

Latinos in the Heartland

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► U.S. Race Politics: Learning from the experiences of African Americans

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“They [African Americans] are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word ‘citizens’ in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States.”

– Chief Justice Taney, Majority Opinion, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)

The dominant theory of race and ethnicity in American politics is pluralism. The pluralist’s “melting pot” model of race relations originated from liberal political theory that maintained the U.S. political system is one that assimilates and accommodates racial and ethnic minorities into the fabric of American life, from which they achieve opportunities for political participation and social mobility. Critics of the pluralist theory are not at all uncommon. In particular, critical perspectives on liberal pluralism maintain that given the experiences of African Americans from slavery to the Civil Rights Era and even today: “these pluralist models are inappropriate” (Barker, Jones, & Tate, 1999, p. 8). Accordingly, theorists of the critiques developed alternative theoretical lenses based upon colonial theories of race relations and the analysis of core and periphery, dominant and subordinate group relations. They share much in common with theory all too familiar to the study of Latin American politics, and thus provide a common ground between them in order to advance an agenda for theory development on their coalition.

Illustrating the rationale in the critique of pluralism from a minority perspective, three events represent the history of African American disenfranchisement in the United States. They concern issues pertinent to Latin Americans: citizenship and legal status, human rights and the preservation of those rights, and political participation. However, the critique of pluralism can easily turn on itself. Bridging the history with concerns in the Latin American community today, this paper aims to develop ideation for reciprocal frames of reference based on learning.

The first event and marker occurred before the Civil War. While misleading to compare contemporary Latin American experiences to the historical experience of slavery, aside from the political symbolism,¹ *Dred Scott* was a St. Louis slave at a time when debates over slavery divided the country. Missouri, through the Missouri Compromise, agreed to statehood as a slave state in order to balance the number of slave and free states. Scott lived in free states before being sold as a slave in Missouri. Based on the argument that his enslavement began in territories where slavery was illegal, Scott spent a good part of a decade fighting for his legal emancipation. Becoming an event that catalyst the Civil War, the subtle but more direct impacts involve the implications for blacks given the Supreme Court decision in *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1857) that ruled *Dred Scott* could not sue in the courts because he lacked the rights of citizenship.

The relationship between the ruling and questions over Latin American citizenship and rights

¹ As with the capitalizing on immigrant labor in the American South from the influx of Latin Americans with globalism, which, through the corporatism of a global political economy, carries with it a distinct political symbolism. For more information, see Peacock, J.L., Watson, H.L. & Matthews, C.R. (2005). *The American South in a Global World*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press.

evidently prove complicated but worth exploring from the critique of pluralism.² The ruling, opinioned by the Chief Justice of the Court, provides a rationale for colonial theories of race relations that identify blacks as like a colonized people within the U.S., sharing views with colonial and neocolonial theories of Latin American politics in Latin America. These theories assign the negative consequences of colonialism to “relations imposed by actual or formal colonial masters on the development of native peoples,” rather than “caused primarily by economic, social, or cultural patters that had developed within those societies” (Vaden & Prevost, 2006, p. 156). Theorists of race relations in the U.S. employ a comparable logic.

Ratified in 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution ended slavery. The Fourteenth in 1868 overthrew Chief Justice Taney’s decision inasmuch as it extends rights and privileges of citizenship to all “persons born or naturalized in the United States,” with equal protection under the law and right to due process. With citizenship granted after emancipation, the Amendment somewhat undermines the colonial argument developed in the 1960s and 1970s. The same as with comparing the plight of Latin Americans in the U.S. to slavery, we might equally question the appropriateness of equating the contemporary experiences of African Americans to colonial situations in Latin America. However, while overthrown, Dred Scott justifies the underlying sentiment of relating their experiences through a colonial lens.

Inasmuch as the theorists of U.S. race and ethnic relations recognize the flaws and use the correlations to colonialism as primarily an analogy, the somewhat inside-out reversal of their colonial identification within the actual borders of the colonizer remains noteworthy. Today, given the waves of Latin American immigrants and the simplification of Latin American legal status, reflecting a historical ambivalence toward immigrants in the U.S., the question of citizenship remains a difficult topic of concern given the complex social, political, and economic dynamic of immigration (Burke, 2008). Without philosophizing on free choice and a complicated discussion of political economy for the sake of length and time, issues concerning the relationship between immigrants and a government within its sovereign authority do substantiate the commonalities. They directly relate to questions over immigrant legal rights and citizenship in the same way that African American theorists note the historical significance of Dred Scott.

At this point, legislation passed during the Reconstruction Era did not automatically create an environment of freedom and equality for naturalized citizens. State governments and the perceptions and actions of whites in the South did not exactly align with the amending of the Constitution. Laws such as the 1865 Black Codes serve as an example of continued struggles designed to “put black citizens in a state of near slavery by limiting their rights and privileges” (Loevy, 1997, p. 3). From 1866 into the late nineteenth century, the United States Congress attempted to pass early civil rights legislation, but the spirit of the Era became undermined with the change of political party attitudes (see Maltz, 1990). From the Civil Rights Cases of 1883, ruling on the Fourteenth Amendment justified many injustices against blacks, to say the least, and led to the “separate but equal” ruling in Plessey v Ferguson (1896) and segregation.

Alongside the attempts to legislate civil rights, Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada (1938) sought to challenge Plessey, but not until Brown v. The Board of Education Topeka (1954) did the Supreme Court rule against “separate but equal.” The Brown case became a catalyst for the Civil Rights Movement. Finally, in 1964, the Civil Rights Act passed, but the challenges did not end in 1964. The struggle continues today.

2 The daily newspapers are riddled with articles concerning Latin American legal rights and citizenship. Recent examples include articles by Bravin, J. (2009, January 20). Court Poses Test for U.S. On Arrests of Foreigners. The Wall Street Journal, p. A5 and Schwartz, J. (2009, January 8). Ruling Says Deportation Cases May Not Be Appealed Over Lawyer Errors. The New York Times, p. A16. Issues related to voting concerns include Greenhouse L. (2009, January 8). The Chief Justice on the Spot. The New York Times, p. A27. Recent court cases, such as Hoffman Plastic Compounds, Inc. v. National Labor Relations Board, address labor issues and immigrant rights. Major court cases over citizenship, such as Fernandez-Vargas v. Gonzalez, Attorney General, illustrate the complex dynamic facing legislative initiatives that attempt to comprehensively rethink the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (preceded by the Immigration Acts of 1917, 1924 and 1952, and then amended in 1996).

The legal and legislative history as it concerns black citizenship and human rights proves insightful for ethnic minorities in America. While of a different nature, beginning with the issue of legal rights, the social environment for Latin Americans faces comparable challenges that illustrate the critique of liberal pluralism.

Rulings on affirmative action cases pose questions over the preservation of rights. Following the Civil Rights Era, universities developed alternative admission or affirmative action programs. No legal challenges to the programs surfaced until a white, male student was denied admission into the medical school at the University of California, Davis campus and sued the state university system in *Bakke v. The Regents of the University of California* (1976). In the case, the court ruled against racial preference as a defining state interest and that the student be admitted. The California Court upheld that the Constitution protects all individuals, maintaining the unconstitutionality of race criteria for affirmative action in university admissions.

When the case went before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), the Court justices affirmed the ruling, but “reversed insofar as it prohibited the defendant from according any consideration to race in its future admissions process” (Regents, 1978). Specifically, the Court ruled that a classification system for racial preference in admissions is itself justified as a state interest under the legal protections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, based on strict scrutiny of proof that the program counters societal discrimination. The fact that the California Supreme Court undermined the Civil Rights Act in their ruling on the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause is rather telling.

Affirmative action remains a delicate issue for racial and ethnic groups as well as for minorities in general. The legal issue becomes a matter of whether or not minorities remain subjected to “second class” citizenship and exemplifies what Barker, Jones, and Tate (1997) discuss as the politics of uncertainty for race and ethnicity in American politics. The Texas courts in *Hopwood v. Texas* (2000) again ruled against racial preference, but the U.S. Supreme Court did hear the case. *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) affirmed the decision made in the *Bakke* case, but the future of affirmative action appears difficult to predict given the split among “justices regarding whether Title VII and the Fourteenth Amendment permit affirmative action” (Kaplan & Lee, 1995: 270). Here, the critique of liberalism and the American “melting pot” theory of equality and freedom for all can potentially find greater justification, but can equally turn on itself. At this point, it is important to critically examine the target of the critique.

Chicago politics proves noteworthy for investigation. “Machine politics,” supporting the hierarchical decision-making power of an administration and consolidating that power to dominate elections, historically dominates the City of Chicago. Richard J. Daley, taking the office of the Mayor in 1955 until his death in 1976, serves as a primary example of Chicago’s political machination. Discontent with Chicago politics from citizens of all walks-of-life surfaced by the end of Daley’s tenure. Noting the administration’s controversies during the Civil Rights Era (see Grimshaw, 1952), the most vocal dissent came from African Americans. While the political machine traditionally caters to immigrants and capitalizes on the minority vote, it illustrates another critique of pluralism. The Chicago machine subordinated blacks and Latinos equally felt their concerns. With a coalition of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and progressive whites, the African American community enlivened “to actualize its civil rights at the ballot box” (Cordova, 1999, p. 39) and challenged the machine’s old guard. The community nominated Harold Washington, who accepted and became the first African American Mayor of Chicago.

In the same way that African American voters “came alive,” the election also “ushered an era of unprecedented electoral participation by Latinos and signaled the rise of a Black-Latino coalition and progressive agenda” (Cordova, 1999, p. 32). The election of Washington affirmed pluralism by challenging a system that claimed to service its values but contradicted its principles in practice, a point that deserves attention when examining the critiques of pluralism. The discontent with machine politics itself suggests

an important area of investigation for analyzing racial and ethnic political participation and the social development of their coalitions; but Washington did not entirely challenge the machine and it endures. The dynamic of race and ethnicity remains an essential variable in its continued operation, but questions remain over the motivating means and ends. If the prophet of the political machine Milton Rakove (1975) proves correct in predicting that the Chicago machine will survive and “probably be the first of the new black and Spanish-speaking machines which will develop in the years to come” (p. 19), do they risk becoming subordinators in a system that at one time subordinated their social mobility?

It is at this point that the affirmation of pluralism at the time of Washington’s 1983 Mayoral Campaign need strengthen a shared and common ground, by which all racial and ethnic populations might advantage from the genuine practice of its values. As discussed in this paper, the historical markers and events illustrate the subtle and direct commonalities between African American and Latin American politics. From the delicate and complicated questions over citizenship and legal status, the struggle for human rights, the preservation of those rights, and political participation, the history proves to be a relevant frame of reference into the experiences of Latin Americans today. Establishing a basis for political coalition, colonial theories and the analysis of core and periphery relations provide strong directions for developing knowledge on the sameness and difference of their political, social, and economic situations. Recognizing the complex racial and ethnic dynamic, theory building on the politics of race and ethnicity need recognize the values of pluralism rather than subordinate them by dwelling on its failures.

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► Re-examining Citizenship: Best Practices of St. Louis Spanish Immersion Schools

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*"We really want the diversity of our school to represent the diversity of St. Louis:
geographic, ethnic, socioeconomic, linguistic, and country-of-origin diversity."*

- Executive Director, SLLIS

In the United States and across the globe, there are great demographic changes happening. Latinos/as, for instance, increased from 6.4 percent of the U.S. school population in 1976 to 12 percent in 1996. Census data demonstrates similar increases in Missouri: in St. Louis County, the Latino/a population increased 49 percent from 1990 to 2000. A number of schools are embracing these changes and using this moment to teach about citizenship in new ways. Here, we briefly summarize best educational practices that aim to develop "global" or "transformative" citizens, in part by immersing children in the Spanish language and related cultures. Specifically, the Spanish School—part of the St. Louis Language Immersion Schools network (SLLIS, <http://sllis.org>)—and Casa de Niños (<http://www.casamontessori.info>) offer: (1) civic opportunities to students' families and communities; and (2) learning activities in which students analyze the world from others' perspectives and, in turn, question their own roles in this world.

What is Global and Transformative Citizenship?

Briefly, transformative and global citizens understand that the world is interdependent and pluralistic. This view of citizenship argues that people should have the knowledge, attitudes, and skills to analyze problems from local and global perspectives, in order to effect positive change in their world(s). Thus, citizenship is more than just a legal status. Instead, it includes all of the educated actions that individuals take to better their communities. These communities include one's local neighborhood, state, nation, as well as one's transnational connections.

What is a Spanish Immersion School?

The best practices described here come from Spanish immersion schools. Language immersion programs (K-12) have expanded over the past 30 years, from only 35 in the mid-1980's to over 330 currently (see the directory compiled by the Center for Applied Linguistics at www.cal.org/twi/directory). They have also grown at the pre-school level, as educators open a variety of non-profit and private language schools for very young children (infant-age 5). At such schools, instruction happens primarily in the target language (in the schools highlighted here, Spanish). The main goals of immersion schools are to graduate students who (1) are proficient in a target language as well as English; (2) have increased cultural awareness; and (3) achieve high academic success.

Casa de Niños is the only Spanish immersion preschool in the St. Louis area that is based upon the Montessori philosophy. The director, Veronica Greene, is from Mexico, certified in Montessori

methods, and has over 20 years of experience as an early childhood and Spanish educator. Casa's website describes the school as offering opportunities for "children ages 18 months to 5 years old to experience a comfortable, safe, and peaceful environment in which lessons are individually tailored to their needs, both in a general sense, and in terms of their language learning." Children complete daily activities—e.g., making artwork, figuring out puzzles, playing games, helping in the garden, preparing meals—while listening to (and learning) Spanish. By the time they "graduate" and enter kindergarten, they have mastered some conversational ability in Spanish, and many can read Spanish words as well.

SLLIS' Spanish School will open in August of 2009. This school will follow the total immersion model, where all subject-area instruction provided during the school day will occur in Spanish until the end of second-grade. At that point, classes on English language and literacy will begin, while all other coursework will continue in Spanish. Although the Spanish School is constructing an immersion program primarily for native/monolingual English speakers, about 10 percent of the student body will likely be children from Spanish-speaking homes.

Creating Communities, Creating Citizens

Casa de Niños and the Spanish School are making it a priority to integrate families and communities into the schooling process. By creating opportunities for community and parent involvement, they are developing civic opportunities for the whole family. When students witness their family members and community organizations making positive changes for their school, they are seeing global and transformative citizenship in action. This visible citizenship is quite powerful.

The Spanish School, for example, has developed a full range of ways that parents can participate and make positive changes for the school. Specifically, the Assistant Head of School is in charge of coordinating the following involvement activities: (1) cultural celebrations and similar events, where families, administrators, and teachers interact outside of school; (2) courses in English and Spanish for community, family, and school members who want to strengthen their own linguistic and cultural skills; (3) other adult-education programs, such as citizenship courses and job training; and (4) Parent Task Forces that help to create school policies and plans, on topics from environmental impact to school uniforms.

One of the goals of these efforts is to make sure that not only children, but also parents and community members interact across such lines of differences as socio-economic status, race, ethnicity, and immigrant status. These opportunities also put different family members in different positions of "power." A Mexican immigrant might teach the evening Spanish courses for parents. Another parent who has experience with food services might help to arrange the cafeteria and meal options. These efforts to engage family and community members with diverse knowledge and experiences into the school community develops students', families', staffs', and educators' knowledge about each other. More important, how parents and community members are woven into the schools' actions can matter for students' real-life experiences of citizenship, civic action, and identity.

Creating Problem Solvers, Creating Citizens

Both Casa de Niños and the Spanish School have developed curricula and methods that focus on building students' sense of community, identity and cultural awareness, and recognition of universal human values. Part of this is done through the use of Spanish (rather than English) as the language of instruction, which helps to jump-start discussions about who we are, what languages we speak, where we live, and how we interact with others. In addition, the knowledge and skills developed in these Spanish immersion schools help to create problem solvers: citizens who know how to make positive changes for and in their communities.

First, at both Casa de Niños and the Spanish School the language of daily interactions and instruction

is Spanish. This means that students from Spanish-speaking homes experience their school days primarily in their home language, rather than English, a language that may have little immediate meaning for them. This can shift the balance of power in their environment; Spanish has become the language “to know,” and Spanish-heritage students can use their skills as language and culture brokers. For example, English speakers may ask the Spanish speakers for help. In turn, Spanish speakers may act as helpful “citizens,” as they recognize needs in their classroom community and provide the necessary assistance. School leaders believe that these interactions plant the seeds for understanding aspects of “global” and “transformative” citizenship.

Second, through hands-on, inquiry, action projects in students’ communities, the Spanish school develops “global citizens,” or children’s capacities to analyze the links in their local and global worlds. To do this, they use the framework provided by the International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme (IBPYP, see www.ibo.org). Like the Montessori philosophy (see <http://www.montessori.org>), the IBPYP framework focuses on the whole developing child. Both frameworks encourage educators to attend to the social, physical, emotional, and cultural needs of students, as well as their academic development. Most significantly, IBPYP has a number of projects where children study issues in their communities (local and global) and try to solve them. The culmination of these studies is called “Exhibition.”

Specifically, older elementary students at the Spanish School participate in “Exhibition,” a project that requires student research, writing, and community action. For this project, students do extensive research during fourth and fifth grades. While some of this research includes reading information about their chosen topic, it also requires them to work with an expert community “mentor.” Students work with their mentors to study their chosen questions, issues or problems. Then, students write up their results and defend a chosen action in front of a panel of educators, community members, and families. The Exhibition requires that students think about what they can do to make an impact within their communities, a key component of global and transformative citizenship. Research demonstrates that such “real-life” work and student action matters not only for children’s understanding of citizenship, but also for later political involvement. This is the kind of learning that the Spanish immersion schools strive to provide: meaningful, active, inquiry that leads to positive outcomes for children’s lives as well as their communities.

Conclusion

Casa de Niños and SLLIS’ Spanish School are using language immersion education as the bridge to teach about world cultures, as well as to interrogate global and transformative citizenship. Through community and family integration and hands-on, inquiry learning, both schools strive to create citizens that understand their local and their global situations, and who have the knowledge and capacities to make significant changes to improve our world(s).

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DRAFT

► Representation of immigrants and other social actors in a local Missouri newspaper: A linguistic analysis

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Each summer hundreds of migrants, the majority of whom were born in Spanish-speaking countries, arrive in Lafayette County, Missouri, to work in the apple orchards in the towns of Lexington, Waverly, Dover and Wellington. In the summer of 2008, a few months before the migrants arrived for the fall apple season, the Lexington News published an article which reported on a “raid of a residence” which resulted in the deportation of six men. Subsequently, six related articles or editorials were published. How social actors are represented in the newspaper articles and the influence that may have on public opinion is the topic of this study. Newspapers influence not only individual readers, but also shape public discourse and perceptions. Such perceptions and subsequent treatment could influence how immigrants integrate into communities.

Methods

Analytical approach – Critical Discourse Studies

This research takes a sociopolitical view following the philosophy of critical discourse studies, in which power differentials are part of the examination of discursive practices and patterns (van Dijk 1993). I follow van Leeuwen’s sociosemantic model focusing on the roles allocated to each social actor and examining “what interests are served” and “what purposes achieved” by such assignments (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 33).

Role Allocation. Social actors can be presented in texts as taking active or passive roles. Van Leeuwen uses the terms activated and passivated to show that actors are given these roles by writers and speakers rather than that they somehow naturally and neutrally are found in them.

Activated social actors in discourses are behavers in behavioral processes, assigners in relational processes, sensors in mental processes and sayers in verbal processes. In short, they are the ones who are assigned to action by doing, making, thinking and talking. They may take a grammatical participant role, be the one by whom or from whom an action is done in a passive structure, be the premodifier in a noun phrase (a police investigation) or the postmodifier of a process noun (a flood of immigrants) (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 33).

Passivated social actors are “on the receiving end of” an activity (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 33). “Subjected” passivation can be accomplished when actors are grammatical objects, goals in a material process, phenomenon in a mental process, by “circumstantialization through a prepositional phrase” (discovery and arrest of illegal immigrants), by possessivization or adjectival premodification where objectification is

implied. Passivated actors can be “beneficialized” when they are hearers in a verbal process or they gain or benefit (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 34).

Data and Procedure

Six newspaper articles constitute the data for this study. On May 2, 2008, The Lexington News, a newspaper with 2000 subscribers (The Lexington News, personal communication, January 23, 2008) in a town with 4536 households (Lexington, Missouri), published an article that reported on “a group of illegal immigrants [that] was discovered on April 13” at a local residence. On May 7, a follow up article reported that the result was the deportation of six men. In all, five articles and one letter to the editor related to the incident were published in a two-month period. Each reference to a social actor from all six articles was counted and analyzed according to role allocation.

Results

I found 204 tokens (mentions) and over 25 types of social actors. Four types had over 20 tokens each - immigrants, the police, the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency and an attorney named Bob Langdon. Thus, these were deemed key players first, by the sheer volume of their mentioning and second, by how they were assigned roles. Table 1 illustrates how often each of the top four social actors were either activated or passivated.

Activated social actors

The U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency (also called the Customs agency or ICE) was activated 79 percent of the times it was mentioned (19 of 24). In example 1.1³ the agency is assigned as both behavior (investigated) in a behavioral process and an assigner in a relational process (determined the status of illegal to the immigrants).

1.1 The Customs agency investigated and determined that six of the immigrants were illegal. (article 6)

Bob Langdon is first mentioned in the third article, where he is introduced in the first words of the article as “Lexington Attorney Bob Langdon” and is coupled with “former City Administrator Don Borgman” as a compound subject⁴. He is mentioned by name or pronoun reference 30 times in articles three, four and five. Mr. Langdon is activated 77 percent of the times he is mentioned, as in the example 1.2 where he is activated by adjectival premodification, that is, his name is used a modifier, and the action he takes (announcing) as a sayer in a verbal process is nominalized.

1.2 Bob Langdon’s announcement on a Kansas City television station May 8 that he plans to move his family from Lexington and sell off his downtown properties confirmed rumors around town that he was leaving. (article 3)

The role of the Lexington police and/or Don Rector, Chief of Police, was activated 69 percent of the time that it was mentioned. Example 1.3 shows the police as doers in a behavioral process.

1.3 Lexington Police began their investigation after receiving a call from a neighbor reporting suspicious activity at the residence. (article 2)

The immigrants, alternately referred to as illegal immigrants, Hispanic males, the six or the four, are activated only one time, and it is in the same sentence (1.4) where they are also passivated as both subjected and beneficialized.

1.4 Six of the illegal immigrants, who had been employed by a St. Louis-area contractor and were working on the vineyard at Linwood Lawn, were later deported. (article 5)

Six of the illegal immigrants are activated as behavers who were working at the same time as they are “passivated beneficial clients” who were employed and “subjected” to being deported. In this one instance

³ In all examples the social actor being highlighted is bolded. There is often more than one social actor per sentence.

⁴ Langdon and Borgman are co-owners of a vineyard where the immigrants worked in a subcontract capacity.

where they are doers, any dynamic force they may have is diminished by what is done to them.

Passivated Social Actors

Immigrants were mentioned as social actors 25 times in the data set, 22 (88 percent) of which they were passivated. Twice immigrants were beneficialized as was shown in 1.4, and 20 times subjected. This subjection is shown in 1.5 where immigrants are assigned the place behind the preposition “of” to result in possessivization.

1.5 The announcement came in the wake of a Lexington Police Department investigation at a house April 13 and the subsequent deportation of six illegal immigrants. (article 4)

The unpacking that is required in this construction is increased by the use of a nominal to report an action. In 1.5 the entity that must have done the deporting is ICE, but it is not mentioned in the sentence.

Bob Langdon was the second most passivated social actor with seven tokens (23 percent of mentions). In 1.6 he is subjected as a goal in the material process of clearing.

1.6 Lexington Attorney Bob Langdon and former City Administrator Don Borgman have been cleared in connection with an investigation of illegal immigrants found at a residence in Lexington on April 13. (article 3)

Seven times the Lexington police are passivated in the data: three times as subjected and four as beneficialized. In example 1.7 the police are beneficialized receivers in a verbal process.

1.7 The neighbor reported to police that he believed the residence was vacant.

ICE and its agents are passivated in 5 of 24 mentions (21 percent), beneficialized in three mentions, such as when they are the receivers in a verbal process as in example 1.7.

1.8 Officials from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement were called in to investigate (article 1).

ICE officials are not the sayers in this case, but their status is increased by the fact that they were called in as experts.

Conclusions

The police, ICE and Langdon are indisputably portrayed as the actors, doer, talkers and decision-makers in the articles examined. As a result, their positions of power are reinforced. Immigrants, by contrast, are objectified by being counted, discovered, investigated, deemed illegal, arrested, referred to by their ethnicity and gender and depicted as suspect. While only 10 immigrants were represented in these articles, they might be taken to represent all immigrants if the readers have no frame of reference by which to counterbalance these portrayals. That is, readers may not actually know any “immigrants” or “Hispanic males.” Likewise they may not personally know the police, ICE employees or Mr. Langdon. Views of individuals and groups are formed, at least in part, by the media. This could be detrimental to migrants and residents in Lexington.

When surveyed, Missouri Latinos reported that the discrimination they experienced was hindering their integration into community life (Lazos, 2002). Discrimination can result from lack of or faulty information. A study in Great Britain concluded that “[m]isperceptions and misinformation lie at the heart of how new migrants are received, with the media playing a key role in filling what is often a vacuum of accurate information [...]” (Institute for Public Policy, 2007, p. 6). Hundreds of migrants live temporarily in Lafayette county, and there are immigrants and Latinos who live there permanently. For the sake and well being of the whole community the newspaper and other power brokers would do well to consider what language they use to portray people and strive for a more balanced representation.

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► Reading, Writing, and Technology: Preliminary Results from a Bilingual Reading and Computer Literacy Program in Lincoln, NE

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Introduction

The issue of Latino education has become an increasing concern in recent years. While their numbers in the public school system have grown exponentially, their achievement scores have not. Many programs have attempted to address the below average academic performance among Latino students. This paper examines one such program: a family literacy program implemented by El Centro de las Américas (El Centro), a Latino community center, in coordination with staff from the Reading Center at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln in Lincoln, Nebraska. The program's aims were to promote family literacy in Hispanic families by combining a common component of the Latino culture, family focus, with an emphasis on an increased parental role in the child's education. Strategies utilized were informal reading discussion groups with a bilingual liaison and basic computer skills class. Children in the families were interviewed over the course of the program to assess their reading abilities and retention and detect for improvements.

Latino Students' Academic Achievement

In 2008, the Latino high-school graduation rate in Lincoln, Nebraska was 55.7 percent, compared with an Anglo graduation rate of 81.7 percent (Lincoln Public Schools, 2008). Spanish-speaking Latino students in particular are prone to dropping out and scoring significantly lower on standardized test scores in all subjects than their English speaking counterparts (Lopez, Gallimore, Garnier, & Reese, 2007). These statistics are compounded by the fact that an increasing percentage of the students in elementary schools are from Latino families. In the past 20 years, the national Latino school-age population has grown 150 percent, and today one in five elementary school students is Latino (National Center for Education Statistics, 2008).

Family Literacy

Educational research indicates that the most effective strategies for addressing poor high-school performance and high-school incompleteness begin in the pre-school and elementary school years (Balfanz, Herzog, & MacIver, 2007; Lehr, Sinclair, & Christenson, 2004). Some common antecedents to poor academic performance in high-school can be traced back to elementary school and include inadequate early literacy experiences (Lopez, et al, 2007). Interestingly, early literacy experiences appear to affect all of the other content areas in school, including math and science (Shaw, Nelsen, & Shen, 2001; Lopez, et al, 2007). Recent educational research with ethnic minority students indicates that parental involvement in elementary school and supportive parent-child relationships in middle and high-school are strong predictors of 'unexpected' graduation of 'at-risk' students from high-school (Englund, Egeland, & Collins,

2008).

There are several issues specific to the Latino population that complicate the situation. Many Latino parents come from cultures where parents' expected role in the educational system is different than that of a parent in the United States (Illinois State Board of Education, 2003). Language barriers also inhibit many parents from actively participating in school organizations or reaching out to school officials and counselors (Smith-Adcock, et al, 2006). Teachers often see non-attending parents as uncaring or disinterested when in actuality the parent is simply uninformed about the event (Jones & Velez, 1997; Pardini, 1995).

Parental Technology Use

The ever expanding role of the computer and technology in modern education make basic computer skills a must for students and parents alike. Academic computer use has been associated with increased reading attention in children, and parents with basic computer knowledge are more likely to promote their use for academic activities with their children (Calvert, Rideout, Woolard, Barr, & Strouse, 2005). Parents who have no understanding of basic computer skills are at a disadvantage when trying to encourage academic achievement in their children (Duran, et al, 2001). Unfortunately, Latinos are the ethnic group least likely to have those skills or to have a computer in the home (Calvert, et al, 2005). Research has indicated that parents' behavior towards computers is a strong predictor of children's academic computer use (Simpkins, Davis-Kean, & Eccles, 2005).

Program Implementation

In light of this research, El Centro de las Américas piloted a family literacy program which integrates reading and computer literacy. The literacy program centers not solely on the student, but on the entire familial unit. In an attempt to encourage parental participation in their children's education, the program seeks to fuse the cultural importance of family in the Latino community with an increased emphasis on academic achievement. By encouraging parents to take an active role in their children's academic endeavors at a very early stage in their education, the program intends to foment a more cohesive partnership between parent, child, and school in academics, as well as technology. El Centro's program utilizes a combination of informal discussion groups with the parents and a bilingual reading liaison, as well as instruction in basic computer skills in the school's computer lab. Parents receive instruction on the same desktop applications and uses for the Internet that their children receive at the school. In the process, they can see how computer skills serve as an essential tool for enhancing academic success.

The first component of the program is the literacy component which consists of an informal reading discussion group that serves to reinforce the concept that education is a family activity. The program encourages family reading time and engages both parent and child in the learning process. Parents and students also participate in bilingual reading clubs with a bilingual reading specialist to work on oral and written fluency to facilitate reading in the home. They are also provided with a new book to read at home each week.

The second component involves a basic computer skills class administered to the parents that serves two functions. First, it provides parents with a basic knowledge of computer use that enhances the probability that they will use the computer to access academic resources to assist their children. As stated earlier, increased academic computer use by children is associated with increased attention in reading, which is associated with improved performance in other fields such as math and science. Secondly, while computer use is all but a necessity in today's world, Latinos are the least likely to have a computer or computer skills. As such, the computer literacy class serves to introduce the parents to computers and expand their knowledge and experience in computer usage, thereby creating an avenue that would

otherwise not exist for them to relate to their children who receive computer instruction at school.

Participants

The parent participants in El Centro's literacy program are predominantly from Mexico (90 percent), with the rest originating from Guatemala. The average parent is approximately 34 years old, and has been in the United States for an average of three and a half years. Each participating family has approximately three children. The average age of the children is six years old, and 58 percent are girls while 42 percent are boys. The average total income of the families is \$20,800, which places them at approximately 95 percent of the national poverty line (\$21,834) for a family of four (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). The education level of the parents varies from three to nine years, with an average of seven and a half years spent in the classroom. None of the participants completed a high school education in their native country, and none have finished their education since coming to the United States. However, every parent expressed a strong desire that their children successfully complete high school.

Program Evaluation

Evaluation of the family literacy program is carried out on two levels. First, a series of surveys are administered to the parents. After each session, parents complete written surveys in which they are asked to report aspects of the program that they enjoyed, lessons they learned, and how they will implement what they have learned with their children. Parents who receive basic computer classes are continuously tested by the instructor for their retention of concepts learned in class, such as word processor operation and Internet functions such as search engines and email. They are assessed on their ability to perform functions similar to those that their children will need to complete as part of their education; tasks such as searching the Internet for information for a research paper and using email to communicate and send attachments. Additionally, parents from both groups are asked each week to self-report any behavioral changes they make regarding reading together at home with their children.

The second level of evaluation is carried out with the children. A reading specialist reads individually to the children and then interviews them to determine their level of interest, understanding, and retention of what they read. After reading segments of a book to a child, the specialist requests that the child retell the story and utilizes Morrow's 10 Point Retelling scale to determine their level of listening comprehension. Additionally, the children are asked to observe any changes in their parents' behavior with respect to reading at home and parental interest in their education.

Results

Evaluation of the family literacy program is far from complete, though initial results show definite promise. The program is only in its first year of implementation and data collection is ongoing. However, results to date indicate an increased inclination among the parents to read to their children in the home. The majority of the parents note the importance of literacy and attest that they intend to dedicate additional time towards reading each week. Several parents have expressed not only the desire to read more to the children, but also to be more dynamic while they're reading. Parents noted that they had started to make up stories when given books that contained pictures with no words. Additionally, they asked their children to make up fanciful narratives to accompany the pictures in order to more fully engage them in the activity. All parents expressed appreciation for the new book to read with their child each week, and a majority of them reported reading more often to their children. Children in the program observed in their interviews that their parents did, in fact, read to them more often at home. In several instances, the children noted that their parents read to them from the new books they received as part of the project. The reading specialist detected preliminary improvements in the children's interest in reading, as well as increased retention of content.

With respect to the computer literacy component, the parents quickly overcame their initial trepidation with the machines and showed increasing confidence in operating the mouse and keyboard. All parents improved their typing skills and passed the individual test administered by the instructor to determine their ability to create, open, edit, and save a word processing document. Furthermore, all parents accurately explained the process of an Internet search, and how to utilize the information obtained in a document. The also passed all test with regards to email communication.

Discussion & Recommendations

As educators across the nation seek to improve the academic outcomes Latino students, innovative approaches become all the more important. The issues surrounding Latino students' educational underachievement take on added value when one considers how the Latino school population is predicted to continue rising in the near future.

The family literacy program attempts focuses on a central component to a solid education: literacy. The program has shown promising preliminary results in combining Latino cultural norm of family with guidance for improved reading techniques and a greater parental role in education. The parents who receive the computer skills class have demonstrated increased comprehension of basic functions and topics related to the computer. Still more needs to be done to determine if increases in family reading time in the participant families, as well as improved computer efficiency in the parents, translate into improvements in the children's academic performance.

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► Finding and supporting Waldo: Report on a Demonstrative Project

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Recruitment Strategies

First Strategy: Know your audience

We make reference to Hispanics or Latinos as a group because there are some strong common traits among them. However, Latinos are a heterogeneous group of individuals whose countries of origin, migration patterns, socioeconomic profiles, and physical characteristics differ. Culture and its values, customs, and ethnicity shape how we view the world, handle problems, and relate to each other.

Working with Latino families requires an understanding of different worldviews that impact how individuals communicate with professionals and how they set goals. For those who are raised in more than one culture it is necessary to resolve conflicts arising from differences between cultures (1). An understanding of some of the common characteristics and values of the Latino population has helped us to better identify with and serve our audience. Here are a few of the values that we emphasize as core for our program:

- One of the most important characteristics of the Latino population is maintenance of the Spanish language. Recent research indicates the possibility for sustained bilingualism to be higher for Latinos than for other high immigration groups such as Asians. According to the 2002 National Survey of Latinos, 24 percent of first-generation, 47 percent of second-generation, and 22 percent of third-and-later generation Latinos are bilingual (2). It is evident then, that Latinos have a strong desire to maintain the Spanish language while increasing their proficiency in English. Based on this, the program is offered in Spanish and we have culturally tailored and translated the materials.
- Research shows that many Latinos have a collective worldview and a strong identification and attachment to nuclear and extended family. Loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity among members of the family are considered to be one of the most important cultural values. Research shows us that the concept of familismo and the significance placed on the family involves an obligation of the

family to share responsibility in rearing children, to provide financial and emotional support, and to make decisions about issues that affect the family. The value of familismo has remained strong even across generations and regardless of time lived in the United States (3). Understanding this strong cultural worth has helped us to select appropriate activities sensitive to the importance of the family concept.

- Simpatía is highly cherished among many Latinos and emphasizes a pleasant demeanor aimed at reducing conflict and promoting agreement. Being simpático (good-natured and pleasant) is also related to valuing warm, friendly, interpersonal relationships. This cultural trait has important implications for recruitment and for the delivery of programs. A recruiter/trainer that communicates from the beginning with warmth and is friendly will be instrumental in building trust with participants (4).

Second Strategy: Develop relationships with service providers

One significant way to develop relationships with participants is to join forces with established programs and organizations designed to serve the Latino community.

- We developed a close relationship with the local health department and their established program for Latinos. 80 percent of the couples recruited thus far are the result of this partnership.
- As you work with established service providers, you will learn about resources in your area that will be helpful to your families and it will serve you well to systematize this information. We were very lucky to work with ParentLink, a program that serves the Hispanic community in the state through a toll-free 1-800 number. It quickly became our formal support network and a way to keep in touch with the families.

Third Strategy: Develop relationships with participants

We have found that developing rapport with participants is vital to recruitment. Taking the time to socialize and develop personal relationships has fostered continued participation and interest in our program. As people begin to know you, the trainer, and the other participants, they are more likely to develop trust and feel a sense of ownership to the program. Here are two examples of how we developed relationships:

- In order to familiarize families with our program, and to tie with our trusted relationship with service providers, we presented at programs conducted by service providers and were part of their monthly meetings for over a year. As a result, when our program was ready, we were able to have a substantial list of families interested in participating in the program.
- We made ourselves available to answer questions and to help the families in their decision to participate in our program. We did this by phone, spending an average of 30 minutes per call on 3-5 different occasions. Being flexible when it comes to making phone calls is crucial. Office hours do not necessarily work. For us, lunches breaks and between 6 and 9 PM were the best times to reach many families. Remember to issue your invitation with enough time for families to work out their schedules.

Results

The use of these strategies in recruitment of Hispanic couples has been very important for the Connecting for Children program. Within a seven month period, 62 Hispanic couples were recruited and participated in 1 of 9 weekend retreats, totaling 16 hours of marriage and relationship education for each couple. We felt especially proud to know that our Hispanic recruitment efforts accounted for 40 percent of all couples (both English- and Spanish-speaking) recruited for the overall project.

Our program has provided the space and the opportunity for the creation of informal support networks as a way for couples to deal with acculturation processes and daily life stressors. Creating informal networks of support has been particularly important with the couples we have served. The first set of couples to attend a program session became very close with one another and formed friendships that lasted beyond the weekend session. These couples arranged on their own to meet together on a weekend, gathering at one couples' home for food and fellowship, sharing tips on available work and giving each other emotional support. They found friendship and a feeling of belonging, security, and wellbeing. This example shows the importance of continuing programming, not only to extend relationship education, but to build support networks for fragile families.

We feel that our strategies have worked well for our program, given the difficulties associated with recruiting Latino immigrant couples during these politically sensitive times. The recruitment strategies complemented each other: traditional strategies like financial incentives, printed materials, and employing bi-lingual and bi-cultural staff; co-recruitment as we joined with established programs in the community; and on the spot recruitment as we presented at community meetings. The time invested in building rapport with the couples made a real contribution and helped us change an unfamiliar relationship into one that was culturally recognizable.

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► Asset Accumulation Strategies of Latino Immigrants in Three Rural Missouri Communities in the Midwest: A Series of Four Papers

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Introduction

The next four papers are derived from a study of three rural Midwestern communities that began in 2006. The goals of the research are: (a) to develop a better understanding of the newcomers' integration process focusing on the assets and resources they bring with them; (b) to document factors that impede or facilitate integration; and (c) to inform decision makers regarding policies that can contribute to positive community development that begins to recognize the opportunities and address the challenges of community integration.

The project has focused primarily on the role of identity, acculturation, social and human capital and the context of reception in the integration process. The theoretical framework for this study is the Sustainable Livelihood Strategies Model (SLSM). SLSM recognizes the economic, human, cultural, and social capitals that individuals bring with them and incorporates the context of reception or community climate as a critical factor affecting the economic and social integration of newcomers (Valdivia, et al). An analysis of the integration process using the SLSM will help identify factors that contribute to strategies conducive to newcomers' asset accumulation, reduction of vulnerability to risks, and those that explain how newcomers become part of their new communities.

Methodology

The research has two phases, a first qualitative to define the issues and the concepts critical to the framework, and a second, quantitative, to measure factors, and outcomes of strategies. The qualitative data collection was conducted in 2006 and 2007 and included focus groups, individual case study interviews and a Photovoice project. The focus groups explored the economic and social factors that the newcomers contributed to the integration process. Seven focus groups were conducted, two in each of the three communities (one for men, one for women). A second focus group was conducted for men in one community due to low turnout and a level of diversity less than what the research required at the first scheduled focus group due to inclement weather. Individual interviews were a way to explore the life stories of the newcomers; 15 interviews were conducted with newcomers across the three communities. Photovoice sessions were conducted to explore the context of reception from the newcomers' perspective. Eight participants in each community took a series of photos to answer the questions: What exists in the community that facilitates or contributes to your integration in the community? What are the barriers to your integration in the community?

Focus Groups

The first two papers *Perceptions of Community Climate among Latino Immigrants in Three Rural Communities in the Midwest* and *Developing Social Capitals: Latino Immigrants in Three Rural Communities in the Midwest* were developed from the focus group data. The purpose of the focus groups was to gain a better understanding of how newcomers were connecting to the resources they needed to survive and grow and learn more about how newcomers gained access to healthcare, education, housing and employment resources. The focus groups were conducted in Spanish and facilitated by doctoral students. Each focus group was transcribed into Spanish and then translated into English.

Fifty-two Latino immigrants participated in the focus groups. Twenty-five were female and twenty-seven were male. The average age was 39.93 and with an average length of stay of 12.04 years. Sixty three percent were married with 2.79 children. The sample was considerably older with more time in the US than the average migrant but the goal of the sampling was to examine the range of experiences. There were younger, single, newer immigrants included in the sample from each community, which better reflects the norm for newcomers.

Household Survey

The development of a household survey began in 2008 and continued into 2009 using existing elements from the SLSM and additional elements created for social capital, cultural capital, and the context of reception developed from analysis of the qualitative data.

The third paper, *Networks and Context of Reception in Accumulation Strategies of Latinos in Rural Communities of the Midwest - A Quantitative Analysis*, develops the quantitative model, with variables constructed with the findings from the focus groups and Photovoice research. Specific variables constructed were the social and cultural capitals, and tested with an external/community variable of context of reception, the community climate represented by the racial profiling index. Social capital, cultural capital, and human capital are measured through their regression on income earnings of native and foreign born Latinos for three regions, tested with the Census data. Results will show how findings from the qualitative research inform the development of variables of acculturation, capitals, and climate that make it possible to measure their impact on income earnings of Latinos in the Midwest.

The fourth paper, *The Importance of Social Networks on Latino Immigrants' Wellbeing in Rural Missouri*, is based on a preliminary analysis of the data currently being collected in a household survey and uses Structural Equation Model (SEM) methods in order to: (a) assess the impact of social network use on wellbeing of Latinos; and (b) comparatively assess the differential impact of social networks on Latino immigrants' well-being due to the type of work that they have, irrespective of the areas where they live.

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Perceptions of Community Climate among Latino Immigrants in Three Rural Communities in the Midwest

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Introduction

According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, the Latino population in Missouri doubled in size between 1990-2000. More Latino immigrants are drawn to Missouri for work opportunities in meat and poultry processing plants, and they indicate that once they arrive, they are able to locate employment easily (Flores et al., 2008). These Latino immigrants are facing a number of challenges as they adjust to the “Midwest lifestyle” and living in small rural communities. For years, the rural settlement communities were relatively homogenous communities with little to no racial diversity among its residents. These communities are also encountering challenges that they have never experienced before as they adjust to the increasing levels of diversity. To better understand how Latino immigrants in the Midwest acquire the necessary resources and skills to adapt to their new environment and to successfully integrate into these communities, it is critical to develop a good understanding of the context in which these adjustments are occurring. In addition to objective descriptions of the communities, an assessment of newcomers’ perceptions of the community and the manner in which they were received into the community can provide useful information regarding the ease or difficulty these newcomers may face. Using qualitative methodology, the purpose of this presentation is to understand immigrants’ perceptions of the community climate.

Results

The results of our focus groups suggested two general themes by which Latino newcomers’ described their experiences within the community: perceptions of the community and perceptions of racism. Categories for the respective themes will be described and representative quotes from the focus groups interviews that illustrate the category are presented below.

With regard to the first theme, perceptions of the community, two categories emerged from the data: appeal of the host community and community reception.

Appeal of the host community

Participants indicated a variety of reasons that drew them to the area, including that it was a good and safe community with low crime rates and a slow place of living. Participants discussed leaving valuables unsecured and not having to worry about anyone breaking into their home or cars to take their things. The peacefulness and serenity in the rural communities was also appealing to participants, particularly those who moved from larger, urban areas. Participants felt that the community afforded a good education to their children and believed that because of the way of life in the Midwest, that the setting provided a good environment to raise children. The low cost of living in these communities was a strong appeal to the Latino immigrants who felt that their earnings went further for basic living expenses.

“I’ve always lived in big cities. When I came here, I didn’t like it. I missed the city, the noise, I don’t know. I was scared by the quietness. But after a year, I saw the change in my life, in my home, with my husband, with my kids, and I learned to like it here, and now I don’t want to leave here for the same reasons of work, education, family circle and all of that.”

Community reception

Some participants indicated that they felt welcomed into the community and encountered others who were willing to help them when they were in need. These participants perceived the community as friendly and receptive to their arrival. One participant indicated that without fail, a resident would “lend a hand” if s/he was struggling for the right word to say. Others described a cold and unwelcoming climate, and thought that some residents did not want them to stay simply because they looked, acted, or spoke differently. Still, others indicated that their perceptions of the community reception changed from a cold, chilly climate to one that was accepting of the newcomers. One example included an elderly neighbor who posted signs on her property for her new neighbors to stay off her property and to not litter. The newcomer described gaining her trust over a period of time by extending help to her and delivering food.

“At the beginning, the Americans were not very accustomed to seeing another type of people. But when we began to coexist, and they saw that the people came solely for the reason of work and all that, they began to see us in a better way and there was a big difference. In the beginning, we could never involve ourselves in the community.”

For the second theme, perceived racism, the following two categories were identified: overt acts of discrimination and microaggressions (or modern racism).

Overt acts of discrimination

Participants encountered direct acts of discrimination based on their race, nationality, and immigrant status. Examples of overt discrimination that they experienced included being the target of stereotypes (you don’t pay taxes; you are on welfare) and housing discrimination. With regard to the latter, newcomers encountered landlords who would not rent lodging to their families because, they believed, their family was too big. Another talked about a realtor who avoided taking her/him to certain neighborhoods because they wanted to keep the neighborhoods segregated. Finally, participants felt that they were mistreated at work because of their status.

“They know very well that you are working like this [without documents] and this is the reason they treat you like putting you down a little. They give you the hardest jobs.”

Microaggressions

Unlike direct acts of discrimination, microaggressions are indignities and insults that are targeted towards persons of color on a daily basis (Sue et al., 2007). These racist acts are considered modern forms of racism because they are often covert and more difficult to identify; these forms of racism are more commonplace and acceptable today instead of the traditional overt racism. Participants indicated being the target of four different types of racial microaggressions: alien in own land, color-blindedness, assumption of criminal status, and second-class citizen. Participants described being treated as foreigners and receiving strange looks from the community residents. Some participants were asked what they were doing in the community and were told to return to their own country. Community residents also exhibited color-blind attitudes toward the newcomers when they expected the newcomers to conform to their way of life and pressured them to look, act, and speak as they did. Language issues were commonly addressed as a barrier to integration by the newcomers, and some indicated that they were told by residents to speak English or were discouraged or admonished for speaking Spanish. Some participants felt that they were feared by the residents and that residents did not trust them because they assumed that they were all criminals. Finally, participants discussed feeling treated poorly by residents. For example, one participants indicated that a store employee attended to everyone else in the store before asking her if she needed help, and when doing so, addressed her in an annoying tone (“What do you want?”).

Conclusions

Several efforts can be made to improve the climate of reception for Latino newcomers in rural communities in the Midwest. Because these communities have traditionally been homogenous, the infusion of racial diversity in the community may fuel tensions between newcomers and residents that stem from lack of knowledge, misinformation, or faulty assumptions on both sides. Newcomers may benefit from having a safe space to meet with other newcomers to talk about their transition into the community and any challenges and successes that they have encountered. These discussion groups can serve as a source of social support for the newcomers and help them to connect with others outside of the household. Psycho-educational workshops can be designed for both newcomers and residents. For the newcomers, workshops or presentations that educate them about forms of racism can help these newcomers make meaning of these encounters. Workshops that help newcomers develop the skills to effectively cope with racism can help to counteract the additive negative toll that recipients of racism bear. On the flip side, workshops that educate the resident community about the challenges and barriers that newcomers experience can help to build empathy and understanding for their neighbors. An example of the opportunity for receiving community members in all three communities was provided through the community forums, an event open to the public where residents were able to learn about the perceptions of newcomers. Through the presentation participants mentioned that many of the perceptions expressed by newcomers were also felt by residents, such as having similar experiences with government agency employees. Finally, the development of the community depends on both groups not only co-existing within the same community, but developing a united front to address community issues and working together to build upon the strengths that each individual can offer. Creating opportunities for dialogues and relationship building between newcomers and members of the host community are critical to healthy progress. After reading and discussing the feelings of isolation and the barriers felt by newcomers due to the lack of English, women in Community C suggested the possibility of holding social events, like going shopping once a month with newcomer women, to interact and learn.

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Developing Social Capitals: Latino Immigrants in Three Rural Missouri Communities

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The process of integrating into a new community has many social elements. Integration includes learning the norms of the place where you are moving, identifying places to work, finding a school for the children, accessing health care services and others. It also includes finding space to where the immigrant can preserve the traditions they bring with them and learn how to participate in the community in ways that help them contribute in shaping what the community will become. Social networks have been

characterized as a form of capital and are studied in rural development as assets that contribute to the livelihoods of rural people (Flora 2001, de Haan 2001). Networks that often facilitate the movement of people by providing the information and resources needed to settle at the destination (Roberts 1995). The study of social networks within the context of the integration of newcomers into rural places is focused on how newcomers create and use networks to settle in communities, access resources and make contributions to the development of places where they are settling.

Social Capital

Social capital is the use of networks to gain access to information, financial capital, and other resources difficult for many individuals to access on their own (de Haan 2001). Portes (1995, p. 8) defines social networks as “sets of recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial, cultural, or affective ties”. In the context of community integration social networks may provide access to information such as doctors who speak Spanish or employers that hire Latinos. Financial resources accessed through social networks may include funds needed during an emergency or arranging a loan for a car.

Social capital consists of both bonding and bridging social capital (Gittell and Vidal 1998). Bonding social capital includes the connections that individuals form within a group often as a means of mutual support. Networks and relationships that immigrants or newcomers form among themselves are important forms of bonding social capital because through these close networks with other immigrants they are able to provide mutual support to each other in order to meet their needs. Bridging social capital is focused on the relationship among different groups. In the context of integration bridging social capital is focused on how newcomers connect to other groups in the community and external to the community that can help them grow and develop. These relationships can be powerful as they may provide access to information, resources and opportunities not accessible to them within their own group (Narayan, 1999).

Social capital is explored in this paper using a typology developed by (Bullen & Onyx, 2005) that identified eight aspects of social capital (see figure 1) shared across five rural communities; four relate to the structure of social relationships and four relate to their quality.

Figure 1. Aspects of Social Capital

Structure of Social Relationships	Quality of Social Relationships
1. Participation in local community	1. Proactivity in a Social Context
2. Neighborhood connections	2. Feelings of trust and safety
3. Family and friends connections	3. Family and friends connections
4. Work connections	4. Work connections

A qualitative analysis of focus group data was used to identify factors within the structure and quality of social networks and their relationship to bonding and bridging social capital as they relate to community integration.

Quality of Social Relationships

The quality of social relationships among newcomers is shaped by their ability to be proactive socially, feelings of trust and safety, relationships with family and friends connections, and work connections (Bullen & Onyx, 2005). The qualitative aspects of family and friends connections and work connections will be discussed with the structure of social relationships.

Proactivity in a social context

There is little evidence of social proactivity except within the context of the family. Women participants rarely socialized beyond the family except at church. Even when they work women do not have much of an opportunity to socialize. The isolation of women was a theme that repeated itself over and over. Men tended to socialize more often. Parks, church, and home were mentioned as important places for social interaction. There was little evidence of participation in the broader community except through work church and school. Education is a strong motivation for social interaction. Education for kids was mentioned many times as a primary reason (after work) for moving to these communities.

Feelings of trust and safety

Relationships with health care institutions and law enforcement were most often mentioned as affecting newcomer perceptions of trust and safety. If the law enforcement and health care institutions had good relationships with the newcomers it positively affected their feelings about the place. Some expressed fear of getting sick because they did not trust that they would be able to get effective care, thus affecting perceptions of wellbeing. Several people moved to the rural communities from more urban parts of the US and mentioned safety as a reason for moving to the rural areas. Some simply felt welcome.

Wherever I go, I am happy. And I do not know how to speak English. I don't know anything, but when I go to a store to buy something, and I do not know how to say something, it never fails that someone will arrive and if they see me struggling, they lend a hand.

Structure of Social Relationships

The structure of social relationships is shaped by newcomer participation in the community, neighborhood connections, friends and family, and work connections (Bullen & Onyx, 2005).

Participation in local community

Newcomers described limited contact with key community institutions that can help them sustain and develop their family such as banks, educational institutions and healthcare programs among others. One community has a community center that provides resources for newcomers and plays a key bridging role by connecting newcomers to community resources. Participants in the other two communities mentioned churches as primary community connectors. They also provide basic resources (English classes, job referral networks) and act as safe places to interface with the host community. Church is a place of support but also where they connect to each other and serve the broader community. Barriers to community engagement included language skills, legal status, and access to resources. Perceptions of community life affect participation.

This place is theirs, don't cause trouble because these people will get angry, so this is their place and we won't have problems, because here it's not like Mexico. Here you are free, here you make the right choices and if you behave, the world is yours, if you behave badly, bad things will happen to you...

Neighborhood Connections

There were few instances of newcomers creating linkages in their neighborhoods that might serve as bridges to the broader community. Language, cultural differences, and perceptions held about the newcomers by existing residents as well as perceptions held by newcomers of the host community tend to discourage the formation of these relationships. However, they do occasionally happen.

I also know an American lady that helps us a lot. She loves my children, and she says she's the second mother of my. When she can, she buys shirts for them, sweater. It has been 2 weeks since she talked to me going to her house because she had clothes for my children. I went and she gave me 2 pants, 2 sweatshirts. She says, 'They are new.' She speaks a little Spanish.

Family and friends

Relationships among family and friends is important in terms of establishing sources of bonding capital that provides access to resources and support. These networks are the key form of social capital newcomers use to adjust to the new place and serve as the primary source of information about the community.

...help with the children comes from friends, I have my daughters, my mother takes care of my daughters when I am working with my wife.

Perceptions of the community are shaped both positively and negatively by family and friends relationships. Family and friends tend to be the primary sources of information about the community. Perceptions regarding law enforcement, healthcare, education, places to shop, insurance, and other resources are often based on the limited experiences of the people in their family and friends network. Sometimes the quality of the information is poor and can negatively affect newcomer perceptions regarding community resources, effectively making it more difficult for newcomers to trust important community resources. Thirty-seven themes have been identified so far regarding newcomer perceptions about the community.

Resources in the community are accessed through connections with family and friends. Often a relationship with a family member or someone at the church is how a person gets their first job in the community.

The truth is, when I arrived here I didn't count on a job, but thanks to some relatives and [a volunteer from a local church] that she was able to contact a company, where I started to work making 6 dollars an hour.

Work connections

The men make their social connections outside of the family through associations at work. They have a greater tendency to socialize with colleagues after work. The women do not socialize through work the same way that men do. The reason given was that when they were not working the women had to get home to their "second job" of taking care of the family. This adds to feelings of isolation expressed by many of the women.

Some employers also serve as bridges to the community linking newcomers to resources for housing, health care, and education. Sometimes the employer is even a key provider of resources such as insurance, loans, and educational resources.

When I came by contract here in this job, I asked for information about everything and they gave it to me. Things like where I had to take my kids to school and such. I asked them about everything.

Conclusions

One pattern that has emerged from the focus groups is the newcomers have formed insular networks among fellow Latino newcomers. The positive effects of these insular networks help provide some safety and stability as newcomers make their way in a new place. They facilitate the immigration of other friends and family to the community and help people connect to work. The challenge is that these networks are not very broad and may isolate the newcomers from the rest of the community, limiting their opportunities for growth and development. Programs that help the networks of newcomers better understand the communities they are moving to and connect them to others in the community that can facilitate access to key resources would help the integration process. Language, cultural differences and misconceptions about community norms are barriers to building relationships across the community that complicate forming those relationships. In addition, the local community climate can either foster an environment where these relationships can be more easily formed or it can present barriers to the

integration process.

The isolation of women was one theme that cut across the communities. The women described few opportunities for social interaction outside the home and expressed a desire for more social interaction. Efforts to link women to create social networks of women may facilitate their development options locally and aid in the overall integration of newcomer families.

There were few bridging resources that were identified by any of the newcomers. There was one community that had a Latino community center. In this community the community center playing a linking role, connecting people to resources in the community, often serving as an intermediary between the newcomers and resources in the community. Work and church are the primary places newcomers connect to community resources. However, while the churches do serve as community contacts many times the newcomers are segregated at the churches because of language differences so other than through their relationships with Pastors and lay members there may not be a lot of community contact through the churches. The relationship between the bonding and bridging social capital suggests that since there are few bridges to the broader community newcomers rely heavily on family and friends as information sources about the community. One challenge to this system that appears in the data is that newcomers have limited access and understanding about the community and its resources and thus are forming perceptions about the place, institutions, and resources based on incomplete information due in part to the limitations of their networks. These perceptions can seriously impair their ability to trust the social structures in the communities where newcomers are moving and slow the integration process.

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Networks and Context of Reception in Accumulation Strategies of Latinos in Rural Communities of the Midwest - A Quantitative Analysis

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This paper is one in a series that draws from a three year research program that aims to understand the processes of social and economic integration of individuals and families in the heartland of America, in order to propose policies and practices that lead change towards positive outcomes for newcomers

and their receiving communities. This research program incorporate qualitative and quantitative methodologies, and draws from multiple disciplines, as the problem addressed has multiple dimensions. This is why we inform our research with the Sustainable Livelihoods framework, because it includes the assets resources and capitals of individuals families and communities in an analysis of what leads to growth in wellbeing, and what increases vulnerability. The framework has been used (Valdivia, 2004; Valdivia and Dozi, 2008; Valdivia et al 2009) to identify both the characteristics of the people and the institutions.

Our goal is to contribute to the understanding of the processes of integration, the economic and social contributions of Latino newcomers to the Midwest. Through an approach, like the sustainable livelihoods strategies model (Valdivia et al 2007) and our multiple fields of knowledge, this research focuses on the roles of identity (cultural capital), acculturation, social capital, and context of reception on the economic and wellbeing outcomes of Latino livelihood. Findings from this specific research will inform the analysis of a large-scale household survey of Latino newcomers that examines settlement patterns and asset accumulation strategies.

In the testing of the model we used the 2000 Census data, and findings from our qualitative research (See Jeanetta et al, and Flores et al in these proceedings) to establish the variables to explore the impact on income generation of acculturation, social capital, and an aspect of context of reception, community climate.

Theoretical Framework

The sustainable livelihood strategies model (SLSM) (Valdivia et al. 2007; Valdivia, 2004)) frames the study of how capitals (human, social, financial and cultural) and human agency affect the strategies that newcomers develop to make a living, reducing vulnerability and improve wellbeing. The resources and assets are deemed capitals when these are used in development of the economic activities of the livelihood strategies. In the particular case of immigration, the settlement community and the immigrant or newcomers perception of self and the community interact to shape what we define here as the context of reception. This, and the acculturation process (Berry 2003) may affect differently the adjustment strategies and income-earning ability of native and foreign born Latinos. A detailed exploration of the capitals is developed in Valdivia et al 2008.

A Model of Assets and Accumulation

As formulated in Valdivia et al 2008, a semi-log OLS model measures the effect of human, cultural and social capitals along with identity, acculturation, and climate on income earnings of Latino newcomers, a proxy for economic accumulation, the dependent variable. Separate regressions were estimated for native born (N) and foreign born (F) (Dozi and Valdivia 2008).

The equation (1) reflects income earnings captured by the logarithm of wages of individual i and group j . This is regressed on a vector of observable and proxy capitals of individuals \mathbf{X}_{ij} and a vector of community characteristics \mathbf{Z}_t in three regions. The inverse Mill's ratio λ accounts for selection bias.

$$(1) \quad L(\text{Wage})_i = \mathbf{X}_{ij}\beta_j + \mathbf{Z}_t\delta + \sigma_{ij}\lambda_i + \eta_{ij} \quad ; \quad i = 1, 2, \dots, n_j \quad j = N, F \quad t = 1, 2, 3.$$

β and δ are vectors of parameters common across N and F; η is the error term. Individual characteristics (\mathbf{X}) include:

human capital - potential work experience, employment, educational attainment, the cross effect of education and English ability, and mobility; cultural capital - ability to speak a language other than English. Three acculturation measures (Integration, Assimilation, and Separation), and cultural identity; and Individual characteristics - race, gender, and age.

Community characteristics (\mathbf{Z}) include networks – a social capital index of the community. A community climate proxy is the disparity index, a measure of racial profiling reported by the Attorney

General of Missouri. These variables are found in Table 1.

The community social capital index SK (equation 2) is hypothesized to have a positive effect on earnings (Rupasingha, Goetz, and Freshwater 2006).

$$(2) \quad SK = \sum_i K_i$$

K_i denotes the share of each individual weighted component.

The disparity index for Hispanics, is hypothesized to be negative. Census data for three regions of Missouri, from Public Use Microdata Sample 5 (PUMS 5 percent)⁵, were used in this analysis.

Results

Results on which capitals, identity and climate affect income earnings, for N and F are presented in Table 2 (only those variables that are significant are included). Both models are significant, and all significant coefficients had expected signs. The variables that capture race and ethnicity were not significant. Both are elements of cultural capital. On the other hand, how the newcomer interacts at work and at home, his or her process of acculturation did yield significant results. Four paths were analyzed, three included directly in the estimation. While marginalization – outside of mainstream – was omitted to avoid singularity, the other three were included. Separation was not significant when compared to marginalization, but the other two paths were, in terms of contributing to earnings. Of special interest is integration, which is significant for both N and F. Those who followed this acculturation path were able to speak English well, speak a second language, and have single or multiple ancestry. The assimilation path, of only speaking well English and not speaking another language was only significant for foreign born Latinos (F) and the coefficient was smaller. *Integration*, one of the acculturation paths, had a positive effect on earnings for both models. This was the only acculturation strategy that had an impact on income earnings of N. *Integration* has a stronger impact than *assimilation* on income for F, while *segregation* was not significant in either model. These results indicate that Berry's (2003) approach captures the positive effect on income earnings of integration for foreign born as a cultural capital or asset (Valdivia et al 2008, p. 1324). This may ease relations of parents and first generation native children and contribute to wellbeing.

Human capital variables work experience, the cross effect of education and good English proficiency, and educational attainment had positive effects on income earnings for both N and F. The *ability to speak another language* also had a positive effect on the income earnings of F, and N, though in the latter the significance level was 10 percent. Being a woman has, in both cases, a negative impact on income earnings, indicating that they earn less than their male counterparts in the labor force. Age in this population has a positive effect on earnings.

Mobility is not significant for N, and has a negative effect on income for F. While studies in the US find mobility to have a positive effect in earnings, this is not the case here where it actually had a negative impact on earnings for foreign born.

The SK index had a positive effect on both N and F, but larger for Native born. On the other hand, the community climate, in this case the disparity index, had a negative impact on earnings. This had a stronger effect on F.

Implications and Recommendations

There are significant lessons from this analysis, even though there are multiple constraints, as the

5 Data is available at:

<http://mcdc.missouri.edu/pub/data/pums2000/Datasets.html>.

Includes 17 counties in three regions, south-southwest, central, and north of Missouri. Details available in Valdivia et al 2008. The disparity index, racial profiling data reported by the Missouri Attorney General's Office, is available at:

<http://ago.mo.gov/racialprofiling/2005/racialprofiling2005.htm>.

data was drawn from the Census, and not developed with questions specifically aimed at understanding the paths to settlement. On the one hand social networks have a positive effect indicating that these are important in obtaining information as well as support. Noted is the fact that N networks have a greater impact, which may be due to the types of social capital, which may go beyond bonding. This is currently studied with the large sample of Latinos interviewed with the on-going research project. Some insights are provided in the Dozi and Valdivia paper in these proceedings, as well as in the Jeanetta et al paper, from the qualitative research. An asset that shows in two ways in this analysis is having more than one language. It appears to be a positive in income earnings for both groups, in two ways. On the one hand directly as a human capital asset in earnings, and in a second way for both N and F in the integration path, as it allows a Latino to straddle various cultures and thrive in all. Integration had a consistent positive effect on both groups. This suggests that policies that value the multiple languages of newcomers, and foster bilingualism (or more than one language), have a contribution to earnings and therefore to the economy. Environments that sanction the use of other languages, rather than promote bilingualism, create an environment that may result in the loss of this asset. Our results show that assimilation also has a positive effect, but only for F. The arguments for biligualism may also lie in the wellbeing of the family and strengthening the intergenerational relations, which often are stressed as a path of assimilation may imply the negation of the culture and values of parents in a household. Mobility has an opposite effect than expected in the labor force for F. This is of concern as it points to the vulnerability conditions of moving for work. While all other human capital characteristics, behave as mainstream, in this group mobility did not. In terms of human capital results point to the importance of English and education, as together the impact on earnings is positive and significant. This highlights the importance of working with school programs from an early age, with parents and students, on the economic value of an education. It also should inform policy in the sense that policies that preclude children from going beyond k-12 due to immigration status also hurt the communities as a whole, as the human capital of society decreases. This is an area that needs further study, the economic, long term impacts, of limiting the development of human capital in our society through policies that limit access to higher education.

Mobility has a negative impact on earnings, and therefore on expenditures. It appears that it is a source of vulnerability for foreign born Latinos. Understanding this is critical in order to formulate policies that can reverse this. The household survey, (currently underway) focuses extensively on migration patterns, push forces, and will be able to link consumption and investment patterns in receiving communities, in relation to the effect of mobility. Results are consistent with Dust, Orazem, and Wohlgemuth (2008), who find that immigrants move to the Midwest mostly to seek employment.

Finally, community climate, approximated by the disparity index, was significant and had a negative effect on earnings, of both, F and N. Further research on how newcomers see themselves in the community and how they see the communities where they settle will allow us to explore in which ways this result, a proxy for the welcoming mat, is consistent. Racial profiling is one indicator of community climate, but there are many others, and it may be that other organizations and institutions in receiving communities are more significant to newcomers than enforcement. The survey focuses on a more complex set of organizations, and perceptions, to develop the context of reception. Profiling has a negative effect on earnings, translating in losses not only to the individual but also to the new settlement community, in less expenditures, lower quality of life, and outmigration. On the other hand, Latino newcomers who perceive communities as being open and welcoming to their presence and accepting of their culture will likely have a different adjustment process (Valdivia, et al. 2008).

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Table 1. *Definitions of Variables in Regression Model and Social Capital Index*

Variable	Definition
<i>Employed</i>	Identified according to US Census responses
<i>Experience</i>	Work potential calculated = age - years of education - 6 (Dozi 2004)
<i>Disparity Index</i>	Context of Reception proxy measures racial profiling in each region. See Footnote 1. 2000 Index.
<i>Race1-3</i>	Effect on earnings: Black, American Indian, Other Races included; White omitted.
<i>Acculturation Integration</i>	Measured by speaking English well, speaking a second language and multiple or single ancestry
<i>Acculturation Assimilation</i>	Measured by speaking English well, not speaking a second language, and multiple or single ancestry
<i>Acculturation Separation</i>	Measured by not speaking English well, speaking another language, and multiple or single ancestry
<i>Marginalization</i>	Does not speak English nor other well, and multiple or single ancestry. Omitted for singularity reasons.
<i>Identity 1-4</i>	Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other Hispanic or Latino (includes Spaniards). Omitted Mexican.
<i>Education*Language</i>	Interaction effect (Dozi 2004): a) Ed*Good English; b) Ed*BadEnglish; c) Ed*NoEnglish (omitted)
<i>Education Attained</i>	Number of years
<i>Able to Speak Other Lang.</i>	If can speak another language yes =1; no =0.
<i>Gender</i>	Female = 1; Male = 0
<i>Movement</i>	Moved in the last five years = 1; did not move = 0
<i>Age</i>	Number of years
<i>Social capital index region j</i>	$SK_j = Ed_j + Cat_j + PW_j + PM_j + A_j + CP_j + PN_j + PE_j + PU_j - Ineq_j - EH_j$
<i>Ethnic heterogeneity or fractionalization</i>	$EH = 1 - \sum (ShRace_i)^2$ Where: $ShRace_i = Race_i / Tot Pop_i$ (White, Black, Asian and Pacific Islander, American Indian, Other), negative effect on SK (weight 30%)
<i>Income inequality</i>	<i>Ineq</i> is ratio of Average HH income/median HH income in PUMA, has a negative effect on SK (weight 25%)

Notes: $i \in \{Ed, Cat, PW, PM, A, CP, PE, PU, Ineq, EH\}$ and $EH < 0$, where : *Ed* is average education; *Cat* is community attachment; *PW* % women in labor force; *PM* % of married people; *A* average age; *CP* % people carpooling; *PU* % people living with unrelated people; *PN* % people living with nuclear family; and *PE* percent people living with extended family (all have equal weight of 3.75%).

Source: Valdivia et al (2008, P. 1321).

Table 2. *Income Earnings Capitals and Climate of Native and Foreign-Born Hispanics in Three Non-Metro Regions of Missouri. 2000.*

Model	Native Born			Foreign Born		
	Coef.	t-value	Pr> t	Coef.	t-value	Pr> t
Intercept	8.067	17.15	<.0001	7.199	7.91	<.0001
Potential work experience	0.293	25.32	<.0001	0.202	2.99	0.0031
Employed	0.433	4.62	<.0001	0.023	2.02	0.0540
Acculturation – Integration	0.280	2.57	0.0437	0.137	2.09	0.0487
Acculturation – Assimilation	0.024	0.30	0.7654	0.042	2.67	0.0325
Cross educ. & good English	0.061	2.32	0.0131	0.064	3.77	0.0032
Able to speak other language	0.264	1.76	0.0783	0.461	2.28	0.0233
Disparity Index	-0.046	-3.19	0.0014	-0.081	-3.24	0.0009
Gender - Being female	-0.174	-3.70	<.0001	-0.512	-5.09	<.0001
Movement	0.022	0.88	0.3773	-0.018	-3.08	<.0001
Age	0.031	2.70	0.0301	0.219	3.26	0.0013
Social Capital Index	0.174	7.09	0.0012	0.074	5.51	0.0042
Educational Attainment	0.064	3.07	<.0001	0.052	3.11	<.0001
Inverse Mill's Ratio	0.384	4.12	0.0014	0.403	2.07	0.0499
	N = 7,466			N = 3,289		
	Adj.R ² = 0.19			Adj.R ² = 0.23		
	F = 93.87	P>F <.0001		F = 44.29	P>F <.0001	

Source: Valdivia et al (2008, p.1322) Only selected, significant variables reported.

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