensure mutually respectful relationships. 🌱

NCERA 216 Members Advance Latino Outreach and Scholarship

Members of the North Central Extension and Research Association 216 – Latinos and Immigrants in Midwestern Communities (NCERA 216), an interstate initiative, had a productive meeting in early June in Kansas City during the 10th Annual Cambio de Colores Conference. The meeting had three primary objectives, to: 1) provide updates in each of the thematic areas of emphasis (Families and Education; Civic Engagement; Economic Development and Entrepreneurship; Building Immigrant Friendly Communities, and Building Diversity Capable Organizations; 2) address leadership succession issues; and 3) promote awareness and begin preparation of mid-term program report. All objectives were accomplished. Updates were provided in the areas of entrepreneurship and business, families and education, building immigrant friendly communities, and diversity competent organizations.

The initiative has developed robust relationships among members from different colleges and universities across the north central region. Collaborative projects are being explored, developed and implemented across

the thematic areas. In addition, NCERA 216 and SERA 37 – the New Hispanic South, which are similar interstate initiatives, are sharing information and will begin combining forces in developing webinars for sharing research results, providing development workshops, and exploring research areas in which to collaborate. NCERA 216 is also partnering with the North Central Regional Center for Rural Development on developing projects focused on Latinos.

NCERA members are currently advancing the field of Latino and Immigrant scholarship and outreach in the Midwest in various ways. The College of Human Environmental Sciences, Extension Division, University of Missouri-Columbia is developing a bilingual website for Missouri families to access information on family wellness topics, such as nutrition, obesity, physical activity, chronic diseases, and so on. Additionally, numerous professional papers have been delivered at professional conferences and several researchers have published the results of their work. An important outcome is an agreement between NCERA 216 and the Cambio de Colores Conference to

collaborate in mutually beneficial ways, so that the NCERA 216 annual meetings occur at the annual conference, thereby bringing participants to the conference to share research and program outcomes and to network.

Advances in education, outreach, and research were discussed. In education, for instance, two theses are underway at St. Louis University focusing on Latino entrepreneurs; a thesis focusing on Latino farmers was completed in 2010 at Iowa State, and a dissertation on Latino immigrant networks was completed at the University of Missouri in 2010. All were supervised by NCERA 216 participants. In outreach, researchers and practitioners are providing nutrition and healthy lifestyle materials in the migrant camps in Ohio and Michigan. In Missouri, a pilot version of the Juntos Program, which originated at North Carolina State University and addresses Latino dropout prevention by helping parents and students understand the education system, is being implemented. This effort is part of the collaboration between NCERA 216 and SERA 37. In Iowa, doctoral students in sociology working through the Leopold Center at Iowa State have been utilizing a community capitals approach to engage immigrant Latino farmers in local food systems. In research, a funded pilot program was launched to examine how children of immigrant families experience

fear of their own and/or their family members' deportation. The pilot grant enables researchers in Michigan to examine health and mental health outcomes for Latino youth who experience the stress and stigma of potential deportation and raids by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Finally, a pilot project is underway with support from the North Central Regional Center for Rural Development focusing on unbanked Latinos and business development in rural areas.

The most important achievement has been the development of collaborative relationships across the region between interested scholars and practitioners. Collaboration by NCERA 216 and the Cambio de Colores Annual Conference has been the medium for this achievement. It is these relationships that will make lasting impacts in the region. Contributions to the stock of knowledge about Latino and immigrant communities in the Midwest have been the most important impact to date. There is now a rapidly increasing body of knowledge emerging from the work of NCERA 216 members that is shedding light in areas that previously had not been studied. Additionally, there is a sense of community that is emerging among participants across the region that will continue to yield outputs and activities as the initiative moves forward. 🌱

Velasquez and Fernandez Receive Awards

Baldemar Velasquez and Sally Fernandez received prestigious awards at Michigan State University's 2011 Spring Commencement. Mr. Velasquez received an Honorary Doctorate of Humanities in recognition of his lifetime contributions to human and workers' rights and his leadership in pursuit of social justice. The grandson of refugees fleeing Mexico's Revolution of 1910, Velasquez was born in 1947 in Pharr, Texas, the third of nine children. His grandparents became migrant farm workers, and like his parents, Velasquez grew up a migrant farm worker, moving between the fields of the Midwest and Texas, until his family settled in Putnam County, Ohio. Today, he is the President of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, which he founded in 1967, a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, a former member of the Board of Trustees at the University of Toledo, an ordained chaplain to farm workers, and the nation's foremost leader in promoting

workplace justice for agricultural workers. He was nominated by Dr. Rubén Martínez, who was pleased that MSU, a land-grant university, recognized the achievements of a farm labor leader. A video clip of Dr. Velasquez's comments on receiving the honorary degree can be viewed at JSRI's webpage under "events" (www.jsri.msu.edu).



Sally Garza Fernandez received the Outstanding Alumni Award from the Social Science Alumni Association. Ms. Fernandez received a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1980 in political science. Originally from Port Huron, Ms. Fernandez is the granddaughter of Mexican immigrants. After completing college she rose to national prominence as an outstanding corporate administrator and businesswoman, community leader and research advocate. Before launching her own businesses, Ms. Fernandez was employed by General Motors Corporation, Anheuser-Busch Companies, and Hughes Aircraft Company. Her specialty was solving public relations problems for large corporations. After leaving the corporate world she founded The Fernandez Group, a business consulting firm, and four other companies (Unmanned Vehicle Technologies, Safety Dynamics, Fernandez Enterprises and Aniko). In speaking to the graduating class she recounted how important her grandfather had been instilling in her a sense of

being able to achieve whatever she wanted. She was nominated by Dr. Rubén Martínez, who stated in the nomination letter that "her story goes beyond the immigrant success story because it is the story of a Latina who embodies the principles of excellence, equality and fairness—principles learned from family and education and affirmed in life." 🌱



Dr. Leon Fink visits the MSU Campus as part of the Transnational Labor Symposium




The Julian Samora Research Institute welcomed the 6th transnational labor scholar to the MSU campus in February 2011. The visit was co-sponsored with the Department of Sociology, Human Resources and Labor Relations' Labor Education Program, the Department of History, and the Office for Inclusion and Intercultural Initiatives. Dr. Leon Fink, a

distinguished professor in the Department of History at the University of Illinois at Chicago, presented a series of talks to faculty, students, and staff. His campus-wide presentation titled "Cooperation and Cash: Global Seafarers and the 'Race to the Bottom' in the Twenty-First Century" was held in the MSU Museum Auditorium on February 28. Dr. Fink examined trends in transnational and globalization forces affecting merchant shipping from 1812 through the present day. In his talk, he discussed major issues impacting seafarers' employment, such as low wages, health care, long working hours without necessary breaks, unsanitary drinking water, and unsafe food. These issues were viewed from a historical lens on how they have progressed into today's practices.


With transnational economic forces at play, seafarers face difficulties establishing fair and standard working

rules because there are multiple national and global companies and government entities affecting the regulation of working conditions. Dr. Fink engaged in a substantive discussion on seafarers working on ships flying Flags of Convenience, which is a term used to describe ships that are owned by investors in one country, are operated by a company in another country, and workers are recruited and employed by yet another company, thereby blurring the boundaries of who is ultimately responsible for protecting the sea laborers while on the ship. These issues make seafarers an invisible and marginalized labor force. More recently, in attempts to bring more just and standard conditions to seafarers, close attention has been paid to how the International Trade Federation (ITF) addresses the employment issues of this labor force with various governments around the globe.

Dr. Fink is editor of the journal, *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas*. His new edited book "*Workers Across the Americas: The Transnational Turn in Labor History*" (Oxford Univ. Press), became available in March 2011. Prior to that volume he traced the transnational experience of recent Latino immigrants in *The Maya of Morganton: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South* (U. of North Carolina Press, 2003). A Fulbright Senior Scholar and past NEH Fellow, Professor Fink has also taken a leading role in national history education circles, where he has stressed the necessary collaboration between the university and the public schools. 

continued from page 4

Book Review Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon (cont. from pg. 4)


Transborder lives provides a captivating approach to discussing very complex issues of social, economic, cultural, and civic identity that brings to life the strengths and vulnerabilities of indigenous transmigrants. This book is appropriate for a wide readership; from academic (scholars and students) to a general public interested in issues that indigenous Latina/o communities face in Mexico and in the United States. 

continued from page 5

Book Review Latinos in the Midwest

in NGOs) in the Midwest and nationally. The book is also accessible to the general reader and may be of interest to Latinos residing in the Midwest.

While *Latinos in the Midwest* contributes to the academic study of Latinos in the region, much more work needs to be done. Areas ripe for further study in the region include Latino business development and entrepreneurship, immigration and cross-border linkages, higher education, labor and work, religion and spirituality, issues of gender and sexuality, travel, leisure, and entertainment, pop culture, media, and issues of deviance, among others.

Dr. Rubén O. Martínez and the contributing authors should be commended for producing *Latinos in the Midwest* and the book should serve as a fine example for future scholarship to come. Additionally, this book is the first in the series "Latinos in the United States" published with the Michigan State University Press and under the direction of series editor Rubén O. Martínez. Undoubtedly further scholarly works dedicated to the study of Latinos in the Midwest region are already under consideration. 

Cristo Rey Church in Lansing, MI

continued from page 3

celebration of the Feast of Our Lady of Charity, patroness of Cuba. The article noted that a Mass would be celebrated at Cristo Rey Church, presided by Father Kenneth Faiver and assisted by a Cuban priest, Father Eduardo Lorenzo, and a Cuban seminarian, Andres Zuby. The article stated that there were approximately 150 Cubans living in Lansing (Copy of article in Archives of the Diocese of Lansing).

Latinos in Lansing constructed a sense of community through social events, usually within their own groups or those similar to their own. The first social activities were weekly dances that featured local non-professional bands. Those dances were held in a facility on the corner of Grand River and North Washington in Northtown. Some of the community members that organized those dances initiated the first social-civic group in the 1940s called "La Sociedad Mutualista de Ignacio Zaragoza." This civic group was established with the purpose of celebrating Mexican patriotic holidays such as the 16th of September, known as Mexican Independence Day. In 1949, the name of the group was changed to El Comité Patriótico Mexicano (The Mexican Patriotic Committee) (Herrera, 1976). Comités patrióticos were first established in the late 19th Century in Texas and other Southwestern states in cities with sizeable Mexican-origin populations. The comités were community-based organizations that sponsored social, cultural, and educational activities to celebrate Mexican cultural heritage. El Comité Patriótico Mexicano in Lansing was active through the 1960s.



Early 1960's Fiesta

In 1958, a civic fiesta (holiday) called "Holiday in Mexico" was established to commemorate May 5th, which celebrates Mexico's defeat of French forces in the Battle of Puebla in 1862. The purpose of the event was to raise money for community religious affairs, but the fiestas also drew the community together. Every year organizers of the fiesta would select a young woman as

the queen of the event:

[T]here was a young lady as reina every year...and they had food and it was just very nice—culture, dances, folkloric dances, and costumes--and typically the governor would come over. I remember Governor William Milliken would come over to the fiestas. It was a political thing for them, to get some votes. It was not a big thing but they would come and would introduce the governor (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 7).

About this time, the Catholic Diocese of Lansing purchased a house on Abbott Road in East Lansing and used it as a site where Mexicans and other Spanish-speaking peoples celebrated Mass and held social activities. The facility, called Guadalupe Center, also served as a chapel. The Center gave Mexicans and Mexican-Americans a place where they could come together as a community.

The "Holiday" became part of the Cristo Rey Church after the parish was founded and became an important cultural expression and mark of belonging for the community at the Church. These events were about humanity and the culture and pride of the people. One longtime attendee noted that fiestas were independent of the church at the beginning, however, he stated that one of the reasons the link between church and community was strengthened was due to the use of the Virgin of Guadalupe during the fiesta parades (Oral History Interviewee, 2010). This connection between the church, the community, and political leaders increased and solidified the "settling in" process for Latinos in Lansing.⁴

The increasing numbers of Mexican migrants in the Midwest called for social and religious services that could meet their needs. One of the challenges the Mexicans and Mexican Americans (or Chicanos) faced was dealing with societal racism reflected in the church. At the national level the Catholic Church created the migrant ministry to alleviate the material and religious needs of seasonal workers, but maintained its efforts to promote the assimilation or Americanization of Mexicans through programs and organizations (Cadena, 1987).

The Catholic Diocese of Lansing, established in May 1937, initiated services for the Spanish-speaking community in the early 1950s. However, until the establishment of the Cristo Rey Parish, the Catholic Diocese of Lansing struggled with the strategies of separation and integration in meeting the spiritual needs of Mexican Americans.

As the Latino population kept increasing, Father

⁴ Rubén Martínez has analytically distinguished the phases of changing from a migrant to a permanent residence lifestyle as "settling out" (leaving the migrant stream), "settling down" (establishing a permanent household in a new community), and "settling in" (becoming part of the larger community) at a presentation by that title in October, 2008, at Michigan State University.

William McKeon convinced Bishop Joseph Albers of the need for a church for the growing Spanish-speaking population (Oral History Interviewee, 2010). Information found in the archives of Cristo Rey Community Center suggests that Father McKeon formed a group comprised of Eleuterio Lopez, Jose Lozano, Efrain Marinez, Pedro Mireles, Jose Orta, Ubaldo Patino, and Demetrio Saenz to meet with the Bishop and discuss the need for a church for the Spanish-speaking population. On October 6, 1961, Bishop Albers purchased a Methodist church located on the first block of East Main Street to provide religious services for the Spanish-speaking communities (mostly Mexican Americans). The Methodist church was transformed into a Catholic church with the assistance of several families who added their own altar and installed kneelers on the benches (Oral History Interviewee, 2010).

On October 29, 1961 Reverend Msgr. Herman P. Fedewa, Dean, consecrated the church under the name of Cristo Rey. The name was suggested by Father Donald McDonnell, a priest from California who was working with migrant farm workers (C. Faiver, 2007; Oral History Interviewee, 2010).⁵ The dedication of the church was held on the feast day of Christ the King, which that year was held on the last Sunday of October.⁶ The name Cristo Rey held special significance. First, Christ the King was a feast established for the celebration of the universal church by Pope Pius XI in 1925. Second, in the years following the revolution in Mexico, which lasted from 1910 to 1920, there was widespread persecution of the Catholic Church, its leaders and followers, through the strict enforcement of anti-clerical laws. "Viva Cristo Rey!" became the rallying cry of the Cristeros, those who supported the Church and launched an armed struggle against Mexico's new government in 1927. Both the Revolution and the Cristero War increased the emigration of Mexicans. The name then has deep meaning not only for those aware of Mexico's history but for those whose ancestors were touched by these experiences.

The first Mass at Cristo Rey Church in Lansing was celebrated by the parish administrator, Father John Walsh, who was assisted by Father Kenneth L. Faiver. Father Walsh, a Maryknoll priest, served as the first pastor of Cristo Rey Church for approximately six months. He was followed for a brief period by Father Ed Doheny, who also served as parish administrator. It was Father Kenneth L. Faiver, however, who became the "first" pastor of the parish, serving from 1962 until 1968. Father Faiver was influential in developing catechism classes, strengthening parish societies, and bringing the *Cursillo de Cristianidad* movement to Michigan. Cristo Rey became one of the early Cursillo centers in the state and hundreds of people came to Lansing from across

the state for this spiritual renewal experience. Moreover, under Father Faiver's guidance and leadership the Church became more involved in addressing the social needs of migrants and the urban poor.

In a memorandum titled "Consideration Regarding Possible Reorganization of Cristo Rey Parish," Father Faiver described an expanded vision for Cristo Rey Church (Archives of the Lansing Diocese, 1965). The memorandum justified the need for a center where spiritual and other needs could be addressed. This document stated that for many "Spanish-American people" it is difficult to integrate into the total life of the Church "due to several factors, primarily cultural and language differences as well as the general low education and economic level of the people" (p. 4).



Early 1960's Parish Council Members

It is also stated in the memorandum that there exists among the Spanish-speaking population a "lack of confidence and social reluctance common to minority groups," and that the typical American parish approach does not help minorities overcome these barriers due to dissimilarities in values and motives. "Formality and impersonalism, though not intended, often characterize a large city parish. The confidence of the Mexican people can only be won by a warm and friendly personal approach" (Ibid.). The section concludes with the following recommendation: "[T]he needs of the Spanish-American community can best be served by a program other than a parish designated along national lines" (p. 5).

When the "church" moved to Ballard Street the congregation faced ecclesial and social transitions. Six Cuban seminarians who had worked at the migrant ministry helped Cristo Rey parishioners make the liturgical transitions. A participant expressed, "Ellos nos ayudaron con todo eso. [A] cambiar la misa. Por ellos aprendimos todos los cambios que estaban haciendo en las misas." "They helped us with all of that. To change the Mass. Through them we learned of the changes

⁵ There are several competing stories about the naming of the church. We have decided to go with this one based on the account and involvement of Father Faiver.

⁶ Liturgical practice now dictates that the Feast of Christ the King be held on the last Sunday of the liturgical year.

that were being made to the Masses” (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 16; Trans. by R. Martinez).

During this time, the *aggiornamento* (or bringing up to date) set in motion by Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) brought about major changes in the Catholic Church itself, including the view that Catholicism was impacted by historical events and should be involved in world events. Another was celebrating Mass in the language of the people (English, Spanish, etc.); up to this point the predominant language for celebrating Mass was Latin. In Lansing, Cristo Rey parishioners experienced the changes as well. One oral history interviewee described the physical changes that took place, “The altar [that previously was facing the wall], now was facing the people; the priest [now] looked at the people. The prayers and songs were translated into English and Spanish” (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 3). Some members of the choir started translating songs into Spanish.

With the creation of the social programs, the church that was established in 1961 and lasted for five years on Main Street, disappeared and became part of a community center. During this period, Cristo Rey Church acquired the status of chapel and was part of Saint Therese Parish, with Father Francis Murray as the pastor. The spiritual component of the Center functioned as a “quasi-parish.” The sacraments, except for weddings, were celebrated at the Center; however, the records of the sacraments were maintained at Saint Therese Parish (Oral History Interviewees, 2010). However, baptisms and First Communions were at some point returned to and recorded at the Center. According to the Archives of Cristo Rey Church, the funeral of Cirila Villarreal, an active and long-time member of Cristo Rey, was the first interment celebrated at the Center.



Members of an early women's cursillo

From 1969 to 1974, Father William McKeon served as chaplain at the Cristo Rey chapel. Father McKeon had a room at the Center that served as his rectory. As with other organizations, changes in areas of emphasis and administrators sometimes prove to be difficult. The

facility at Ballard Street served as both a chapel and as a social services unit. These two areas of focus, and their respective constituencies, soon began to clash over space and primacy issues. Internal administrative difficulties emerged regarding the operation of the spiritual and social programs at Cristo Rey Community Center. In particular, there was a struggle over the budget between the spiritual and social areas and their respective administrators, resulting in a conflict that became evident to the parishioners. Whereas parishioners had seen Father Favier and Canady working closely together, they now saw struggle between the new administrators.

The lack of teamwork among the leaders of the Center was evident to the constituents of Cristo Rey, and there was discontent among them concerning the way the religious and social services were conducted. Some of the oral history interviewees from Cristo Rey expressed views as follows:

Discutimos bastante porque fue la primer vez que yo vi una división; una división entre los que se querían salir y los que se querían quedar. No se querían quedar necesariamente, pero que querían otra clase, querían un edificio nuevo, no era que no se querían cambiar pero ya estábamos muy chicos para la congregación que teníamos. Sabíamos que teníamos que crecer pero muchos no estábamos de acuerdo de ir a comprar otra iglesia usada. Y yo era uno de esos.

We discussed it [the move] a lot because it was the first time I noticed a division; a division between those who wanted to stay and those that wanted to leave. It wasn't that they wanted to stay necessarily, but they wanted something different. They wanted a new building, it wasn't that they didn't want a change, but we were already too small for the congregation that we had. We knew we had to grow, but many of us were not in agreement with buying another used church. And I was one of those [in disagreement]. (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case #3; Trans. by P. Horner.)

Ultimately, these conflicts between the social and spiritual programs at Cristo Rey Center caused Father McKeon to resign his position as chaplain in October, 1974.

After Father McKeon's resignation a sizeable group of Spanish-speaking parishioners decided they wanted religious programs pulled out of Cristo Rey Community Center. They selected a group of approximately 15 persons, with Gilberto Dominguez at the head, to speak to Bishop Zaleski about arranging the relocation of the

New JSRI Faculty and Staff



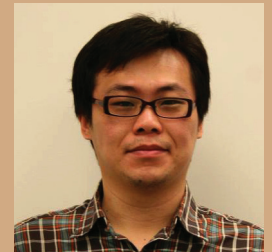
"Diversity in the workplace is an exciting area of policy development and research"

Dr. Joseph M. Guzman | Joint Faculty Member

Dr. Guzman recently joined the Julian Samora Research Institute in a joint faculty position with the School of Human Resources and Labor Relations. He will teach in the area of personnel economics and conduct research in that area and in Latino entrepreneurship. He holds a Ph.D. from the Stanford Graduate School of Business. Trained in economics, statistics, and business research, he also holds an MBA from the University of Arizona. Dr. Guzman's previous positions include Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Office of Financial Management and Comptroller, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force in the Office of Manpower and Reserve Affairs, and Director of the Department of Defense Biometric Management Office. He was twice awarded Civilian Service Medals in recognition of his contributions to the Department of Defense. Dr. Guzman is co-founder of the American Society of Hispanic Economists (ASHE).

Yan-Liang "Jerry" Yu | Research Assistant

Jerry is a third-year Ph.D. student in Sociology. His areas of interest are demography, life course and quantitative methods, and he is currently working on his own research project, examining the relationship of interracial marriage and individuals' health outcomes, specifically self-rated health and mortality. He is also interested in organizational sociology and social networks, and has taught "Organization and Society" in the Department of Sociology during the summer session for the past two years.



Anel Guel | Research Assistant

Anel is a graduate student at Michigan State University's CARRS (Community, Agriculture, Recreation, and Resource Studies) program. Her focus lies in international development, specifically within Latin America. Anel holds a B.A. in International Relations from Grand Valley State University, and a minor in Geography using GIS. She enjoys cooking Mexican food, travelling, and world history.



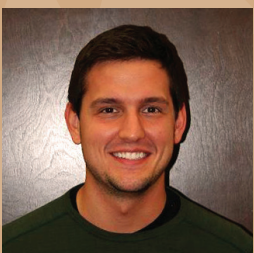
Kyle Marshall | Departmental Aide

Kyle Marshall is a departmental aide for the JSRI. He is in his final year as a Senior at Michigan State University majoring in Information and Communication Technologies with a Business minor. Upon graduation in May 2012, he hopes to be employed by a Fortune 500 company in the field of Information Technology as a Business Analyst or Project Manager. He also plans to obtain his M.B.A. and Project Management certification. He enjoys weight lifting, graphic/video/website design, cooking, and traveling.



Jerome Brzezinski | Graphic Designer

Jerome is a recent graduate from MSU with a B.A. in Creative Advertising. He is temporarily working with the JSRI team in creating and publishing visual materials for the institute. With 8 years of experience in digital design and working with the Adobe Creative Suite, he contributes to JSRI by ensuring that all marketing materials and publications have an effective design and retain a professional appearance.



2011-2012 Recipients of the Julian Samora Endowed Scholarship

Each year the Julian Samora Endowed Scholarship, founded by Julian Samora in 1993, provides support to one undergraduate and one graduate student engaged in scholarly activities focusing on Latinos in midwestern communities. The recipients for the 2011–12 academic year are Martin Garcia and Andie Gonzalez.



Martin Garcia is a sophomore at Michigan State University majoring in psychology. Martin was born in Illinois and raised in Sturgis, Michigan. His parents immigrated from Michoacán, Mexico and settled in Illinois to work in the mushroom industry. They later moved the family to Sturgis, Michigan and continued to work in the agricultural fields. Growing up, Martin worked on Michigan's farms. He intends to pursue a graduate degree in marketing. His career aspiration is to work in corporate firms and be able to help the Latino community in business and marketing. Martin is grateful to his family for the support he has received in the pursuit of a college education.

Andie Gonzalez is a graduate student in the Public Health Program at Michigan State University where she received a bachelor's degree in dietetics. Born and raised in rural Palmview, Texas, farm work was a major part of her life and an experience that shaped her as a person. Currently she is conducting research on nutrition education, outreach, and health promotion at MSU in addition to working as a graduate assistant in the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) mentoring and advising first-year students. Andie previously worked in other health-focused programs such as the Health Corps-Nuestra Clinica Del Valle, the Northwest Michigan Health Services Inc., and the Allen Neighborhood Center in Lansing. Her passion is to be a health advocate and develop successful intervention programs to address health issues such as obesity among Latinos and migrant seasonal farm workers. Andie appreciates the support provided by her family, the CAMP Program and many others during her time at Michigan State University.



Cristo Rey Church in Lansing, MI

continued from page 11

traditionally spiritual programs held at Cristo Rey. The delegation stressed to the Bishop the need for a prompt settlement. Dominguez declared, "Every Sunday I have seen our numbers at Cristo Rey dwindle. Unless we do something soon our Catholic community is going to diminish considerably. Then it will be difficult to bring our Catholic community together again" (Quoted in Trujillo, 1974, p. 1). Bishop Alexander M. Zaleski and Auxiliary Bishop James S. Sullivan met with three representatives: Gilberto Dominguez, Miguel Iribarren, and Leticia T. Quintero. Bishop Zaleski promised that Saint Mary Cathedral would be available, providing that arrangements could be made with the parish. While negotiations were underway for a suitable facility for worship services, Mass would continue to be celebrated

at Cristo Rey Community Center and Reverend Francis Murray would serve as director of the program until a replacement for Father McKeon was found.

Father Murray stated that the Center's community service programs, its governing board and director would be responsible to the Diocese's social services unit. The community service programs would continue to receive monies from the Diocese while the establishment of a parish church facility would depend, as with all parishes, on the contributions of the people (Author Unknown-A, 1975). Father Joseph Johnston would be the spiritual leader, succeeding Father McKeon. Father Johnston had served as a missionary in El Salvador and had taught at the Monastery of San Benito in Morelia, Michoacán, Mexico. His appointment was effective on February 13, 1975 (Ibid.). He served until the spring of the following year, then apparently left the priesthood (Oral History Interviewee, 2010).

Continued on Page 14

During this period a committee was formed to develop recommendations for Cristo Rey pastoral programs. One of the recommendations made by the committee in 1975 was to develop an advisory group to the pastor that would also contribute to the development of pastoral programs.

The next chaplain of Cristo Rey Center came in July, 1976. It was Father B. Thomas McCloskey, who previously had worked in the migrant ministry as a seminarian. Father McCloskey was a major advocate for the reestablishment of a parish church. In the fall of 1977 Father McCloskey formed the Cristo Rey Parish Council in accordance with the 1975 recommendations, and in the spring of 1978 the first elections for Council membership were held. The Parish Council was key in the transition in Cristo Rey's move to its next location. Father McCloskey had been actively involved with a diocesan committee in developing the new Guidelines for Parish Councils, which were published in 1977. Membership of the Cristo Rey Council included the heads of committees and at-large members. The committees were: 1) Finance; 2) Education; 3) Liturgy; 4) Christian Service (St. Vincent de Paul), and 5) Social – Altar Society and Men's Organization. Later, a youth representative was added to the Council. Annual elections to the Council were held, and those elected served two-year terms, with a limit of four years total.

On June 8, 1978, Father McCloskey submitted to the Bishop a report providing background information on the persisting clash between religious and social services, and justifying the need for a separate building for the religious services. The report included the results of a survey conducted by Father McCloskey which showed that the majority of respondents (83.8%) desired a new facility with a "sacred space" for Sunday Mass. Soon after, on June 30, the members of "The Parish Council of Cristo Rey" signed and approved the purchase of Capitol City Baptist Church, located at 5430 S. Washington, for the price of \$250,000. The Bishop at this time was Kenneth Povish, who assisted parishioners with the financial arrangements. The members of Cristo Rey pledged their full support in fundraising so they could repay the loan within a reasonable length of time (Archives of the Diocese of Lansing, 1978). Parishioners renovated the facility, which was dedicated on May 4, 1979. Once they had a church building, parishioners took the Santísimo (Blessed Sacrament) to its new home. According to one of the participants, "El Santísimo lo sacaron en un domingo, un domingo después de la misa de las doce,..." "The Blessed Sacrament was removed on a Sunday after the noon Mass" (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 3, translated by R. Martinez).

For some of the worshippers of Cristo Rey removing the Blessed Sacrament from the facility on Ballard Street meant the reestablishment of the Church as a parish,

but the removal caused other Cristo Rey members to react with resentment and anger. Still, other members accepted the physical move:

Porque muchas veces estaban ya cansados con lo que estaba pasando en el centro, ya no lo veían como iglesia. Cuando comenzamos sí se veía todo muy bonito, pués como [era] nuevo, [nuevo el] concepto de tener servicios sociales y también al mismo tiempo tener misa ahí los domingos y todo eso. De primera, aceptamos muy bien todo pero al tiempo ya... [Por ejemplo] teníamos la misa y estaba una línea de gente esperando the food stamps en el salón donde teníamos la misa y estaban en bolilla, o personas que querían recibir comida estaban atrás al mismo tiempo que se estaba llevando a cabo la misa y todo eso... Como que ya no tenían nada privado, ya no había nada privado, todo público y entonces empezaron [a decir], ¿Por qué no tenemos nuestra iglesia? ¿Por qué no hacemos nuestra iglesia donde podamos ir a rezar y nos sintamos libres? Ahí no podíamos hacer nada de esto... la gente empezó a decir, 'El Centro esta haciendo su trabajo pero la iglesia no' (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 3).

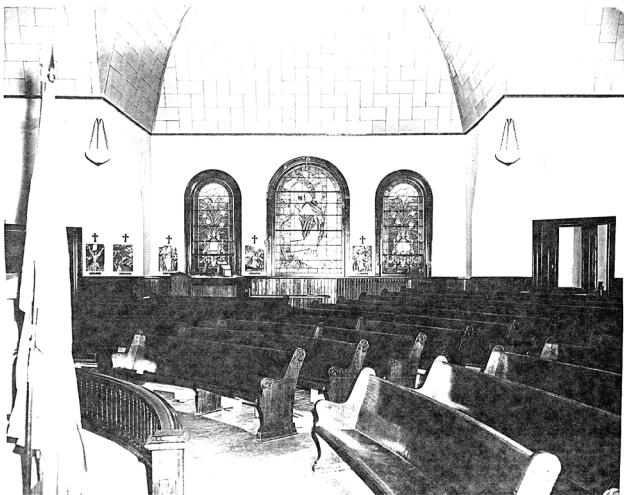
Because many times they were already tired with what was going on at the Center, they no longer viewed it as a church. When we started everything was fine because the concept of having both social and spiritual services was new. At first we accepted everything, but with time... For example, we had Mass and at the same time there would be a group of people seeking food stamps in the area where we held Mass, or there would be persons seeking food at the same time that Mass was in session and all that. It was as if there was no privacy, everything seemed public, and that's when people began to ask, 'Why don't we have our own church? Why don't we establish our own church where we can go pray and feel free? We could not do any of these there... people began to say, 'The Center is performing its work but the church is not' (Trans. by R. Martinez).

At South Washington, a new chapter in the Cristo Rey's history began.

On March 4, 1978, the *Lansing State Journal* stated that the spiritual needs of about 1,500 migrants who had come into the diocese during the summer were served by Cristo Rey (Author Unknown-B, 1978). An average of 30 senior

citizens a day participated in activities at the drop-in center. The Senior Citizens Nutrition Program, funded by the Tri-County Office of Senior Citizens, operated out of the Center. Cristo Rey published a newsletter titled *Caridad* and had a radio program "La Hora de Cristo Rey" at 10:00 a.m. on Sundays. Other programs operating on a periodic basis included: Driver training, income tax services, housing relocation, adult education, immigration services, social work services, transportation, legal advice, cultural awareness and translation.

After several meetings with the Bishop about a separate facility for spiritual worship, it was finally agreed to purchase a building that would meet the religious needs of the parishioners. When the church building located at 5430 South Washington was purchased in July of 1978, parishioners immediately set about renovating the building. A dedication weekend was held from May 4 through 6, 1979 at the new Cristo Rey Church. The celebration began at 7:00 p.m. with a dedication Mass presided over by Bishop Kenneth Povish. On Saturday, May 5, an open house was held where the members of the larger community were invited to visit the new religious home for the Latino community.



Interior of first Cristo Rey Church

At South Washington, new activities were organized and a rhythm developed in relation to the calendar year. Lenten Fish Fries became a big attraction for parishioners and the community at-large. During Holy Week the parish sponsored a Seder Potluck meal which celebrated the link between the Eucharist and Passover and the Last Supper of Jesus. Easter Vigil celebrations welcomed the newly baptized and confirmed adults through ceremonies that included immersion baptisms. An annual Mother's Day retreat in Spanish was held in DeWitt, Michigan in collaboration with Our Lady of Guadalupe in Flint. Eventually a Father's Day retreat was also held, as were other special activities.

Cursillo activities began in the "new" facility in the fall of 1979 following an event held in Lansing at which Cristo Rey hosted Cursillo leaders from Detroit, Saginaw,

and Grand Rapids. It was a day of sharing current Spanish-language Cursillo materials and formats used in other parts of Michigan. Cooperative efforts between Father McCloskey in Lansing and Father Lorenzo in Flint were open to Latinos from the entire Diocese of Lansing. Cursillo weekends, which began on Thursday evening and concluded on Sunday evening, had participants from Charlotte, Saint Johns, Jackson and Adrian. Father Al Hornberger was diocesan director of Cursillos and pastor of Saint Casimir Catholic Parish in Lansing. He and the leadership of English-language Cursillos were highly supportive of the Spanish-language Cursillos of Cristo Rey and Our Lady of Guadalupe in Flint. Two Cursillos for men and two for women were held between 1979 and 1982.

In 1981, Cristo Rey celebrated its 20th Anniversary. In addition to the many new activities that occurred during this period, Cristo Rey experienced several changes in pastoral leaders. Following the departure of Father McCloskey in 1986, Father William McKeon came back to Cristo Rey for a third time. He was there from 1986 until 1989. Because of his previous work with Cristo Rey, Father McKeon was already familiar with the parishioners, knowing most of them by name. This familiarity was a positive factor in working with the families of Cristo Rey Church. Father McKeon was followed by Father Thomas J. Smith, O.S.F.S., who served from 1989 until July 1993, when Father Frederick Thelen became the pastoral leader of Cristo Rey. Father Thelen continues in that role to the present day.

Changes in Hispanic leadership and lay involvement in the Catholic Church were greatly influenced by the four National Encuentros de Hispano Pastoral held between 1972 and 2000, all of which emphasized evangelization. In the early 1970's, Latinos were not in positions to directly influence Catholic policies. The Hispanic National Encuentros sought increased participation by the Spanish speaking in leadership and decision-making roles, including policy formation at the national level. The National Encuentros resulted in some changes by the Church hierarchy at the national, regional and diocesan levels in addressing Latino issues. They also affirmed the importance of Latinos defining religiosity in their own terms. The methodology used aimed to create consciousness on the part of laity. Although some of the leaders of Cristo Rey Church were aware of the first two Encuentros held in Washington, DC they did not participate directly. It was not until the third Encuentro that there was direct participation from Cristo Rey.

The Third Encounter was the most ambitious of the three that were held up to that point, for the aim was to develop a national pastoral plan and organize a grassroots movement. The theme was "Pueblo Hispano: Voz Profetica" (Hispanic People: Prophetic Voice) (Cadena, 1987, p. 85). Some people from the Lansing Latino community were chosen to attend the third Encuentro,

Sister Yolanda Figueroa was one of the selected persons. According to one of the oral history participants, the relevance of the Third Encuentro was that Hispanics felt that, "ya valemós, o sea que tenemos voz, que podemos hablar, que ya nos reconocieron los Obispos y ... si nos están diciendo que somos una voz profética, pues ya hubo un reconocimiento;" "now we had worth, that is we have voice, we can speak, that now we are recognized by the Bishops and ... they are telling us that we are a prophetic voice; there was recognition" (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 9; Trans. by R. Martinez).

The Cristo Rey Church on South Washington experienced growing numbers of families, and once again the congregation outgrew its facilities as the building was increasingly unable to accommodate parishioners' needs for Sunday worship and parish programs. Although the prospect of having to move yet again was not welcomed by some of the parishioners, the time had come to begin considering how to accommodate the growing parish population. Father Thelen and the Building Committee explored different options to respond to the needs of the parishioners. Some of the choices were staying at South Washington and expanding the church building. Another choice was to look for an alternative site. Ideas for buying land and constructing a new facility were considered but the costs were prohibitive. It was finally decided to purchase the Miller Road Bible Church building after lengthy processes of gathering data and receiving input from parish members. This included a Parish Assembly to which all members were invited on October 27, 1996. An assessment was given by the Pastoral Council and Building Committee of the current and future building needs with a preliminary look at options for meeting those needs, followed by ample time for questions and discussion. Forms for input were also made available for those not at the meeting (Cristo Rey Parish Bulletin, 1996, November 3). On April 5, 1997 the Pastoral Council, Building Committee and Budget Committee toured the Miller Road Church, which had emerged as a purchase option. They unanimously agreed to organize a tour for all parish members followed by a Parish Assembly for further input and discussion on April 27, 1997 (Cristo Rey Parish Bulletin, 1997, April 13).

Some of the members showed discontent and were unsupportive because they felt the decision for moving was an idea constructed by a small group of Cristo Rey leaders who were not representative of the church. One of the oral history participants said that at the time of the move "A lot of people did not want to go. We lost people because of that [move]" (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 1). A survey of parishioners showed widespread support, however, for the move to Miller Road. On May 20, 1997 at a meeting of some 30 leaders from the Pastoral Council, Finance Commission

and Building Committee the historic decision was made by broad consensus to enter into negotiation to buy the Miller Road Bible Church (Cristo Rey Parish Bulletin, 1997, May 25). The Church complex and house were purchased with a loan from the Diocese for \$1.2 million, and \$400,000 of renovations of the worship and kitchen areas were begun after conducting a capital campaign.

On Sunday, November 15, 1998, after a leave taking ceremony, the congregation of Cristo Rey Church walked in procession toward its new home located at 201 West Miller Road. A 50-year-old female interviewee mentioned that at the procession Jose and Josefina Estrada were seated in their grandson's low-rider, convertible car carrying a picture of the Virgen de Guadalupe which they had brought to the Church on Washington Avenue from Mexico. Walking behind the car were parishioners carrying church items to the new church on Miller Road. According to one of the parishioners, the experience of leaving was as follows: "Bonito y triste al mismo tiempo. Fue triste dejar la iglesia" (Oral History Interviewee, 2010; Case # 13). "It was a nice and sad experience at the same time because we were leaving our church" (Trans. by R. Martinez). On November 22, a joyous dedication ceremony was held.

Cristo Rey Church has been one of the most important organizational mainstays of the Latino community in the greater Lansing area since its inception in 1961. It has not only been a spiritual haven, it has been an organizational vehicle that has nurtured Latino leadership, promoted the key social justice concerns of the day, and nurtured a sense of community.

Today, Cristo Rey Church remains the mainstay of spiritual life for Latinos in the Lansing area. According to Father Thelen, "Cristo Rey has played a key role in the larger Hispanic community. Certainly in the city, in the area of greater Lansing, Cristo Rey has played a role in the lives of many people and been a source of the development of leaders and leadership" (Interview, 2010). Although by no means are all Latinos affiliated with Cristo Rey, it is the only Catholic church that serves the Spanish-speaking and is considered by them their church. The parish has a visible presence in the Lansing area, across the diocese, and across the state. Despite the many challenges that the Church and its parishioners have experienced over the past half century, they have overcome most of them and endured. They continue to do their work guided by the Mission Statement of their Church:

We are called by God to be a caring and loving parish that promotes unity in Christ within its cultural and especially Hispanic diversity, and is dedicated to education, evangelization and justice, instilling our Catholic faith and values in all.

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Latino Farmers on the Rise

continued from front page

Years." Indeed, in the next two decades, the ratio of seniors (65 years of age and older) to working-age adults (24-64) will double, making more seniors dependent on the productivity of a smaller workforce. Our purpose here is to provide a demographic overview of Latino farmers and identify the challenges or barriers faced by this growing population in obtaining the support and resources needed for continued growth and success. We focus on Latino farmers in Michigan in order to provide concrete examples of the issues confronting this category of farmers. Finally, we identify programs that are working to support Latino farmers across the country. These programs may become sources of important practices that government agencies charged with supporting farmers can learn from and emulate.

Latino Farmers in the United States

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), Latinos are the second largest ethnic group of farm operators in the United States, following White Americans, although they comprise only 2.5% of farm operators, up from 2.3% in 2002. Still, according to the 2007 Census of Agriculture, Latino farm operators are one of the fastest growing segments among farmers and ranchers in the country¹. Between 2002 and 2007,

Latino operators increased from 72,349 to 82,462, reflecting an increase of 14%, which is twice the 7% growth rate among all farm operators. Native American/Alaskan operators (124%) and women operators had higher growth rates (28.8%) than Latino farm operators. Similarly, Latina operators increased by 30.5%, while Latino (male) operators increased by 9.0%. With regard to principal operators, however, Latinas increased by 32% between 2002 and 2007, while Latino (male) operators increased by 7.3%. In 2002, Latinas comprised 10.1% of all Latino principal operators, and by 2007 they had increased to 12.2%. This is similar to but slightly lower than the 11.2% that women comprised of all principal farm operators in 2002, and the 13.9% they comprised in 2007.



Photo courtesy of <http://mumford-photo.com>

¹Latinos are not the fastest growing segment of farm operators, however, as Native American and Alaskan principal operators increased by 124% between 2002 (15,494) and 2007 (34,706). The figures provided by the USDA in 2002, however, may be inaccurate due to a flaw in the instrument, which contained the Hispanic Origin question at the top of page directly under the heading "Principal Operator or senior partner". USDA officials believe that format may have led to an over count of Hispanic farmers in 2002, with non-Hispanics reacting to the section heading and checking 'yes' on the form without reading closely the text of the Hispanic Origin question.

In contrast to operators, the number of Latino farms increased by 10% from 50,592 in 2002 to 55,570 in 2007.² However, between 1982 (16,183) and 2007 (55,570), the number of Latino farms increased by 243%. While the overall number of farm acres across the nation increased by 75,810 acres, Latino farmers lost 3,716,705 acres of farmland, or 18% of their farmland between 2002 and 2007. As might be expected, among Latinos the number of small farms increased, while the number of larger farms decreased. While this pattern also occurs across all farms, a closer look at the breakdown of farm sizes in this category shows there was some growth among the largest farms between 2002 and 2007 (from 77,970 in 2002 to 80,393 in 2007). Overall, the average size of Latino-operated farms in 2007 was 307 acres, as compared to 418 acres across all farms. This is down from the figures in 2002, when the average Latino farm acreage was 410 compared to 441 acres across all farms, and from 1997, when Latino farms (592 acres) were slightly larger than the U.S. average (487 acres). In terms of concentration, Latino farms tend to be located in the states of Texas, California, New Mexico, Florida and Colorado, and Washington. Generally, this parallels the concentration of the Latino population, with the exception of Washington which ranked 12th in terms of Latino population in 2008.



Photo courtesy of <http://mumford-photo.com>

Texas, California and New Mexico are homeland states for Mexican Americans, the largest subgroup within the Latino population. Florida and Washington, however, are not generally considered states with longstanding Latino populations, even if one takes into account the fact that Cuban Americans have been in Florida in increasing numbers since the early 1960s. As with the rest of the nation, however, growth among Latino farmers has been greater outside of the gateway or homeland states in the Post-IRCA era.³ There is both research and anecdotal evidence that the new Latino farmers may be coming from the migrant streams and

from immigrants who are interested in settling out from the migrant streams or in leaving the urban areas with their urban problems. Depending on where the new operators come from, farm ownership is an important opportunity for the predominantly Latino farm labor population interested in using their agriculture experience to make a living as operators.

Another dimension of changes occurring among farmers is the aging of the farming population. The average age of all operators in 2007 was 57.1, up from 55.3 in 2002, and from 50.3 in 1978. The average age of all Latino operators was 53.4 in 2007, up slightly from 52.6 in 2002 (Ibid.). USDA figures show that principal operators 65 years of age and older increased by 18% between 2002 and 2007, at the same time that those under 45 years of age decreased by 21%. This pattern is evident among Latinos as well. Overall, this seems to indicate that current farm youth are opting for less labor intensive non-agriculture opportunities, implying that a scarcity of farmers may loom in the nation's future. In the context of an overall population shift, as with the economy in general, it is the Latino population that may become a significant force in the future of agriculture in the United States.

Farm ownership is relatively unique because of the myriad skills and the long hours of hard work needed to be successful, even if that is measured as "breaking even." Farm workers and immigrants, however, though perhaps accustomed to the work, do not always have the skills needed to manage labor, debt, and production in order to strike out on their own. Although support resources are available in the form of training, they have been historically tailored and accessed primarily by the White population that dominates agriculture in this country. Historically, Latinos have encountered barriers to obtaining access to key resources.

Barriers Facing Latino Farmers

The history of Latinos is replete with instances of institutional discrimination, and that of Latino farmers is no exception. In short, dominant group institutions, through their day-to-day practices, perpetuate and reproduce the subordinate status of Latinos and other minority groups in society. Those who hold power in organizations tend to define positions and hire people who, in general, reproduce the existing organizational structure and purpose. In addition, institutions are made up of, among other things, social networks that are crucial to gaining access to information about opportunities that become available. However, these networks are usually selective and not readily available to people of color, women, and other excluded groups. Finally, the evaluation of candidates and applicants for services and opportunities involve subjective appraisals and decisions which, both with and without an explicit

²See footnote 1 regarding problems with the count in 2002.

³IRCA is the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which, among other things, provided for the legalization of many undocumented workers in the country.

affirmative action plan, reproduces the status quo. This is especially the case in times of nativism, such as the period in which we live today. The upshot is that agencies in charge of key resources and support have been slow to acknowledge Latino farmers' needs.

The major agencies with the responsibility of helping farmers are those of the USDA and the agricultural departments of state governments. The USDA is comprised of several agencies that are organized along seven mission areas: Natural Resources and Environment; Farm and Foreign Agricultural Services, Rural Development; Food Nutrition and Consumer Services; Food Safety; Research, Education and Economics; and Marketing and Regulatory Economics. Included among these agencies is the Cooperative Extension Service, which is a nation-wide non-credit education system established by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 to work in partnership with the Department of Agriculture and land-grant colleges and universities to provide farmer education, especially in the areas of new agricultural knowledge, practices and technologies. Today it engages in a broader range of activities in the areas of 4-H Youth Development, Agriculture, Leadership Development, Natural Resources, Family and Consumer Services and Community and Economic Development.

Only recently has a body of scholarship begun to emerge that examines the relationship between Extension and communities of color, but this focus has been primarily on African American communities. And while some studies touch on aspects of Latinos and Extension, to date no major study has been conducted on this topic. Nevertheless, the research that is emerging on Extension and African Americans raises some serious questions about its ideologies and organizational cultures. One of the emerging conclusions is that ethnic minorities have had and continue to have limited access to the resources available through the Extension Service and other agencies. Moreover, ethnic minorities have had only limited success in impacting the policies of dominant group institutions, and even when policies have been changed, their implementation has been mixed.

At the same time, many of these agencies have not developed the capacity in terms of knowledge and cultural competence to tailor their programs to the unique needs of Latino and other minority farmers. As a result, Latino farmers have had to rely on themselves and their networks, which may contribute to and perpetuate their isolation from the government agencies. Santos and Castro-Escobar (2009), in a study of Latino blueberry farmers in southwest Michigan, found these farmers rely primarily on "paisano" networks to obtain information about production and marketing. That is, despite the lack of experience and training, they tend to rely (or are forced to rely) on their own networks as their major

sources of information, confining their communities of trust to friends and relatives who also usually lack experience, financial resources and integration in the established farming communities. Among those who are immigrants the problem may be exacerbated by their lack of understanding of and connections to the agencies whose purpose it is to provide services to them (Lopez Ariza and Suvedi, 2009).



Photo courtesy of <http://www.hispanicallyspeakingnews.com>

The lack of these alignments and the resulting dynamics has left Latino farmers out in the fields, so to speak, for decades. More recently, however, inspired by the Pigford Settlement in 1999, in which a class action suit by African American farmers alleging willful discrimination by the USDA agencies (Farm Service Agency in particular) was settled by a consent decree in favor of African American farmers, Latino farmers have sought relief through the courts, as have Native American and women farmers and ranchers.

For several years the USDA has been the focus of federal inquiries into accusations of discrimination through its programs against ethnic minorities and women. Latino farmers allege that the USDA secretly dismantled its civil rights apparatus in the early 1980s and for approximately 15 years did not address the complaints of minority farmers. They further allege that between 1981 and 2000 Latino farmers were denied financial support while such support was provided to White farmers (See Garcia v. Vilsack, 563F. 3d 519).⁴ Interestingly, in 1997, Former Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman acknowledged before Congress a long history of discrimination in the USDA's loan programs. More recently, Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack stated that the department has the reputation among some people of being "The Last Plantation," and vowed to lead the department to overcome that reputation. Internal reports by the U.S. Department of Agriculture on civil, congressional hearings, and reports by the Government Accounting Office confirm that the USDA has not effectively

⁴For further information on the Garcia class action efforts see the documents available on-line at: <http://www.garciaclassaction.org/>

Table 1. Demographic Overview of United States and Michigan Farms over Time

	1997	2002 (% change)	2007 (% change)
U.S. Farm Numbers	2,215,876	2,128,982 (-4%)	2,204,792 (4%)
U.S. Farm Acreage	954,752,502	938,279,056 (-2%)	922,095,840 (-2%)
U.S. Farm Sales (\$1000)	\$201,379,812	\$200,646,355 (-.4%)	\$297,220,491 (48%)
MI Farm Numbers	53,519	53,315 (-.4%)	56,014 (5%)
MI Farm Acreage	10,443,935	10,142,958 (-3%)	10,031,807 (-1%)
MI Farm Sales (\$1000)	\$3,694,670	\$3,772,435 (2%)	5,753,219 (53%)
U.S. Average Farm Operator Age	54	55.3 (2.4%)	57.1 (3%)
MI Average Farm Operator Age	52.8	54.2 (2.6%)	56.3 (4%)

Source: USDA - NASS 2007 Census of Agriculture

addressed discrimination complaints by Latinos and other minorities, and that much remains to be done to eliminate problems. Recently, the Obama administration has sought to address group complaints of discrimination by offering settlements to Hispanic and women farmers.

Michigan Agriculture

Globalization of agriculture production, the growth of agribusiness, urban expansion and an aging farm population have led to the restructuring of agriculture and a slight decline among U.S. farmers. According to the USDA, between 1997 and 2007, national farm numbers and farm acreage decreased by approximately one-half a percentage point, declining by one percent between 1997 and 2002, and then increasing by four percent between 2002 and 2007 (See Table 1 above), despite record commodity prices. Michigan agriculture has remained competitive during this time period, increasing by five percent in the number of farms and actually increasing the value of agriculture production over four percent to become the twentieth highest producing state (up from twenty second in 2002) in terms of value of production.

Michigan remains the leading producer nationwide of red tart cherries, blueberries, cranberries, and black beans. The state is also a significant producer of soybean, corn, dairy products, and livestock. The 73 billion dollar industry is the second largest industry in the state and provides jobs and revenue for many farmers, farm laborers and

farm community members.

As one might expect, increased globalization of agriculture production tends to occur at the expense of domestic agriculture. However, an aging domestic farm population also contributes to this decline in agriculture population. While the average age of the American farmer in 2007 was 57.1 years old, in Michigan it was 56.3, with more farmers over 70 years of age than under 35 years of age. This increase in the average operator's age indicates that fewer youths are entering the field. At the same time, the plans of a fifty-seven year old farmer are likely to lean more toward retirement than farm expansion.

Michigan's Latino Farmers

The National Agriculture Statistics Service reports that Latino farm ownership grew 51% between 1997 and 2007. In Michigan, the increase was dramatic, with a 163% increase in Latino owned farms, a 135% increase in acreage and a 114% increase in market value of products sold. In fact, Michigan ranked tenth in the nation for total number of Latino owned farms and exhibited the fifth largest growth in Latino farm ownership in the United States; the largest growth rate among those states with over 150 Latino owned farms. These changes are summarized in Table 2.

Though Michigan still boasts the highest number of Latino farmers in the Midwest (the nine states with higher Latino farmer populations are in the Southwest and the

Table 2. Latino Farm Characteristics for U.S. and MI for 2002 & 2007

	1997 Value	2002 Value (% change from 1997 census)	2007 Value (% change from 2002 census)
U.S. Hispanic Farm Ownership (Farms)	\$33,450	\$50,592 (51%)	\$55,570 (10%)
MI Hispanic Farm Ownership (Farms)	315	828 (163%)	615 (-26%)
MI Hispanic Farm Ownership (Acreage)	59,368	139,667 (135%)	54,795 (-61%)
MI Hispanic Farm Ownership (Value of Productions) (\$1000)	\$22,244	\$47,553 (114%)	\$40,662 (-15%)

Source: USDA - NASS 2007 Census of Agriculture

West), Table 2 shows a 26 percent decline in Latino farm ownership from 2002 to 2007 with a corresponding 61 percent decrease in acreage.⁵ This is in spite of record prices received for farm commodities. A review of Michigan Latino farmer numbers by farm size and years on the farm (Table 3) show the more established, larger farmers left agriculture or were not accounted for in the census. New Latino entrants increased a staggering 162%.

Additionally, a comparison of the average Latino farm to the average Michigan farm highlights demographic differences that may not be recognized or addressed by governmental agencies. According to Buland and Hunt (2001), 93 percent of Latino-owned farms across the country were family owned compared to 90 percent of all Michigan farms. Furthermore, Latino-owned farms are smaller (See Table 3), apparently a result of the influx of new entrants. In fact, the biggest increase (188%) in Michigan Latino-owned farms was in farms with less than 49 acres.

Barriers to Latinos Farmers in Michigan

Santos and Castro-Escobar (2009) studied the Latino farming community in Southwest Michigan. They identified a lack of knowledge of regulations and resources as a third limiting factor beyond cultural barriers and racism. Lopez Ariza (2007) augments this view by stating that Latino farmers are not a homogeneous group in terms of educational level, language and access to social networks. Programs need to account not only for the cultural differences of the Latino population as a whole but the lack of homogeneity within the population. Malek (2001), who examined Latino farms in Wisconsin, identified a lack of knowledge of regulations and resources as a third limiting factor. However, he adds that language barriers and social isolation have prevented many Latinos from searching out and obtaining resources available to them. Lopez Ariza and Suvedi (2009) provide similar findings through various agencies.

This lack of access to knowledge about production limits the adaptive capacity of the Latino farmer. More recently, Lourdes Martinez Romero (2010) identified the following challenges facing small-scale Latino farmers in Michigan: 1) the majority of them do not receive services

from state or federal programs and agencies and are not familiar with NGOs and other community organizations that provide services to farmers; 2) more than 50 percent are in need of financial assistance; and 3) most have limited knowledge of available marketing options and remain relatively isolated to a single market. As a result of all of these challenges, small-scale Latino farmers in Michigan are struggling for economic survival.

Garcia (2006) states that these challenges identify much of what is needed and relevant to Latino farmers, including the type of operation, the level of education and experience, and cultural considerations. He holds that the information needs of this farm population include sustainable business planning, marketing opportunities and strategies, livestock (cattle, dairy, but also small livestock) production, small fruits (berries) and nuts production, gender and generation issues, and legal and labor issues. Such production knowledge needs, we argue, include pesticide use, food safety and Good Agricultural Practices planning and implementation. As a result, the situation calls for more than just routine education – in this case, it must not only be meaningful and interesting, it must take into account the specific cultural and economic positions of the Latino farmers.

Latino Farmers and Today's Agriculture

Historically, the Census Bureau has had difficulties accurately counting minority populations, and the Department of Agriculture has developed limited capacity to work effectively with Latino communities in general. For instance, Buland and Hunt (2001) state that the National Resources Conservation Service claims to have served only 30% of the farmers that the Agriculture Census has identified as Latino. There are no data that address the quality of service or the satisfaction levels among those served. They state that anecdotal data indicate that Latino growers are unhappy with the bureaucratic demands of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's agencies and their domineering expert model.

Santos and Castro-Escobar (2009) and others state there is a need for Cooperative Extension to tailor its traditional programming to be more culturally diverse, especially as the traditional White, rural clientele

Table 3. Years on Farm by Hispanic Farm Operators in U.S. and MI for 2002 & 2007

Years on Present Farm	% Change in All Farm Operators by Years on Farm (2002 to 2007)	% Change in Latino Farm Operators by Years on Farm (2002 to 2007)	% Change in All MI Farm Operators by Years on Farm (2002 to 2007)	% Change in MI Latino Farm Operators by Years on Farm (2002 to 2007)
2 or less	14%	6,174 (23%)	4%	85 (162%)
3 to 4 years	3%	8,994 (12%)	4%	84 (91%)
6 to 9 years	4%	19,609 (11%)	-6%	219 (-3%)
10 or more	-5%	47,485 (8%)	8%	549 (-41%)

Source: USDA - NASS 2007 Census of Agriculture

⁵See footnote 1 for possible explanation

ages and is replaced by farmers from other cultural backgrounds. As an organization becomes culturally diverse, it is better able to recruit diverse staff and to deliver services to diverse clientele.

Swisher, et.al. (2006) reinforce this perspective after examining the relationship between Latino farm operators and a variety of government agencies charged with providing services to farm operators. Extension personnel claim their shortcomings in reaching Latino growers involve time constraints, tight budgets and a lack of communication with this population. Government officials (USDA and its agencies) indicate that many Latino growers are not eligible for their programs, can not meet the paperwork requirements to access the services, and lack knowledge of agency services, which result in the gap between their needs and the programs offered. In general, Swisher, et. al. (2006) blame the Extension professionals' lack of knowledge on the barriers which limit the delivery of services to Latinos.

Swisher, et.al. (2006) go on to say that Latino farmers indicate it is their lack of knowledge of and inability to access information that precludes them from accessing many program services. Neighboring farmers are unwilling to provide information and agencies such as Extension and the USDA cater to larger farmers and discriminate against smaller Latino farmers. Latino farmers are unfamiliar with credit and optimal production practices, often paying high interest rates and unable to afford the more modern, efficient production tools or learn about efficient productive practices (Swisher, et.al., 2006).



Photo courtesy of <http://www.mainjustice.com>

Emerging Practices

Most concerted outreach efforts to Latino farmers are in the southern and western portions of the United States. For example, in a recent multi-million dollar grant allocation from the USDA to help minority farmers, 16 of the 22 organizations applying for and receiving funding were from these regions of the country. The six exceptions were from Hawaii (three), Maine (one), Minnesota (one) and Rhode Island (one). In this section we identify organizations that work specifically with Latino farmers to help them develop capacity as viable agricultural firms and to access services available through dominant institutional agencies.

Unfortunately information on effectiveness and success are not currently available, but specialized knowledge is being developed through the experience of working directly with Latino farmers.

Washington State has the Center for Latino Farmers which was established by Rural Community Development Resources. This Center works primarily with Spanish-speaking farm workers in their transition to farm ownership by connecting them to USDA services, providing training workshops, preparing loan packages, and providing one-on-one technical assistance services.

The Southwest Livestock and Farm Association, located in El Paso, Texas, was established by Heifer International. It seeks to enable small and limited-resource immigrant farmers to develop capacity and prosper. This organization focuses on sustainable management practices, helping small farmers integrate livestock into their farm operations while restoring and preserving the land for future generations. The organization supports young and beginning farmers and creates opportunities for new farmers to learn more about farming, ranching, and marketing while preserving the environment.

The Hispanic Farmers and Ranchers Association of America from La Cruces, New Mexico works to help farmers fill out loan applications and National Resource Conservation Service grant applications. It also conducts outreach programs and provides one-on-one technical assistance on the farm.

In Michigan, the Michigan Food and Farming Systems project provides basic educational needs through outreach to family and limited-resource and minority farmers. This includes training programs on record keeping and other production oriented programming. It has invited the Farm Service Agency to teach farmers about their programs and services, and is interested in developing a manual on how to apply for loans. It offers special programs for Latinos, including training workshops in Spanish, translation of documents, and providing translators at non-Spanish language trainings.

The Multi-Cultural Farmer Mentors program (from 2002 to 2004), a Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education funded project, helped for a time minority farm families by pairing them with successful farmers who could potentially address the particular needs of the struggling and/or beginner minority farmer. It was not sustained, however. Finally, Michigan State University, the state's land grant institution, has some, albeit limited, cultural capacity to support Latino farmers in Michigan.

Although our list of program is not exhaustive, it is still fair to say that given the limited number of programs dedicated to providing technical services and assistance to Latino farmers, the development of best practices is, at best, slow going. As the USDA has begun and continues to make funds available to assist "socially disadvantaged farmers" it is expected that some rapid growth will occur

in this area, especially given the dearth of specialized knowledge in existence now.


Conclusion

The demographic shift that is occurring across the country is becoming evident among farm and ranch operators, where Latinos are increasing their numbers relative to White farmers, who are aging and slowly leaving their farms. Historically, agencies charged with providing services to agricultural operators have failed to work effectively with Latino operators. In short, Latino operators are left to fend for themselves in relative isolation and outside the orbit of service delivery systems. This dynamic is reinforced by the incapacity of the dominant institutions to transform themselves into diverse organizations with the capacity to deliver services to different cultural groups. It is also reinforced by the tendency of Latino farmers to remain within the orbit of their own culture and networks. In this context, however, the target population cannot be blamed as

agency employees are prone to do, as government agencies are to serve the public good, and that includes the different population groups in the country.

According to the National Agriculture Statistics Service, Michigan boasts the tenth largest population of Latino farm operators, which is the largest in the Midwest, and exhibits the largest growth of this population in states with over 150 Latino growers. This growth among Latino farmers is occurring in a context in which the globalization of agricultural production has reduced farm numbers and acreage. Yet, efforts to provide services to this group are limited and less significant than in other states. Systematic research is needed to identify the needs of these particular growers, the capacity of government agencies to meet those needs, and strategies for increasing the capacity of service providers to do so. Some programs are doing work with Latino farmers which may serve as examples of how to work effectively with this category of agricultural producers.

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