

AMERICA'S INVISIBLE WORKERS:
A STUDY OF MIGRANT OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

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by
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A STUDY OF MIGRANT OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

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DEDICATION

In memory of my father, Joseph H. Tillman

For your unconditional love, support, and patience, I am forever yours.

Dean A. Carpenter

For you love and comfort, I thank you.

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ACADEMIC ABSTRACT

The steady stream of new immigrant labor into the Midwest has clearly begun to change the very fabric of rural life. Mostly male, Latino, single, childless, highly mobile, and with limited education, migrant out-of-school youth (OSY) between the ages of 18 through 21 face a whole host of economic and social obstacles that often hide and isolate them from the mainstream society. The concentration of migrants into a few jobs, such as agriculture, is a direct result of the demand for a particular skill set that is not dependent on the worker's English language ability. The target population for this study is migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas. Seventy-five migrant youth were identified between 1 January and 30 April of 2008.

The plight of migrant agricultural workers is well documented; however, very little research has been done on the perceptions or expressed needs of migrant youth. While migrant youth are willing to do the jobs rejected by natives, many often aspire to achieve something greater than their present condition. According to the study's data, the majority of migrant youth indicated that they would like to receive their GED, learn English, secure a better job, and develop additional life skills. If programs of support such as the federally funded Migrant Education Program do not provide migrant OSY with educational opportunities that will enable them to access higher paying jobs, they will be relegated to the unskilled, low-paying jobs of previous immigrant generations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Background

Just prior to 9/11, the United States and Mexico embarked on an ambitious agenda to develop feasible and manageable immigration policies. Since 9/11, U.S. national security priorities (Leiken 2002) have placed immigration reform squarely on the back burner. Even prior to 9/11, segments of the U.S. economy, such as the agricultural industry, have become dependent upon Mexican workers while the Mexican economy benefits from remittances sent from the U.S. In order to meet the growing demand for low-skilled workers in the U.S., bilateral migration agreements need to be negotiated in order to allow for safe, legal, and manageable migration into the U.S. Perceptions in the U.S. concerning migration must move from fractious rhetoric to mutually agreeable comprehensive solutions that will address both the challenges and opportunities facing the long-standing U.S.-Mexico relationship.

On the surface it appears that Mexican migration to the United States is solely economically driven, although the theories underlying the root causes of migration continue to evolve. The U.S labor market is inherently local and the need for labor is dependent upon supply-and-demand conditions (Reibel 2007). The regional market for immigrant labor is tied directly to the nature of the work – often involving manual labor. Therefore, the concentration of Mexican migrants into a few jobs, such as agriculture, is a direct result of the demand for a particular skill set that is not dependent on the worker's

English language ability. Once situated in a locale, migrant agricultural workers are often left to fend for themselves because there are few social or government programs that cater to their needs. However, one such federally funded program, the Migrant Education Program (MEP), has been supporting high quality education programs for the children of migrant agricultural workers since 1966.

The mission of the MEP is to help ensure that migratory children who move among the states are not penalized in any manner by disparities among states in curriculum, graduation requirements, or state academic content and student academic achievement standards. Federal funds are allocated to State education agencies, based on each state's per pupil expenditure for education and counts of eligible migratory children. Traditionally, the MEP has provided programs of support to preschool and elementary children, but in 2001 an initiative was launched by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Migrant Education to bring needed attention to secondary migrant students as well as migrant out-of-school youth.

While the cornerstone of the MEP is the identification and recruitment of migrant children, the process is incumbent upon the timely identification of the very migrant workers who often remain hidden from detection. Even the U.S. Census Bureau has acknowledged difficulty in locating and counting migrant workers for the decennial census due to the following factors: distrust of outsiders, unconventional housing arrangements, limited English language literacy, and high mobility (United States General Accounting Office 2003). However, once identified by the MEP, migrant workers are typically not assessed according to need, especially migrant youth, and on the degree to which they receive targeted services. Migrant workers are in need of the

services of the Migrant Education Program, but a thorough assessment of need should be undertaken in order to develop the continuum of service and support for this vulnerable segment of our workforce.

Introduction

Migrant agricultural workers have been called the poorest of the working poor. They often travel long distances to find work in low-wage, low-status food production or food processing jobs, and often endure substandard and dangerous working and living conditions in the communities in which they may temporarily reside (Branz-Spall, Rosenthal, and Wright 2003). Despite the importance of this population to U.S. agriculture, many migrant workers face a myriad of economic and social obstacles that often hide and isolate them from mainstream America. Migrant workers and their families often live in extreme poverty, have poor nutrition and limited health care, and have limited English proficiency. The children of migrant agricultural workers are at risk of food insecurity, have their education interrupted due to their family's mobility, and face a high risk of dropping out of school. Although there is no reliable estimate of the high school graduation rate of migrant children, the working estimate is between 45-50% (Office of Migrant Education).

The children of migrant workers that drop out of school find themselves with no other choice but to work and often end up performing the same labor as their parents. In addition, a growing number of youth that have dropped out of school in their native country have trekked to "*El Norte*" in order to find work. If these first- and second-generation migrant youth do not further their education, they will be relegated over the

long-term to low-wage, low-status jobs in any industry. These migrant youth are most at risk because they no longer receive educational services in traditional school systems and typically receive few, if any, social or governmental services. For the purposes of this study, these youth are designated migrant “out-of-school” youth (OSY) and are further categorized as either dropouts or here-to-work youth. The definition of each category is drawn from original definitions proffered by the Interstate Migrant Education Council (Interstate Migrant Education Council 2002).

- Dropouts attended school in the United States but left before graduation. Typically, they were born in the United States or immigrated to this country with their families, may have attended various school systems over the course of several years, and qualify for federally funded migrant education services based on their parents’ migration or their own qualifying migratory move.
- Here-to-work youth recently immigrated, either authorized or unauthorized, to the United States primarily to work and qualify for federally funded migrant education services based upon their own migration. They have not attended school in the United States and generally have had limited schooling in their home country. Most are not traveling with parents, but may be traveling with peer relatives or friends.

Migrant children and youth are statutorily mandated to receive services through the U.S. Department of Education’s Migrant Education Program (MEP). Title I, Part C of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 authorizes the MEP. The NCLB Act of 2001 reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA) of 1965. Title I of the

ESEA of 1965 aimed to provide educational services for children impacted by poverty. In 1966, Title I of the ESEA was amended to create “Programs for Migratory Children,” now known as the Migrant Education Program (MEP). The MEP has been continued under each reauthorization of the ESEA up through the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. The NCLB Act is currently up for reauthorization.

The MEP provides formula grants to State education agencies (SEAs) to establish or improve education programs for migrant children and youth. The goal of the MEP is to support high-quality and comprehensive educational programs for migrant children and youth to reduce the educational disruptions and other problems that result from repeated moves. A primary activity of the MEP involves the identification and recruitment (ID&R) of children and youth eligible to receive federally funded services. Each SEA is responsible for the proper and timely identification and recruitment of all eligible migrant children and youth in the state, including securing pertinent information to document and verify the basis of a child’s eligibility. ID&R is often difficult because migrant agriculture workers are highly mobile as they pursue qualifying temporary or seasonal agricultural work.

This study is based upon the operating definition of a migrant child or youth found in the Migrant Education Program’s Non-Regulatory Guidance (2003:10-11). According to sections 1115(b)(1)(A) and 1309(2) of Title I, Part C of the No Child Left Behind Act and section 34 CFR 200.81(d) of the Federal Regulations, a child is eligible for the MEP if:

1. The child is younger than 22 and has not graduated from high school or does not hold a high school equivalency certificate (this means that the child is entitled to a free public education or is of an age below compulsory school attendance); *and*
2. The child is a migrant agricultural worker or a migrant fisher *or* has a parent, spouse, or guardian who is a migrant agricultural worker or a migrant fisher; *and*
3. The child has moved within the preceding 36 months in order to obtain (or seek) or to accompany (or join) a parent, spouse, or guardian to obtain (or seek) temporary or seasonal employment in qualifying agricultural or fishing work; *and*
4. Such employment is a principal means of livelihood; *and*
5. The child:
 - a. Has moved from one school district to another; *or*
 - b. In a State that is comprised of a single school district, has moved from one administrative area to another within such district; *or*
 - c. Resides in a school district of more than 15,000 square miles and migrates a distance of 20 miles or more to a temporary residence to engage in a fishing activity. (This provision currently applies only to Alaska.)

Migrant OSY comprise a segment of all migrant children and youth. The migrant OSY selected for this study met the following criteria:

1. Were between the ages of 18 and 22 at the time of the study; *and*
2. Moved within the past 36 months across school district boundaries at the time of the study; *and*
3. Resided in Kansas at the time of the study; *and*
4. Sought or worked in a qualifying agricultural activity at the time of the study; *and*

5. Had not graduated from high school or completed a high school equivalency certificate at the time of the study.

With limited educational and life experiences, migrant OSY focus exclusively on work to the detriment of other aspects of their lives. Some migrant OSY work in order to save money for their eventual return to their country of origin, while some OSY work in order to pursue the American dream and become U.S. citizens. Still others persist in a legal limbo and the question of their status may never be resolved. The high mobility of migrant OSY poses unique educational, health, economic, and political challenges. Typically, they are disconnected from traditional American educational systems and the support services they provide. In addition, they often cannot access healthcare services because they are underinsured or without coverage by their employer. Furthermore, many migrant OSY are underserved by government programs because of their tenuous legal status, although they may have state and federal taxes deducted from their wages. Finally, because political rights are enfranchised through our place of residence, migrant OSY cannot receive or exercise the voting rights that most other Americans take for granted (Green 2003). As a result of these challenges, migrant OSY have many needs that must be identified and addressed if they are to be fully integrated into the American workforce and society.

Conceptual Underpinnings for the Study

Two broad themes underlie this study. Each theme is grounded in theory and each contributes to the overall approach to the study of migrant OSY. The following themes are described as follows:

- The relationship between migration and labor
- The aspirations-achievement paradox

Migration and Labor. According to Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001), “Large-scale immigration is one of the most important social developments of our time” (1). They purport that twin forces drive immigrants: powerful socioeconomic factors as well as individual agency and motivation. Economists such as Peters (1998) talk about “push” factors - including unemployment, underemployment, and differences in wages between countries - and the “pull” factors such as employers’ recruitment of immigrant workers. On the other hand, sociologists explore the causes of immigration in terms of interpersonal forces and social networks. Culturally, immigration may be seen as a rite of passage. Durand (1998) noted that in some rural Mexican towns, for example, a high proportion of youth migrate after reaching a certain age. Some return, but many start new lives in their new land. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) conclude that immigration involves economic, social, *and* [their emphasis] cultural factors, and thus cannot be reduced to a single variable.

Polanyi (2001) suggested that the self-regulating market runs on purely economic motives and the market is structurally incapable of incorporating the non-economic motives of the worker. In fact, the self-regulating market does not even recognize that non-economic motives exist. Polanyi would posit that the present-day plight of the cross-national migrant agricultural worker is the result of the competitive, self-regulating market in which they toil. Self-regulation implies that his or her labor is for sale on the market and nothing should be allowed to inhibit the formation of the labor market. In a free market system, labor can and does move to the work. Restrictionist national

immigration policies, however, are a structural impediment to the free flow of labor and the cross-national migrant is now at a structural disadvantage since he is no longer free to legally take work. As a result, many workers enter the workforce illegally and live clandestinely while they work.

The worker's framework for understanding his role in the self-regulating market is limited. Historically, the worker's motive of action transformed from a motive of subsistence to that of a motive of gain. The worker, however, "does not act to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets" (48). To the worker, the maintenance of social ties is crucial, but under a self-regulating market, the worker's social relationships become disjointed and ultimately annihilated. As a result, the worker's motives become economic and his actions become the actions of the market economy. Therefore, the migrant worker, under the laws of the market economy, obeys the "laws of the jungle" (131) and finds himself paralyzed and marginalized from economic society.

Aspirations and Achievement. While migrant youth are willing to do the jobs rejected by natives, such as agricultural production and processing, many often aspire to achieve something greater than their present condition. Kao and Tienda (1998) refer to this conundrum as the "aspirations-achievement" paradox (379). One view of this paradox holds that educational aspirations, for example, "reflect a state of mind that motivates youth to strive for academic success" (Caplan, Choy, and Whitmore 1992:351-352). Aspirations are influenced by significant others, notably, parents, teachers, and peers, who convey their expectations directly to youth. Another view posits that educational aspirations are "rational assessments of the costs and benefits of possible

actions” (Jencks, Crouse, and Mueser 1983:352). This implies that the material resources available to the youth, not their psychological dispositions, are most important for their achievement. What is not clear, however, is how much past educational experiences impact their aspirations.

In their work with second-generation immigrants and migrants, Gouveia and Powel (2007) postulate that if local communities do not provide immigrant and migrant children with educational opportunities that will enable them to achieve and give them access to higher paying jobs, they will be relegated to the unskilled, low-paying jobs of previous generations. Low-skilled blue-collar jobs still persist in the U.S. economy; however, “the trend toward occupational segmentation has increasingly reduced opportunities for incremental upward mobility” (Portes and Zhou 1993:85). Waldinger, Lim, and Cort (2007) speak of an “hourglass economy” where opportunities for immigrants and migrants exist at the high and low levels with a truncated tier of middle-range jobs (2-3). This phenomenon is especially problematic for the undocumented immigrant and migrant youth. In their seminal work on second-generation immigrants, Portes and Rumbault (2001) suggest that the children and youth of working-class immigrants are at risk of “downward assimilation” (59) into a “new rainbow underclass” (45) that falls below their own parents’ station in American society. Therefore, the successful integration and success of immigrant and migrant children and youth depends on how quickly and closely they “come to resemble the mainstream population” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:44).

The Challenges of Studying Hidden Populations

The concept of hidden populations was born in the social sciences and was applied primarily to the study of substance abuse and other public health issues. In these early studies, portions of the members of a target population were typically accessible, while other segments were not. Concerns arose as to whether the hidden population was truly representative of the broader population. Hidden populations reside outside of institutional and clinical settings and whose “activities are clandestine and therefore concealed from the view of the mainstream society and agencies of social control” (Watters and Biernacki 1989:417), as well as from local community-based organizations (Singer 1999:125). Researchers then set out to develop the methodology necessary to study hidden populations (Singer 1999:188).

At polar ends, a population may be either captive or hidden. A captive population (i.e., university freshman) is generally readily accessible and relatively easy to assess. A hidden population (i.e., undocumented day-laborers) is “neither well defined nor available for enumeration” (Braunstein 1993:132). A hidden population is generally known to exist, but not a great deal is known about the characteristics of the group. Individuals within a hidden population may “share a particular kind of experience but not necessarily with each other” (Kane and Mason 1992:212). In addition, individuals may intentionally or inadvertently conceal themselves from the mainstream society (Singer 1999:125) and, therefore, make it difficult to provide outreach and targeted services. Midway between captive and hidden populations is what Singer (1999) refers to as a patron or membership population (i.e., theatergoers). A membership population is generally easily reached like a captive population due to where the members congregate;

however, the characteristics of the population may be unknown a priori similar to a hidden population.

The study of hidden populations has become a distinct field of social science. Researchers have developed distinct methodological models that include membership and sampling procedures as well as various ethnographic tools such as case study and association study. Considerations such as sampling bias and the reliability and validity of the data being collected should be inquired into during the study of hidden populations. Furthermore, ethical issues regarding confidentiality and the safety of the subjects must be adhered to. Still, it remains difficult to ensure representativeness of the population “unless all segments and their relative distribution and frequency were known” (Singer 1999:188).

Migrant agricultural workers defy traditional enumeration techniques. It is generally unknown how many workers are involved in the wide array of jobs in agricultural production and processing. It is generally unknown how many of these workers have the legal authorization to live and work in the United States. It is generally unknown how many agricultural workers are between the ages of 18 through 21. What is known is that migrant workers are highly mobile and seldom establish roots in the communities in which they temporarily reside. In fact, migrant workers often feel unwelcome and are often discriminated against when they arrive in a new community, and, as a result, attempt to remain hidden from the community-at-large until they feel impelled to leave. Coutin (2005) suggests that migrants often become clandestine and may literally “go underground” (195). Migrants may surface only to work and to procure living necessities. In addition, Coutin contends that this phenomenon is especially true

for the unauthorized migrant workers who may literally disappear from society – whether by hiding, assuming false identities, or dying.

According to various State Migrant Education Programs, the number of migrant out-of-school youth appears to be growing, but the population has yet to be enumerated nationally. Migrant OSY comprise a subset of the overall U.S. population of migrant agricultural workers and are among the least understood segment of the agricultural workforce. In addition, migrant OSY are among the most vulnerable migrant workers because they lack the life experience necessary to navigate above ground and often fall prey to unscrupulous individuals who capitalize upon their youthful innocence and, perhaps, their questionable legal status. Migrant OSY have many needs that must be identified and addressed if they are to live visibly and to be fully integrated into the American workforce and society. As long as they remain hidden, they are left to fend for themselves.

Statement of the Problem

The plight of seasonal Farmworkers is well documented (Rothenberg 1998; Thompson and Wiggins 2002) as well as the travails of slaughterhouse workers (Eisnitz 1997; Stull and Broadway 2003); however, the story of migrant youth has yet to be written. “Extraordinarily poor, generally limited English proficient, and with frequent disrupted schooling,” migrant youth, in particular, face greater risk of dropping out of school than does any other group (DiCerbo 2001:1). Ideally, every effort should be made to ensure that migrant youth remain in school and graduate, but the reality is that most do not. Programs of support, such as the Migrant Education Program (MEP), have an

important role to play in the lives of migrant out-of-school. The future success and integration of migrant out-of-school youth is highly dependent upon the educational experiences they have early in life as well as their aspirations for future success.

Therefore, it is imperative to more fully understand how high aspirations often translate into poor academic achievement that results in blocked opportunities (Kao and Tienda 1998), downward mobility, and social isolation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Under Title I, Part C, Education of Migratory Children of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, State education agencies are required to evaluate their programs and the delivery of services by conducting a statewide comprehensive needs assessment (CNA). The Kansas Migrant Education Program began its statewide needs assessment in the summer of 2004. While the CNA focused on programs and services provided to migrant children enrolled in Kansas public schools, no such assessment of need was conducted on out-of-school youth. While concerns were expressed during the CNA process regarding the escalating dropout rate of Kansas's migrant students, no recommendations were proffered as to how to best meet the needs of out-of-school youth (Kansas State Department of Education 2007). At the conclusion of the Kansas CNA, it was suggested that a comprehensive needs assessment of Kansas's migrant out-of-school youth was warranted.

The target population for this study is migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas. Migrant OSY have neither been counted nor assessed in Kansas, although some assessment of need has occurred in California (Hill and Hayes 2007). While the target population was defined as early as 2002 (Interstate Migrant Education Council), there has since been little research interest in this subgroup. Studying migrant OSY would be an

easy endeavor if these youth were easy to reach and to recruit into a study. Employers, on the one hand, may be reticent to provide a researcher access to their young workers. The young workers, on the other hand, may evade a researcher's attention because of their questionable legal status or their fear of retribution from various authorities. Identifying and studying the seemingly invisible population of migrant OSY may be fraught with challenges, but is nevertheless an important undertaking if we are to gain deeper insight into the characteristics of this group of young workers.

Purpose of the Study

A key question underling this research asks whether a representative sample of migrant out-of-school youth can shed light on the underlying characteristics of this least understood segment of the agricultural workforce. Other key concerns include:

1. How a representative sample of migrant out-of school youth is identified and recruited into the study?
2. What are the key characteristics of this underserved group of migrant workers?
3. What are the expressed needs and aspirations of migrant OSY?
4. What can Migrant Education Program do to provide better outreach and targeted services?

The purpose of this study is 1) to identify and profile the population of migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas; 2) to identify the comprehensive needs and aspirations of the population; and 3) to identify policies and programs that will enable the Kansas Migrant Education Program to better identify and serve migrant OSY.

Assumptions, Limitations, and Design Controls

“We simply assume that the way we see things is the way they really are or the way they should be. And our attitudes and behaviors grow out of these assumptions” (24).

~ Stephen R. Covey

Assumptions. In their study of Latino newcomers in Nebraska, Carranza and Gouveia (2002) assert that the assimilation, or “positive integration” (3), of newcomers is dependent upon the established human and social capital in newcomer communities and, more importantly, upon the social and economic barriers they must overcome in order to successfully integrate. The complexity of those social and economic barriers, however, may not be fully known to the newcomers nor are the means to overcome them.

Newcomers to a community do not often seek assistance from social or governmental agencies nor do they invite the scrutiny of researchers. In the case of this study of migrant out-of-school youth, I cannot assume that because the target population may need help, they may want help, nor may know how to ask for help and from whom.

Migrant OSY are most in need of services, but they are often the most difficult to find and recruit into a program. The cornerstone of the federally funded Migrant Education Program is to find and enroll eligible migrant children and youth into its program of services. Typically, a migrant recruiter, employed by the State or a local agency, will collect pertinent information about a child by interviewing the person or persons responsible for the child. In the case of a youth traveling on his or her own, the recruiter will interview the individual directly. The information collected at the time of the interview is recorded on a Certificate of Eligibility (COE) and the COE is then submitted to the State Education Agency for verification and approval. Each COE is

randomly numbered and the information contained thereon is protected under The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA).

For this study of migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas, recruiters were hired specifically for the project and were recruited by Kansas MEP staff from the very communities in which the migrant youth live. They were trained by the Kansas MEP Identification & Recruitment (ID&R) Staff Development Coordinator on how to complete the COE and were informed of the parameters of the study. At the time of an interview with a potentially eligible migrant youth, the recruiter informed the youth that upon signing the COE, he or she also agrees to be available for a possible interview by the researcher conducting this study. The recruiter also informed the migrant youth that he or she may be eligible for instructional or support services provided by the Kansas MEP, but that these new services will be designed and implemented after the conclusion of this study. I initially assumed that the recruiters faithfully executed the charge given them and that the information collected was accurately recorded and annotated to the best of their ability, but the absence of complete data for some of the population brought my assumption into question.

Limitations. The mobility of the target population is the primary limiting factor that threatens the success of this study. With limited ties to the community in which they temporarily reside, migrant OSY are always on the move. When new job opportunities arise for better pay and/or with better working conditions, word spreads quickly within the migrant community and migrant OSY often move *en masse* to a new location anywhere in the country. In order to control for this phenomenon, a capture window had to be created for this study. The population of migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas

would be identified between 1 January 2008 and 30 April 2008. A COE for each eligible migrant youth was completed at this time, submitted to the SEA, and deemed eligible or ineligible. Eligible COEs were then provided to me for analysis and a new capture window for interviews was set. I traveled to southwestern Kansas and conducted oral interviews at the end of June 2008.

A decision was made prior to my visit to southwestern Kansas that it would be better to bring the migrant OSY to a local MEP office for an interview rather than for me to go to their place or residence or work. I was an unknown person to the migrant OSY and fear of the unknown is a limiting factor. In order to arrange for the oral interviews, two recruiters were re-hired for a period of three weeks in order to round up possible interviewees and ensure they would be present for the interview. This involved the recruiters picking up and transporting the youth to and from a local MEP office. The recruiters made numerous phone calls and house visits in the week prior to the scheduled interviews. Promises of availability were made by many of the youth, but often not kept. Although the recruiters assured the youth of my intent, many were still skeptical and perhaps even fearful. Some may have simply not wanted to be interviewed and I simply had to proceed with the number of interviews we could capture during the time I was in southwestern Kansas.

Summary

Migrant agricultural workers face a myriad of challenges that often hide them from mainstream America. The children of migrant workers are at risk of not completing school due to the high mobility of the family. Migrant out-of-school youth, dropouts or

here-to-work youth, are especially disenfranchised because they focus on their work at the expense of continuing their education. The federally funded Migrant Education Program is statutorily mandated to serve migrant OSY, yet virtually no research has been conducted in order to shed some light on the needs of these young adult workers. This study takes into consideration broad themes that attempt to de-mystify and unhide the target population. The future success of migrant OSY is dependent upon the actions taken by the MEP and other key stakeholders in concert with the expressed aspirations of the youth.

Several issues relating to both the migrant work and the migrant worker are addressed in this study and will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. It is imperative to define some of the key terms and concepts that are directly related to this research and those definitions may be found in Appendix A. The dissertation is organized into five chapters. In chapter 2, the literature on the relationship between migration and labor, the assessment of comprehensive needs, and the aspirations-achievement paradox is discussed. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the key research questions and the purpose of the study, defines the target population, describes the data collection methodology, and specifies the techniques for data analysis. Chapter 4 presents data that relate to each research question guiding this study. Finally, chapter 5 proffers policy recommendations and plans of action, discusses conclusions and addresses important implication raised in the research, and provides a rationale for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter will address the two main topics that provide theoretical support for the study: 1) the relationship between migration and labor, and 2) the relationship between aspirations and achievement.

The Relationship Between Migration and Labor

Immigration cannot be separated from globalization and treated as if it were a singular concept unencumbered by outside influences (Miller 2006:36).

Stalker (2000) rightfully contended that countries that have geographical and historical ties through migration also have strong trade relationships and trade itself is a major contributor to the demand for unskilled workers in industrialized countries. Modern immigration policies have taken on new meanings under the present system of globalization. Barriers restricting the trans-national flow of goods and capital have largely been removed while barriers restricting the free flow of labor remain in place. Immigration to the United States has changed dramatically since the attacks of 9/11. An examination of the historical and theoretical underpinnings of Mexican migration to the United States lays the foundation for a deeper understanding of the globalization of migrant labor in a segmented marketplace. Some of these new labor markets (i.e., large scale food production and processing) have found a foothold in the rural Midwest. As a

result, a steady stream of new immigrant labor has been lured to the Midwest and has begun to change the very fabric of rural life.

The Condition of Mexican Migration to the United States

Measuring the foreign-born population in the United States is a serious task. Data is often difficult to verify, especially pertaining to unauthorized immigrants whose migration by definition is “clandestine” (Durand and Massey 1992). The best and most recent estimate of the number of foreign-born was provided by the Pew Hispanic Center (2009) based upon statistics from the Census Bureau’s 2007 American Community Survey (ACS). For statistical and analytical purposes, the foreign-born include both naturalized citizens and non-citizens. As of 2007, there were over 38 million foreign-born residing in the U.S. comprising 12.6 percent of the overall U.S. population. The population has increased 22.2 percent since 2000; however, the foreign-born comprised 34.2 percent of the total change. The Mexican-born population, approximately, 11.5 million in 2009, accounted for nearly 32 percent of all foreign-born U.S. residents and roughly two-thirds of all Hispanic immigrants (Passel and Cohn 2009, July 22).

In 2007, it appeared for the first time that the number of unauthorized immigrants fell below the number of legal immigrants (Passel and D’Vera 2008, October 2). According to the most recent analysis by the Pew Hispanic Center (2009, April, 14), there were 11.9 million unauthorized immigrants living in the United States in 2008, which accounted for 4 percent of the nation’s population. Approximately 76 percent of the unauthorized immigrants were Hispanic of which 59 percent, or 7 million, were from Mexico. An estimated 8.3 million, or 70 percent, of unauthorized immigrants were in the

U.S. labor force, which accounted for 5.4 percent of its workforce. In 2008, the States with the largest concentration of unauthorized workers were: Nevada, California, Arizona, New Jersey, and Florida. While these workers made up approximately 10 percent or more of the labor force in Nevada, they were generally less than 2.5 percent of the workforce in the Midwest. Unauthorized workers were likely to hold low-skilled jobs in occupations such as construction and agriculture. An estimated 17 percent of construction workers were undocumented and an estimated 25 percent of farmworkers were undocumented.

As of 2006, according to a United Nations report (2009), the United States continued to receive more immigrants than any other country. In 2005, immigrants accounted for 13 percent of the overall U.S. population; whereas, in Australia, immigrants accounted for 20 percent of the overall population. According to the Pew Hispanic Center (2009, April 15), the United States had more immigrants from Mexico, both authorized and unauthorized, than any other country's combined number of immigrants. Mexicans began settling in the U.S. on a large scale in the 1970s. By 1980, the largest foreign-born population in the U.S. was from Mexico and the population doubled from 1980 to 1990 and again from 1990 to 2000. Mexican immigration to the U.S. began to slow considerably in 2006 and the Mexican-born population is projected to hover at around 32 percent of the U.S. foreign-born population for the next few years.

Although Mexican immigration appears to have slowed since 2006, there is no evidence of a spike in return migration to Mexico (Passel and Cohn 2009, July 22). The current recession has heavily impacted foreign-born Hispanics, but the downturn does not appear to have forced many to return to their country of origin. Between the fourth

quarter of 2007 and the fourth quarter of 2008, the unemployment rate for foreign-born Hispanics has increased from 5.1 percent to 8.0 percent while the unemployment rate for native-born Hispanics increased from 6.7 percent to 9.5 percent (Kochhar 2009, February 12). While the construction sector appeared to be the hardest hit by the economic downturn, the annual rate of return of Mexican nationals, for example, has remained relatively steady since 2006 (Passel and Cohn 2009, July 22). Earlier evidence has suggested that foreign-born Mexicans were settling in the U.S. more and returning less (Cornelius 1992), additional evidence suggested that those who do settle have a far greater impact on the political and economic climate in the U.S. than return migrants (Cornelius 1981; García y Griego 1983).

The last time the United States Congress reformed immigration law was during the Reagan administration with the passage of The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. The Act attempted to control and deter illegal immigration to the United States by increasing border security and penalizing employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers. Furthermore, IRCA provided for the legalization of nearly 1.7 million undocumented migrants present in the country since 1982 and an additional 1.3 million undocumented seasonal agricultural workers (Lowell and Suro 2002). Approximately three-quarters of those legalized under the Act were born in Mexico (U.S. INS 1990). Since the enactment of IRCA, employer sanctions were rarely enforced and data indicated that the Act had little or no effect in deterring the flow of unauthorized migrants (Cornelius 1989; Donato, Durand, and Massey 1992; Massey, Donato, and Liang 1990; and Bustamante 1990) and may have actually increased the odds of a Mexican national's first sojourn into the United States (Massey and Espinosa 1997).

The ambitious dialogue that began in 2000 between President G.W. Bush of the United States and President Vicente Fox of Mexico hailed a new chapter in U.S.-Mexican relations and promised to usher in a new era of immigration reform. On September 6, 2001, during President Fox's State Visit to the U.S., the two presidents issued a joint statement announcing "Our governments are committed to seizing the opportunities before us in this new atmosphere of mutual trust" (Waslin 2003:2). Four days later, on September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the United States and the optimistic discourse surrounding viable immigration reform was quickly quashed. Since 9/11, U.S. national security priorities (Leiken 2002) have come to overshadow migration reform and a new federal Department of Homeland Security was created in part to secure our porous border with both Mexico and Canada to prevent further terrorist attacks at home and abroad. Although attempts at immigration reform have been seriously resurrected twice since 9/11, both houses of Congress, then President Bush, and now President Obama have staked out positions that have made viable reform untenable.

Theories Underlying Mexican-U.S. Migration

The question of which social class or classes migrate to the United States is a contentious one. Some have suggested that the lower-middle class constitute the largest group of migrants because the rich have little incentive to migrate and the poor lack the human and financial capital to risk the trip (Portes and Rumbaut 1990). Others have purported that those tied to land with agricultural resources or those who actually own land tend to immigrate more than those with fewer ties and resources (Dinerman 1982; Mines 1981; Roberts 1982). Still others have situated U.S. migration among the poor and

landless (Massey 1987; Reichert 1979; Stuart and Kearney 1981). Durand and Massey (1992) conceded that the array of studies have indecisively concluded that U.S. migrants are “drawn either from the landless or the landed, from the skilled working class or unskilled laborers, from the stable middle class or the poorest segments of society” (16).

Mexican migration appears to have occurred in four primary stages during the twentieth century (Canales 2003; Durand, Massey, and Charvet 2000):

- The *classic era* of open immigration before the repressive policies of the 1920s for Mexicans.
- The *Bracero era* between 1942 and 1964 where migration occurred within the framework of the day laborer program. This program encouraged and consolidated a circular and recurrent flow, which was mainly constituted by young rural men from western Mexico. These men were basically employed in US seasonal farming.
- The *era of undocumented migration* between the end of the Bracero Program and the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). The bulk of migrants were undocumented people and their migrations still were circular and of short length.
- The *post-IRCA era* from 1987 to the present has experienced migrant flows that are more complex and U.S. government actions towards undocumented migrants that are more repressive. There are substantial changes in the socio-demographic profile of the migrants, and new ways in which migrants are incorporated into the labor market of the United States.

Massey and Espinosa (1997) asserted that Mexican migration to the U.S. stems from three mutually reinforcing processes: social capital formation, human capital formation, and market consolidation. Social capital formation occurs because people who are related to U.S. migrants are themselves more likely to migrate. Human capital formation suggests that the more U.S. experience a migrant accumulates, the higher the likelihood of both documented and undocumented migration. The final process, market consolidation, acknowledges that the economies of Mexico and the United States have become increasingly connected and continuing interdependent economic development goes hand-in-hand with international migration.

One or more of these processes may provide the basis for the several theories often discussed regarding international migration: neoclassical economics, the new economics of labor migration, segmented labor market theory, world systems theory, and social capital theory. Two of these theories sit at polar ends of a theoretical continuum: neoclassical economics and social capital theory. Each theory explains Mexican migration to the U.S. and will be explored in greater detail.

Neoclassical Economic Theory. Neoclassical economic measures are often cited to explain the strong demand for Mexican migrants. Generally, neoclassical economists maintain that market forces and individual self-interest mainly determine migration. Specifically, the market drives workers from labor-abundant Mexico to labor-scarce United States and directs the flow of investment capital, namely human capital, from capital-rich to capital-poor countries. In

addition, individual “rational actors” migrate because they expect a net return, usually monetary, from the migration (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor 1993:434). Although the calculus for the decision as to whether or not to migrate has been developed (Massey et al. 1993:435), the actions of individuals may indeed not be rational at all, and may simply “arise from subconscious urges” (Du Bois 2005:171). However, a common ground may exist. Self-interested individuals, Swanson (1996) posited, “will rationally pursue opportunistic behavior that maximizes their pleasure and minimizes their pain” (735).

The market forces specified as fundamental to neoclassical economics are often superseded by state border control policies and, therefore, do not fully shape this theory of migration. Intervention of the state, Borjas (1989) argued, distorts the migration market and often has negative consequences on the free flow of both monetary and human capital. Castles (2004), citing Cohen (1987), advanced that the free market under capitalism has always needed “unfree labor” (855). The state, however, has historically intervened to regulate the flow of trans-national migrant labor, often with unintended economic consequences for both sending and receiving countries. Neoclassical theory, therefore, professes that the market-driven flow of monetary and human capital should be free from state intervention and allowed to proceed unencumbered.

Social Capital Theory. A more contemporary migration theory helps explain Castles’ (2004) assertion that strong migrant networks between Mexico and the U.S. have solidified a “social and economic infrastructure” (859) that is

more powerful than neoclassic economic forces. “Migrants are not isolated individuals,” Castles stated, “who react to market stimuli and bureaucratic rules, but social beings who seek to achieve better outcomes for themselves, their families and their communities by actively shaping the migratory process” (860). Social Capital Theory was introduced by economist Glen Loury in 1977 and was elaborated upon by sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman in the 1980s. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), “Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (119).

Massey (1987) was the first to apply the theory to migration studies. He noted that Mexican peasants, due to limited financial resources, often readily convert their social capital into jobs and earnings in the United States. Massey and subsequent colleagues (Aguilera and Massey 2003:672) have established that migrant networks are a source of social capital (Espinosa and Massey 1997) and that prospective migrants draw upon that capital to migrate (Massey and Espinosa 1997), cross the border (Singer and Massey 1998), find jobs (Aguilera 1999, 2002, 2003; Espinosa 1997), and find housing in the U.S. (Espinosa 1997). These migrant networks actually increase the likelihood of migration because they help to lower the costs and decrease the risks of migration and increase the anticipated financial returns. Over time, Massey and Espinosa (1997) contended, migration tends to become self-perpetuating because “each act of migration creates

additional social capital that promotes and sustains more migration, which creates more social capital, which produces more movement” (952).

The key characteristic of social capital, according to Massey (1999), is its convertibility into other capital, specifically financial capital. The anticipated wages in the United States, for example, and the remittances returned to Mexico are the types of financial capital that reap benefits for the individual as well as other members of the migrant network. Data on male Mexican migrants gathered by the Mexican Migration Project (Aguilera and Massey 2003) found that “having friends and relatives with migratory experience improves the efficiency and effectiveness of the job search to yield higher wages” (672). Furthermore, it appeared that the effects of social capital on wages were actually greater for undocumented migrants than documented migrants. Documented migrants had more freedom and opportunity to maximize their economic well being than undocumented migrants who lived in fear of detection and were at the mercy of unscrupulous employers.

Historically, once legal internationally networked migration began, governmental and non-governmental institutions in both the sending and receiving countries emerged to assist migrants in building upon their social and financial capital. However, once receiving countries such as the United States erected barriers to the flow of migration from Mexico, an underground and illegal form of migration emerged that created conditions for the exploitation and victimization of the migrants (Massey 1999). These “other” networks of smugglers and dishonest labor contractors and employers tarnish the reputation of

legitimate social networks and actually diminish the convertibility of social capital into financial capital for unauthorized migrants.

Are neoclassical economists and social capital theorists advocating for an open border policy between the United States and Mexico? Since 9/11, the “securitization” (Castles 2004:857) of migration has taken precedence over what had been North America’s relatively unbridled neoclassical approach to migration policy. Borjas (1989) argued that leaving migrant regulation to market forces would benefit both sending and receiving countries, equalize wages between them, and create economic equilibrium between them. The equalization of wages, Borjas (1989) continued, would most likely be achieved but at very low wage levels, which would invariably diminish the wage conditions of local labor as well. Castles (2004) conceded that open borders may be a desirable long-term economic aim, but eliminating all migration control would be harmful and would inevitably lead to lower wages, especially for unskilled jobs. Castles likened the management of migration to a “cooperative process” (874) in which sending and receiving countries, business interests, and the migrants themselves have a voice in creating policies that are mutually beneficial. Furthermore, he suggested that migrant policies must “always also be linked to measures designed to reduce inequality and improve governance, which address societies as a whole” (878).

The Globalization of Migrant Labor

In the mid-nineteenth century, the vast majority of the Mexican population lived in villages. The land was divided among the residents but owned not by individuals but by the whole village. People were given the right to use land but not the right to sell it. Then, in the mid-nineteenth

century, legislation was passed in Mexico declaring communally held lands to be illegal, giving peasants legal rights to their own land, which they could then also sell or mortgage to repay debts. The result was that wealthy persons – largely Americans – bought up huge tracts of land. By 1910, the year of the beginning of the Mexican Revolution, more than 90 percent of the population was landless and forced to work on large agricultural estates or migrate to the cities in search of jobs. In the course of half a century, the vast majority of the Mexican population was transformed from an autonomous peasantry working their own land to a population of dependent wage laborers.

The process of land dispossession has continued to the present time...resulting in a large population of landless people with only their labor to sell (Robbins 2005:55).

Today, the forces of globalization continue to affect the international rural poor because they may be unable to adapt fast enough to the global economy and may have to increasingly rely on the sale of their labor as opposed to the sale of agricultural goods in order to economically survive (Killick 2001). Discussions of globalization seldom take in account labor migration whereas discussions around the trans-national movement of goods and capital dominate (Stalker 2000). Labor migration is inextricably linked to the political systems of both sending and receiving states. Some nations throughout history have encouraged labor migration, while others have attempted to regulate it. A First World nation's structural dependence on Third World labor often supersedes a nation's predilection to control it.

The structurally dependent need for workers must be understood within the context of globalization, transnationalism and North-South relationships. Globalization, as defined by Castles (2004), is the flow of capital, commodities, ideas, and people across borders. He argued that nations welcome the cross-border flow of capital and commodities, but are "suspicious" of the flow of ideas and people (862). Globalization has created a strong incentive for people to move. Both skilled and unskilled workers are

lured to the economies of the First World while the economies of the Third World lag behind with the workers that remain. So too are personal identities redefined under the globalization scheme. The relative ease of both movement and communication has created a transnational migrant with fluid allegiances. Castles noted that only three percent of the world's population is migratory and many see themselves as either sojourners or settlers. Furthermore, overall worldwide migratory patterns have been transformed. Migration across borders between neighboring nations has been replaced by migration between North and South – that is between the capital-rich countries of North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, and the capital-poor countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Increasingly, cross-national migrant workers who have been relegated to the role of a commodity to be bought and sold by the capitalist brokers who wield considerable power over the lives and livelihoods of this vulnerable workforce. Although consumers may actually “drive the culture of capitalism,” without the worker there would be no goods to consume (Robbins 2005:39). Both Marx and Polanyi cautioned, “to construct the labor market as a commodity market is to deny the social nature of human labor and productive activity” (Peck 1996:2). A labor market is highly social in nature as are the institutional means by which that labor is reproduced. In fact, labor markets, Peck purported, are socially regulated, locally variable, and are not commodity-driven:

- prices do not coordinate supply and demand;
- participants do not enter the markets as equals; and
- commodities do not pass – in the absolute sense of legal ownership – from seller to buyer (2).

Bringing wage-dependent migrant workers together with capital-driven businesses creates unequal divisions of labor within a segmented marketplace that is “systematically structured by institutional forces and power relations” (Peck 1996:5). Wilkinson (1981) synthesized a power relationship that is true today within a neoclassical segmented and stratified labor market by suggesting that:

Labour markets have always been structured, and the higher the skills and status of the workers the more organized and protected their position. Moreover, those parts of the labour market where workers are continually thrown into competition have been typified by low pay and the most degrading working conditions (x).

Robbins (2005) stipulated that in order to better understand forces that drive capitalism, in the context of globalization, it becomes necessary to examine why people chose or are forced to sell their labor in the marketplace.

Polanyi (2001) would posit that the present-day plight of migrant workers is the result of the competitive, self-regulating market in which they toil. Self-regulation implies that their labor is for sale on the market and nothing should be allowed to inhibit the formation of the labor market (72). Historically, labor’s motive of action transformed from a motive of subsistence to that of a motive of gain (44). However, the laborer’s framework for understanding his role in the self-regulating market is limited. Polanyi suggested that *ideally* the self-regulating market runs on non-economic motives (48). The laborer “does not act to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets” (48). To the laborer, the maintenance of social ties is crucial. However, under a self-regulating market, the laborer’s social relationships become disjointed and ultimately annihilated (44). As a result, the laborer’s motives have become economic and his actions have become the actions of the market economy. Therefore, the migrant worker,

under the laws of a market economy, obeys the “laws of the jungle” (131) and finds himself paralyzed and marginalized from economic society.

Marx (Kamenka 1983) would assert that the each individual migrant worker must “face with sober sense his real conditions of life” (207) and understand his relationship with his fellow class (wage laborers) and their struggles with the owners of capital. Migrant workers are, in fact, a class of wage laborers who “live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital” (211). The migrant laborer has become objectified (133) and alienated from the means of production (135) because, primarily, labor has become *external* [his emphasis] to the worker (136). Therefore, an inherent antagonistic relationship exists between modern bourgeois (capital-driven) business and the growing proletariat class of migrant workers.

Weber (1958) would argue that the more rational, and thus impersonal, capital-driven business becomes, the more the migrant worker’s relationship to his fellow man (brotherliness) is subverted (331). Weber did not deny that class struggles exist, but he did not see them as anything more than situational (or ordered) to the market situation (182). The economic order conditions the social order (181) and the resulting classes are created out of unambiguous economic interest involved squarely in the interest of the market (183). Classes are not communities, such as Marx’s proletariat, but are rather bases for communal action (181). According to Weber, a migrant worker, for instance, would likely voluntarily pursue his self-interest according to whether is “constitutionally qualified for the task” (183) and not based upon class interest; whereas Marx believed that the worker’s task is “forced upon him and from which he cannot escape” (Kamenka

1983:177) and that individuals members of this involuntary class are being “hurled down” into the proletariat by the action of the capitalist class (Kamenka 1983:231). Weber, critical of Marx’s statement that although the individual “may be in error concerning his interests...the ‘class’ is ‘infallible’ about his interests” (185), would seek to position the class situation of the migrant worker solely in the communal actions of the labor market, the commodities market, and the capitalistic enterprise (185). Any chance at upward mobility by the migrant worker within the labor market can only be achieved when both the occupation and wage structure achieves parity with that of the native workforce (Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark 1996).

Navigating the Labor Landscape in the Rural Midwest

Labor markets are geographically distinct, Peck (1996) asserted, and stem from “variability in the social and institutional fabric that sustains and regulates capitalist employment relations” (11). In essence, “geography matters to the way that labor markets work” (13). The labor landscape for migrant workers is tenuous at best. Parks (2005) suggested that the concentration of migrant workers into a few jobs, such as agriculture, is one of the defining characteristics of the local labor market landscape. Industries such as agriculture, according to Robbins (2005), attract unskilled workers because in order to stay competitive they “must pay the lowest wages and yet maximize worker output” (57). Employers need workers, Massey, Durand, and Nolan (2002) argued, motivated by wages that are higher than those offered in home countries or communities along the U.S. border; newly arrived immigrants or internal migrants meet that need. If economic conditions warrant, they are injured on the job, or if they attempt to organize, workers are

often let go. As a result of this unstable landscape, agricultural workers are in constant demand, but provided with little opportunity for upward mobility.

According to Dalla, Ellis, and Cramer (2005), the most significant factor attracting most new migrant labor to the rural Midwest is employment in the food processing industry. Beginning in the 1960s, large meat processing plants using non-union labor began to operate in the rural Midwest (Lamphere, Grenier, and Stepick 1994) and these jobs attracted large numbers of migrants due to the fact that they require both minimal training and minimal English language skills (Dalla and Braugher 2001). Meat processing quickly became a leading industry in the Midwest and continues to possess considerable growth potential. Today's industry leaders, Tyson (beef), Smithfield Foods (pork), and Pilgrim's Pride (broilers), employ large numbers of migrant workers (Hendrickson and Heffernan 2007). Although most meat-processing plants offer year-round employment, turnover rates can range from 20 to 80 percent annually (Dalla, Ellis, and Cramer 2005) and new hires are continuously being sought. The demand for cheap labor often outweighs the supply and employers are casting ever-wider nets in order to lure new employees to these labor intensive, stressful and often dangerous jobs

In this regard, it is no surprise that food-processing facilities have moved from urban centers to rural communities, particularly to the Midwest. Cheap and available land, ample water, access to feed, good transportation infrastructure, and low cost-of-living have been attractive incentives for cost-conscious agribusinesses to relocate and build state-of-the-art meat processing facilities. The only variable not available in the rural Midwest was sufficient low-skilled labor willing to work for low non-union wages in often monotonous and

potentially dangerous jobs. Therefore, agribusinesses had to look elsewhere for the labor.

The importation of immigrants or the relocation of internal migrants seemed the only solution. As a result, Latinos began to change the demographic and economic landscape of the Midwest in the decade of the 1980s. While Latinos have significantly increased the region's population since the 1990s (Aponte and Siles 1997), and in effect, browned the Midwest, they have also sustained a major loss in real income and an increase in poverty (Aponte and Siles 1994). The economic downturn during the latter part of the first decade of the 21st century has exacerbated the problem for Latinos not only in the Midwest, but nationwide by causing a real decline in homeownership (Kochhar, Gonzalez-Barrera, and Dockterman 2009, May 12), a cut in remittances sent to their country of origin (Lopez, Livingston, and Kochhar 2009, January 8), and a sharp rise in unemployment (Kochhar 2009, February 12).

Summary

The storied history of Mexican migration to the United States is grounded in often competing underlying theories. While no meta-theory of international migration presently exists, trans-national labors' impact on the world's economy cannot be underscored. Segments of the globalized economy, such as agribusiness, are structurally dependent upon the need for migrant labor and both agribusiness and migrant labor have converged in the rural Midwest of the United States. Migrant workers have left an indelible mark on the very rural communities in which many temporarily reside.

The Relationship Between Aspirations and Achievement

“I’d like to be a lawyer, but I don’t know if I can be loyal to this goal because here you lose enthusiasm because you don’t have papers and you can’t receive like you can in your country and so you don’t really try. Even if you make an effort, you can’t get ahead.”

~ Kansas Migrant Student, 2006

In their study of Latino newcomers in Nebraska, Carranza and Gouveia (2002) purported that the assimilation, or “positive integration” (3), of newcomers was dependent upon the established human and social capital in newcomer communities and, more importantly, upon the social and economic barriers they must overcome in order to successfully integrate. Key to the integration process is the education of both immigrant children and U.S-born children of immigrants. “It is in education,” according to DiCerbo (2001), “that aspirations to a better life, aspirations to becoming a respected part of society, aspirations to self-fulfillment – are given form and substance and meaning” (1). Those aspirations, however, often translate into poor achievement resulting in blocked opportunities (Kao and Tienda 1998), downward mobility, and social isolation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001); thus, the “aspirations-achievement” paradox (Kao and Tienda 1998:379).

In an interesting study of Israeli-born Palestinian youth in Israel, Khattab (2003) concluded that the youth, despite their disadvantage within Israeli society, “develop educational aspirations that exceed their community’s actual achievements and indeed exceed what they can themselves achieve” (295). Achievement, according to Portes and Hao (2004), may reflect the “resilience of individual determination despite adverse external circumstances” (11927). The aspirations and achievements of first, second, and even third generation immigrants to the U.S. may be better understood through the

examination theoretical models that explain immigrant integration. Understanding the process of immigrant integration will shed light on why immigrant and migrant youth drop out of school and why programs of support, such as the federally funded Migrant Education Program, have an important role to play in helping migrant children to remain in school and enabling here-to-work youth to reconnect with a whole host of educationally related services.

Models of Immigrant Integration

Three general socio-historical models have been proffered to explain immigrant integration: Straight-Line Assimilation, Blocked Assimilation, and Segmented Assimilation. In addition, these models have generated hypotheses regarding the educational attainment of immigrant youth: straight-line assimilation, accommodation-without-assimilation, and immigrant optimism.

Straight-Line Assimilation. This theory emerged during the 1920s to explain the assimilation process undertaken by the waves of immigrant groups in America's early history. Robert Park (1928) and his fellow sociologists at the University of Chicago believed that "in migration the breakdown of social order is initiated by the impact of an invading population, and completed by the contact and fusion of native with alien peoples" (885). Although he advanced a "catastrophic theory of progress" (882) regarding the fusion of people and cultures, he conceded that every nation generally became a successful melting pot (883). The central tenet of this theory purported that diverse groups of people eventually come to share a common culture (Zhou 1997) by literally and figuratively shedding their "old ways" and adapting to and subsequently

adopting the norms of the mainstream culture. The “Americanization” of immigrants may have subordinated ethnic communities, but the process inevitably led to the harmony of society (Gonzalez 1997). With regard to educational attainment, the hypothesis of straight-line assimilation predicts that immigrant youth will achieve poorly, but that achievement will increase with subsequent generations (Kao and Tienda 1995).

Park (1914) argued that there are typically four stages in the straight-line assimilation process: contact between the groups; conflict among the groups; accommodation of the minority by the majority; and finally, assimilation of the minority into the majority (see Kao and Tienda 1995). Gordon (1964) furthered Park’s work by defining an assimilation subprocess known as acculturation, a potentially “indefinite condition” (77) that may eventually lead to the adoption of mainstream language and cultural norms, and provide access to the society’s structures and institutions (71). As recently as 2003, Alba and Nee’s new theory of assimilation proposed that the very institutions to which Gordon referred, such as schools and the workplace, might play a more active and important role in the assimilation process. Park eventually abandoned the Anglo-conformist view of straight-line assimilation for the more “bumpy-line” version put forth by Herbert Gans (1992) (Kivisto, 2004), but the theory dominated most of the 20th century. Today, theories of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism provide alternative views of an American society more accepting of difference (Burdick-Will and Gómez 2006).

Blocked Assimilation. In the early 1960s, Glazer and Moynihan (1963) argued that one’s race/ethnicity either helped or hindered economic mobility. More contemporary literature suggested (see Bean and Gillian 2003) that the appropriation of

language and cultural norms might only lead to partial assimilation. Deeply rooted discrimination and structural barriers blocked full assimilation (Brown and Bean 2006). Although the barriers may not be fully understood by immigrants themselves, they may attempt to overcome those barriers through educational or occupational improvement (Kao and Tienda 1998). Voluntary minorities such as Latino immigrants (Gibson and Ogbu 1991) might be more motivated to achieve in the school and workplace, whereas subordinated minorities such as Native Americans (Nelson and Tienda 1985) might find their opportunities blocked. With regard to educational attainment, the hypothesis of accommodation-without-assimilation implies that immigrant youth may indeed perform well academically, but may see their achievement decline as they assimilate with the U.S born peers (Kao and Tienda 1995). Critics of this theory have countered that too much emphasis is placed on racial and ethnic barriers and ignores the evidence on social and economic mobility (Brown and Bean 2006).

Segmented Assimilation. In 1993, Portes and Zhou melded their theories of straight-line assimilation and blocked assimilation to form the new theory of segmented assimilation. This new theory is more concerned with the degree to which an immigrant groups assimilates and into which segment of society.

Instead of a relatively uniform mainstream whose mores and prejudices dictate a common path of integration, we observe today several distinct forms of adaptation. One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity (82).

Historically, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) asserted, the old factory-based economy allowed for multigenerational upward socioeconomic mobility. The children of 1880-1920

immigrants, noted Waldinger (2007), moved ahead due to the availability of well-paying, relatively low-skilled jobs in manufacturing. Under the New Deal, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) contended, the demand for manufactured goods during World War II reopened the industrial labor market and created new opportunities for second- and even third-generation workers. Even during the post-WWII transformation of the workforce up until 1970, the descendants of the turn-of-the-century labor migrant found opportunities that allowed for their upward mobility and assimilation into the mainstream (Alba and Nee 2003).

While there are those that argued that the second generation of recent immigrants gained incorporation into working-class America like the white Polish and Italian immigrants at the turn of the 20th century (Waldinger, Lim, and Cort 2007), there are others who contended that the children of low-skilled immigrants, such as those mainly from Mexico entering a mainly white society still afflicted with racism, were likely to have their aspirations unrealized and their opportunities for “incremental upward mobility” reduced (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:59). Gouveia and Powell (2007) postulated that if the local communities do not provide the children of newcomers with educational opportunities that will provide them with access to higher paying jobs, they will be relegated to the unskilled, low-paying jobs of their parents. With regard to educational attainment, the hypothesis of immigrant optimism posits that second generation youth will academically out perform both their foreign- and native-born peers due to their English language proficiency as well as their parents’ optimism (Kao and Tienda 1995).

Portes and Hao (2004) suggested that the entire socioeconomic success of today’s immigrant wave is closely linked to the successful adaptation and integration of their

children and youth. Although contemporary research suggests that while the majority of second-generation young adults move ahead educationally and occupationally, a significant majority are still left behind (Portes, Fernández-Kelley, and Haller 2005). Carranza and Gouveia (2002) suggested that when the children of immigrants and their parents “experience a hostile context of reception, framed in large part by low wages and adverse policy and cultural environments, time actually diminishes the original immigrant drive and has a negative impact on children’s adaptation process” (2). Educational attainment is tied to the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the individual as well as the socioeconomic resources of the individual’s family and is key for social and economic mobility (Zsembik 1996). The children of immigrants, in an “hourglass economy” either have to acquire the college-associated degrees and skills to move into the professional/managerial elite or else be relegated to the same menial jobs of their parents (Waldinger, Lim, and Cort 2007:2-3).

Dropping Out of School and Dropping Into the Migrant Education Program

“Extraordinarily poor, generally limited English proficient, and with frequent disrupted schooling,” migrant students face greater risk of dropping out than does any other group (DiCerbo 2001). Because of their high mobility, migrant students often have a very difficult time accruing the necessary credits and meeting all of the other requirements for graduation (Green 2003). Migrant students, as with all students, may have low self-esteem (Prewitt Diaz, Trotter, and Rivers 1989) and simply lose their eagerness and respect for school (Romo 1999) and decide to drop out. In addition, many migrant students come from high poverty homes and the lure of work to bring in extra

income for the family is strong. Furthermore many migrant students come from families with parents who did not graduate from high school and may not instill this value in the children.

In her study of the relationship between high school dropout risk factors and immigrant generation Hispanic youth, Driscoll (1999) concluded that factors such as high educational expectations, family income, and past academic performance protect both first and second generation youth from dropping out of school. In addition, Gouveia and Powell (2007) confirmed what was already widely known about immigrant parents, that the parents' own educational background is a major predictor of their children's educational and socioeconomic futures. Moreover, in her study of the relationship between the retention of a student's culture and their likelihood of dropping out of school, Feliciano (2001) determined that those students who have not abandoned their cultures, but continue to draw resources from both their native cultures and the mainstream cultures, are least likely to drop out of school. Finally, with regard to the very schools attended by immigrant and second-generation youth, Portes and Hao (2004) found that the socioeconomic status of the school was "positively associated with educational performance and negatively associated with dropping out" (11921).

Recently, the United States has seen an influx in migrant youth who left school in their native country south of the U.S. border before sojourning to "*El Norte*" to seek work. Although these youth did not drop out of a U.S. school, they are often erroneously included in the calculus for the overall U.S. Hispanic dropout rate (Fry 2003, June 12). As of 2009, approximately 11 percent of Latino immigrant children and youth were foreign-born first generation whereas nearly 52 percent are U.S.-born second generation

(Fry and Passel 2009, May 28). What remains unclear is the percentage of the foreign-born first generation between the ages of 18 and 22 who are part of the U.S. workforce, specifically migrant work. Generally the dropout rate for U.S. Hispanics is roughly 30 percent. If you exclude the foreign-born Latino youth who have dropped out of school in their native country, then the overall Hispanic dropout rate falls to about 15 percent (Fry 2003, June 12).

Migrant dropouts or here-to-work youth do not directly benefit from federal and state dollars and resources because these dollars are funneled through the very school systems they no longer attend (Hill 2007). Although some migrant out-of-school youth (OSY) do receive a modicum of services through the federally funded Migrant Education Program (MEP), the vast majority goes without. In 2001, the Office of Migrant Education (OME) announced a secondary student initiative in order to increase the graduate rate of migrant students, but no data or report has been made available regarding this effort. In 2007, OME launched the Migrant Students Records Exchange Initiative (MSIX). This secure system is designed to allow states to electronically transfer education and health information on migrant students who move from state to state. The records exchange is intended to ensure a more accurate count of migrant children as well as to ensure that migrant youth accrue the necessary credits in order to graduate.

Schools often simply do not know how to connect with migrant children (Center for Educational Planning 1989) and are reticent to reach out to dropouts and here-to-work youth when current resources are stretched very thin. It is important to note that the MEP is a supplemental program and should not supplant existing dollars or services. When a school is able to provide migrant children with a wide array of supplemental academic

support services, then their chances of staying in school and eventually graduating improves (Gibson 2003). Some of these services should include: providing access to institutional (schoolwide) support; creating caring relationships between school staff and students; building upon and validating students' home cultures; and fostering a sense of belonging or membership to the school community. Gonzalez and Padilla (1997) revealed that a sense of belonging was the single predictor of academic resilience. According to Alva (1991), resilient students "sustain high levels of achievement motivation and performance despite the presence of stressful events and conditions that place them at risk of doing poorly in school and ultimately dropping out of school" (19). "Embedded in the structure of MEP," according to Gibson (2002), "is a deliberate and active merging of students' multiple worlds, which serves both to empower students and to validate the crucial relationships that exist between home, school, and community" (171).

Summary

Improving the educational attainment of migrant youth is critical to their socioeconomic success. The aspirations-achievement paradox need not be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Further examination of Kao and Tienda's (1995) hypothesis of immigrant optimism may lead to a new theory of immigrant integration that better explains dropout prevention and the overall success of immigration generations. Although migrant students and out-of-school youth are typically defined by their deficits, programs of support such as the Migrant Education Program can turn those deficits into assets and enable this very young population to act upon their dreams.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

“...here are some social problems before us demanding careful study, questions awaiting satisfactory answers. We must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve; and the utmost that the world can demand is, not lack of human interest and moral conviction, but rather the heart-quality of fairness, and an earnest desire for the truth despite its possible unpleasantness” (59).

W.E.B. Du Bois, 1940

The chapter provides an overview of the rationale for conducting a comprehensive assessment of the needs of migrant youth. These youth may have no other choice but to work and find that with limited schooling their labor is their most valuable asset. Although they may dream of a better life beyond their present condition, they are often uncertain as to how to make those dreams a reality.

Introduction

The goal of the Migrant Education Program (MEP) is to support high-quality comprehensive educational programs for migrant children and youth to reduce the educational disruptions and other problems that result from repeated moves. The cornerstone of the MEP is the identification and recruitment (ID&R) of children and youth eligible to receive federally funded services. However, ID&R is often difficult because migrant agriculture workers are highly mobile as they pursue temporary or seasonal agricultural work. Migrant out-of-school youth (OSY) comprise a portion of all

migrant children and youth and this segment is among the least understood of the agricultural workforce. What is known is that migrant OSY focus exclusively on work at the expense of continuing their education and have needs that must be identified and addressed. Yet the population has not garnered the attention of demographers and sociologists. The target population for this study is migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas with the purpose of gaining deeper insight into both the unique and shared characteristics of this group of young workers.

A key question underling this research asks whether a representative sample of migrant out-of-school youth can shed light on the underlying characteristics of this least understood segment of the workforce. Other key concerns include:

1. How a representative sample of migrant OSY is identified and recruited into the study?
2. What are the key characteristics of this underserved group of migrant workers?
3. What are the expressed needs and aspirations of migrant OSY?
4. What can Migrant Education Program do to provide better outreach and targeted services.

Two broad theoretical themes underlie this study: 1) the relationship between migration and labor, and 2) the aspiration-achievement paradox. While the migrant worker may be motivated by personal gain to pursue work in the United States, the worker may find himself disconnected from the very society in which he or she temporarily resides. As a result of this marginalization, he may have many unmet needs that have to be addressed so he may achieve something greater than his present condition. Programs of support, such as the MEP, have an important role to play in the lives of

migrant workers and their families. An assessment of need by the Kansas MEP of migrant OSY will enable the program to examine both the nature and causes of their needs and to set priorities for future action. The success of this young population is dependent upon the actions taken by organizations such as the MEP and is also highly dependent upon the willingness of the migrant OSY to honestly share their needs and aspirations with the program as well as their openness to receive help from the program.

The Kansas MEP has undertaken this study of migrant out-of-school youth in order to 1) identify and profile the population in southwestern Kansas; 2) to identify the comprehensive needs and aspirations of the population; and 3) to identify policies and programs that will enable the Kansas MEP to better identify and serve the population.

Rationale for Conducting a Comprehensive Assessment of Needs

The plight of Mexican migrants (see Martinez 2001; Hellman 2009) as well as seasonal migrant farmworkers (see Rothenberg 1998; Thompson and Wiggins 2002) has been richly documented. The impact of migrant workers on the meat processing industry and on rural communities is also well documented (see Broadway 1994; Dalla, Ellis, and Cramer 2005; Eisnitz 1997; Gouveia 1994; Gouveia and Stull 1997; Henness 2002; Henry, Drabenstott, and Mitchell 2003; Stull 1994; Stull and Broadway 2003; Stull, Broadway, and Erickson 1992; Stull, Broadway, and Griffith 1995; United States General Accounting Office 1998). However, very little research has been done on the perceptions (see Gouveia and Stull 1997; Rosenbaum 1997) or expressed needs (see Quandt, Arcury, Early, Tapia, and Davis 2004) of immigrant workers, especially migrant youth (see Hill

and Hayes 2007), and on the degree to which the migrants are integrated into the state and local fabric of services (see Carranza and Gouveia 2002).

A needs assessment is a multi-step process that documents existing individual and/or group needs in order to develop sound policies, programs, and activities that will ameliorate those needs. In short, the process identifies gaps between current perceived conditions and a desired state. An organization should have the resources to fully study needs as well as the ability to develop sound programs to address them (Altschuld and Witkin 2000). However, whenever an organization sets out to change something, they inevitably run the risk of not accomplishing that which they set out to accomplish (Kaufman and English 1979). An overview of the needs assessment process will provide the foundation for why the Kansas Migrant Education Program chose to conduct an assessment of the needs of migrant out-of-school-youth (OSY).

The Needs Assessment Process

Witkin and Altschuld (1995) denote that a needs assessment “is conducted to derive information and perceptions of values as a guide to making policy and program decisions that will benefit specific groups of people” (5). The intent, they continue, is not to diagnose, but rather to describe. The entire process is based upon the identification of needs. A *need* is defined as “a discrepancy or gap between ‘what is,’ or the present state of affairs in regard to the group and situation of interest, and ‘what should be,’ or a desired state of affairs” (Witkin and Altschuld 1995:4). A needs assessment, therefore, is a systematic set of procedures that are used to determine needs, examine their nature and causes, and set priorities for future action. A thorough needs assessment:

- focuses on the *ends* (i.e., outcomes) to be attained, rather than the *means* (i.e., process);
- gathers data by means of *established procedures and methods* designed for specific purposes;
- *sets priorities and determines criteria for solutions* so that sound decisions can be made; and
- *sets criteria* for determining how to best allocate available money, people, facilities, and other resources (Office of Migrant Education, CNA Guidebook 2004:9).

If executed well, a needs assessment will lead to solutions that will directly ameliorate the needs of the individuals being assessed.

The unmet needs of migrant agricultural workers often leave them marginalized from existing social networks built around school and church, as well as from professional networks such as those associated with unions. Instead, migrant workers have come to rely on peer and family networks in order to navigate unfamiliar social, cultural, and work-related landscapes that are typically accessible to most Americans. Furthermore, migrant workers find themselves to be expendable pawns in a much larger geo-political chess game between the labor demands of local markets and national immigration exclusionists. As a result of their marginalization, migrant workers are often invisible and left to fend for themselves. Thus identifying this population of young agricultural workers in order to gain insight into their needs and aspirations is a challenge.

A needs assessment is a decision-making tool that directly benefits the target population, but may have secondary benefits to other key stakeholders as well. According to Altschuld and Witkin (2000), there are basically three levels with which to target the needs assessment process:

Level 1 (the primary level) consists of those individuals who would be the direct recipients or receivers of services. The services would be a result of a program developed to resolve a high-priority need. Examples of these target groups would be students, clients, patients, customers, and so on.

Level 2 (the secondary level) is composed of individuals or groups who deliver services to Level 1 (and sometimes Level 2 is used to refer to a treatment provided to Level 1 target groups). Examples would be teachers, social workers, counselors, health care professional, librarians, policymakers, administrators, and others.

Level 3 (the tertiary level), which is substantially different from Levels 1 and 2, focuses on resources and inputs into solutions. Examples of this level of need are buildings, facilities, classrooms, transportation systems, salaries and benefits, program delivery systems, and the like.

It is important to remember that a needs assessment should be primarily directed toward the Level 1 target population. The target population is the reason why Levels 2 and 3 exist and is the main recipient of targeted services (Altschuld and Witkin 2000). A needs assessment, therefore, is a “tool for constructive and positive change – not change solely driven by controversy, ‘quick-fixes,’ and situational crises, but rational, logical,

functional change” (Kaufman and English 1979). As a result, several benefits are derived from conducting a needs assessment (Adapted from the Office of Migrant Education’s CNA Guidebook 2004):

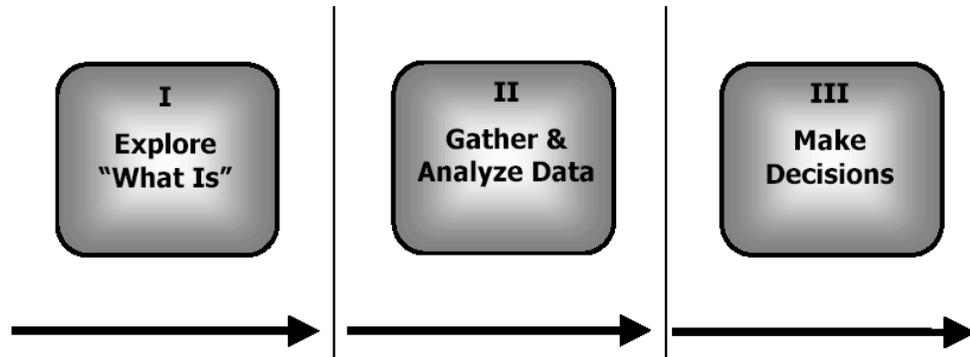
- The process encourages a thorough review of a program’s services.
- The process engages a program’s staff and creates readiness for change.
- The process ensures that a program’s efforts are directed at the most in need.
- The process determines how a program’s funds are allocated.

A needs assessment typically occurs in three operational phases: 1) Preassessment, 2) Assessment, and 3) Postassessment. The Preassessment, or exploratory, phase identifies the major areas of need and/or issues for the target population and culls existing information regarding need areas. In addition, the types of data to collect, data sources and methods, and potential uses of data are determined. The assessment, or data gathering, phase collects, analyzes, and synthesizes data for the target population and organizes needs according to priority. Finally, the postassessment, or utilization, phase considers possible solutions to ameliorate needs and develops an action plan to implement those solutions (Altschuld and Witkin 2000:11). The Office of Migrant Education synthesized the needs assessment process into a three-phase model (see Figure 1) (2004).

Figure 1.

A Three-Phase Model of Needs Assessment

...a systematic approach that progresses through a defined series of phases



While a needs assessment attempts to identify and understand current problems, the findings serve as a “guide for planning future actions” taken by a program (Witkin and Altschuld 1995:210). The identified needs must be prioritized based on several concerns (Office of Migrant Education 2004:45):

- The magnitude of discrepancies between current and target states;
- Causes and contributing concerns to the needs;
- The degree of difficulty in addressing the needs;
- Risk assessment - the consequences of ignoring the needs;
- The effect on other parts of the system if a specific need is or is not met;
- The cost of implementing solutions; and
- Other concerns that might affect efforts to solve the need.

The proposed action plan should include descriptions of the solutions, the implementation strategies, the rationale, the proposed timelines, the resource requirements, and the monitoring mechanisms (Office of Migrant Education 2004:48). Ultimately, a needs assessment is “a form of this structured decision making that allows for allocating limited resources in ways where they will have the most impact” (Southwest Comprehensive Center at WestEd 2008).

Comprehensive Needs Assessment of Migrant Out-of-School Youth

The Kansas Migrant Education Program conducted a federally mandated statewide comprehensive needs assessment (CNA) from 2004-2006. The final report’s recommendations for Kansas migrant children included a need to increase their proficiency in reading and math, a need to increase their English language proficiency, and a need to increase their graduation rate from high school. During the CNA process members of the committee often expressed concerns about the alarming dropout rate of Kansas’s migrant students, but the needs of dropouts or here-to-work youth were largely ignored.

Various data collection methods were employed during the Kansas CNA process to assess needs and identify solutions. These methods included:

- statewide focus groups of migrant students and parents
- surveys conducted with MEP recruiters
- reviews of State assessment results in reading and mathematics with comparisons made between migrant student achievement results and that of their non-migrant peers

- reports on achievement and credit accrual toward high school graduation that were generated through the Kansas migrant student database: MIS2000
- discussion groups, anecdotal information, and structured phone interviews with state and local MEP staff (Kansas State Department of Education 2007:3)

A statewide committee of key stakeholders, including migrant workers, was involved during the entire process and was instrumental in formulating recommendations for program improvement. At the conclusion of the Kansas CNA process, it was proposed that a comprehensive assessment of the needs of Kansas's migrant out-of-school youth should be undertaken as a logical next step.

Migrant out-of-school youth (OSY), 18 through 21 years of age, are mandated by Title I, Part C of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 to be served through the U.S. Department of Education's Migrant Education Program (MEP). Ideally, every effort should be made to prevent migrant children from dropping out of school. However, youth that have dropped out or are here to work, should be given every opportunity to graduate from high school, receive a high school equivalency certificate, or receive other educationally-related services. Migrant OSY typically are not literate in English, work for poverty-level wages, and have little or no health insurance coverage (Hill and Hayes 2007). Federal programs such as the MEP have traditionally focused on serving migrant children attending public schools and not the youth that have fallen away from the educational system. In addition, a sizeable portion of the migrant OSY population may be undocumented and therefore unable to access many existing governmental or social services. As a result of their limited educational and life experiences, migrant OSY are in

need, more than ever, of the services of and guidance from the Migrant Education Program. Before services are rendered, however, a thorough assessment of need must be undertaken in order to shed light on this seemingly invisible population.

Summary

A needs assessment will identify the special needs of migrant OSY that have resulted from their migratory lifestyle and must be met in order for them to participate effectively in the workplace and in the society at-large. The needs assessment process employs a set of procedures that are used to identify the needs, examine the nature and causes of the needs, and set priorities for future action to address those needs. While conducting a thorough needs assessment of migrant OSY poses its own unique challenges, the programs and services that may result will enable the youth to further their individualized educational and professional goals while continuing to work and provide for their livelihood,

Population and Sample

The population of interest typically possesses a certain characteristic or group of shared characteristics (Fraenkel and Wallen 2006). The actual population may be any size and is usually referred to as the target population to which the researcher would like to generalize. Although the entire target population may be difficult to enumerate, identifying a smaller, or more accessible, population may be prudent. The accessible population may be further described as a sampling frame from which a smaller sample may be drawn for further study. Focusing on an accessible population generally saves on

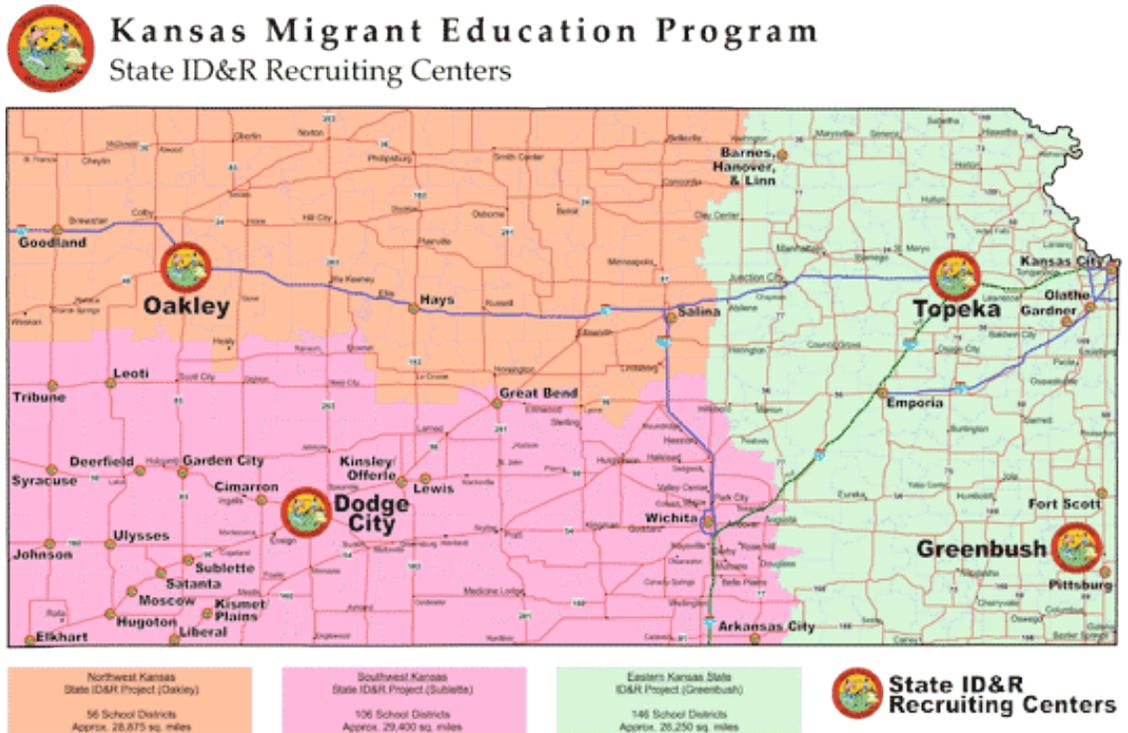
time, effort, and even money, but may limit the study's generalizability (Fraenkel and Wallen 2006). It is, therefore, incumbent upon the researcher to describe the target population as well as the sampling frame so others interested in studying the population may do so accurately and independently.

The purpose of this study is to identify and profile the population of migrant out-of-school youth (OSY), 18 through 21 years of age, in southwestern Kansas.

Southwestern Kansas was chosen for this study because the region has the State's largest concentration of agribusinesses and agricultural workers in the State. In the first phase of this study, the Kansas Migrant Education Program (MEP) identified the target population of migrant OSY. Because of the high mobility of the target population, a window was created in order to capture the population of migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas.

Migrant OSY were identified between 1 January 2008 and 30 April 2008 in the communities in and around Dodge City, Kansas (see Map 1). A State ID&R Recruiting Center is located in Dodge City and the recruiting efforts were coordinated out of that office.

Map 1.



Temporary recruiters were hired by the Dodge City Recruiting Center on short-term contracts (2-6 weeks). The recruiters possessed the language skills and cultural characteristics of the target population and were drawn from the very communities in which the out-of-school youth live and work. MEP staff trained the recruiters on how to complete the Kansas Certificate of Eligibility (COE) as well as the Kansas Migrant OSY Needs Assessment Protocol and the Work History Report developed for this study. The recruiters were instructed to seek out and interview migrant OSY and they employed various strategies to do so. Initially, every effort was made to identify migrant OSY through their employers, but many employers were reticent to share information about their employees citing both privacy and food security concerns.

In interviews conducted with two of the five recruiters hired for the study, it became clear and that existing friend, relative, and peer networks enabled the recruiters to begin the process of identifying migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas.

Maria: I have been here in Dodge City for 43 years, so I know a lot of people. So my old friends, you know, my older friends, I said please keep an eye on young kids and let me know.

Luz Maria: It is not easy to find these people. The first people, I look for them, it was in Lewis, Kansas. And then I have relatives in Lewis, Kansas. And right there it was like a little branch to hang on. And I called a lady named [deleted] and she just helped me to get in contact at least with seven kids who didn't finish their high school. Then I went over there, I interviewed them and some of them qualify and some don't. Since the time, those kids gave me names or numbers for other kids in other towns. And then, it was the way how I spread that information and it is the way like I have been finding people.

In addition, the recruiters visited area discount dollar and grocery stores, laundromats, the Salvation Army, and the local parks and began talking with people who look like they may be eligible for the Migrant Education Program.

Luz Maria: Some people trusted me and gave me the right information. Some of the people, I even scared them just with asking them and they just ran away. They were thinking maybe like government issue or something. And some people, I am pretty sure they qualify for this program. They never give me any information because they were so afraid to get that information to someone else going and look for them.

Both Maria and Luz Maria acknowledged that they identified many more individuals who never finished high school, but were unable to recruit them into the study or the migrant program because they were older than 22 years of age - the maximum age for participation in both the study and program, and they had not moved from one school

district to another in the past 36 months to seek or obtain agricultural work - one of the key provisions for recruitment into the migrant program.

Luz Maria: ... so many people who never finished high school and so many people who still want to finish the high school. But unfortunately, those people don't fit in the age group. But they are still waiting. They are still waiting for me to go back with a new project or something because they are so interested in finishing high school.

Of all the people interviewed during the study's recruiting window, Maria estimates that she qualified approximately 70% and Luz Maria approximately 20% of the youth for the study.

Seventy-five migrant out-of-school youth were identified by the end of April of 2008. The collected COEs and accompanying documents were submitted and verified by the State ID&R Quality Control Services (COE Approval) and forwarded to me for initial analysis. The data contained on each COE, Needs Assessment Protocol and Work History Form was entered into a series of spreadsheets and generated descriptive statistics about the identified population. This list constituted the sampling frame from which the set of individuals to be interviewed were chosen (see Fowler 2008).

In the second phase, more in-depth data was collected via oral interviews from a sample of migrant OSY identified in the first phase. Although each individual within the sampling frame had an equal chance of being selected for an interview, the sample chosen was dependent upon the youth's continued presence in the community as well as his or her availability and willingness to be interviewed. Oral interviews were then scheduled for late June 2008 in southwestern Kansas. Two of the recruiters, Maria, and Luz Maria, from the first phase were re-hired for three weeks to assist me with

identifying participants and to assist with the oral interviews since I am not proficient in Spanish. For one week, the two recruiters reviewed the sampling frame provided by me and removed from the list the names of the youth who were known to have left southwestern Kansas. The recruiters then split the list and began contacting individuals to ask if they would be available for an interview. Since I was unknown to the migrant youth, the vast majority declined to be interviewed.

Unbeknownst to me and just days before my arrival in southwestern Kansas, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Fugitive Operations Teams conducted a series of sweeps in the Midwest, including southwestern Kansas, targeting those who have failed to comply with deportation orders. Over a five-day period ending 24 June 2008, ICE arrested 33 people in Garden City and 15 in Dodge City. Most of the immigrants were arrested at their homes and some were arrested at work. It remains unclear if the beef-packing plants were targeted (Swanson 2008; U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2008). Prior to my visit to southwestern Kansas and as a result of the recent raid, it was suggested by key Kansas Migrant Education Program staff that migrant youth would be reticent to talk to a grey-haired, white guy at their place of residence or work even through they would be assured of my intent by the recruiters.

Once on the ground in Dodge City, I decided, in consultation with key Kansas Migrant Education Program staff that it would be best if the recruiters contacted youth on the list and brought them directly to the Dodge City Recruiting Center to be interviewed. As an incentive to being interviewed, the youth would be given a Spanish-English pocket translator. Phone calls and house visits were made, dates and times were set, and when the recruiter went to pick the individuals up prior to their designated appointment, they

we often not home. When called by the recruiters to check on their whereabouts, their phones (prepaid cell phones, I was told) were often no longer in service.

After numerous attempts, only four migrant youth made themselves available for face-to-face interviews. Maria then suggested that perhaps the migrant youth would be more amenable to phone interviews. The recruiters made some preliminary calls to schedule phone interviews. After numerous attempts, only three phone interviews were achieved. The recruiters and I began calling from the phone numbers we had on our list, but to no avail. Luz Maria then proffered her own theory as to why we are having difficulty reaching many of the migrant youth; they are in mourning and attending the wake and funeral of a peer relative and/or friend.

A young man named Jose was found shot and killed in Chihuahua, Mexico. He grew up in Kinsley, Kansas and eventually married a girl who was a Mexican national. They were in the process of completing her immigration paperwork when the U.S. government asked her to return to Mexico to await her authorization U.S. visa. Since they have two children and because he didn't want his wife to be alone in Mexico, Jose brought the entire family to Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua. Juarez is just across the border from El Paso, Texas and because Jose was a U.S. citizen, he knew he could get work in El Paso. He had never before been to Mexico. They had only been in Mexico for a few months when a gang targeting cars with U.S. tags crossing into Mexico, kidnapped Jose and demanded a ransom to be paid in a very short period of time. When the ransom was not paid, they shot Jose five times in the chest and dumped his body. An extended network of friends and family from throughout southwestern Kansas were gathering for his memorial services during the very week I was in the region to conduct interviews.

An ICE raid engendered fear into the southwest Kansas community and drove an already hidden population deeper into the shadows. A few weeks later, a tragic death brought the community together. Although the best of intentions brought my research and me to the region, real life got in the way of best laid plans. In addition, the Kansas Migrant Education Program provided funds for me to be in southwestern Kansas for only seven days. I simply had to proceed with the number of interviews I could capture and rely on the data they provided. With such a small sample, it will be difficult to generalize to the target population, but keen insights into the population of migrant OSY will be gleaned from both the quantitative and qualitative data gathered during this study.

Data Collection and Instrumentation

This sequential study was conducted in two phases: 1) quantitative data gathering through structured interviews, and 2) qualitative data enhancement through follow-up semi-structured interviews with a small sample of the population. This study employed a sequential mixed methods approach to interviewing. A mixed methods interview approach may occur concurrently when a close-ended question would be immediately followed up with an open-ended question elaborating upon the same question, or sequentially when the quantitative and qualitative data are collected in phases. Either mixed-method approach ensures the generation of solid quantitative data while enhancing it with in-depth qualitative data (Creswell 2008). In this sequential approach, the close-ended questions were posed during the first phase of the study, and the open-ended questions during the second phase.

The challenge for the interviewer is to solicit information from the respondent as

directly as possible. Ensuring that the questions are properly asked and the protocols are carefully followed may minimize bias, error, misunderstanding, or misdirection (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). The interviewers for phase one of the study were trained by Kansas Migrant Education Program staff to adhere to the following guidelines when conducting their interviews:

1. Read the questions exactly as worded.
2. If the respondent's answer to the initial question is not a complete and adequate answer, probe for clarification and elaboration in a way that does not influence the content of the answers that result.
3. Answers should be recorded without interviewer discretion and the recorded answers should only reflect what the respondent says.
4. The interviewer communicated a neutral, nonjudgmental stance with respect to the substance of the answers. The interviewer should not provide any personal information that might imply any particular values or preference with respect to topics covered in the interview, nor should the interviewer provide any feedback to respondents, positive or negative, with respect to the specific content of the answers they provide. (Fowler & Mangione, 1990, p. 33)

This study began with the collection of a wide array of quantitative data in order to be able to generalize to the target population, and then focused, in the second phase, on gathering qualitative data that expressed the views of the participants. The structured interviews during the first phase involved the use of three instruments: the Kansas Certificate of Eligibility (COE), the Kansas Migrant OSY Needs Assessment Protocol,

and the Work History Report. The semi-structured interviews during the second phase utilized an open-ended interview schedule.

The Kansas Certificate of Eligibility (COE). A Kansas COE (see Appendix B) is a form similar to that used by most States to document eligibility for the Migrant Education Program. The Kansas State Department of Education (KSDE) must maintain documentation of eligibility determination to demonstrate that the State serves only migratory children as defined by sections 1115(b)(1)(A) and 1309(2) of Title I, Part C of the No Child Left Behind Act and section 34 CFR 200.81(d) of the Federal Regulations.

At a minimum, the COE should include: the child's name and date of birth, the child's eligibility data, and the recruiter's signature certifying that the family is eligible based on the information provided. The recruiter's signature certifies that: 1) the child is eligible for the MEP; 2) the information upon which the recruiter based the eligibility determination is correct to the best of his or her knowledge; 3) the parent, guardian or the emancipated youth agrees to allow the child (or him- or herself) to participate in the MEP for the duration of the eligibility period, unless permission is withdrawn; and 4) the recruiter informed the parent, guardian, or emancipated youth about his or her rights regarding the transfer of school records under the Family Educational Rights & Privacy Act (FERPA). In addition, the recruiter should provide comments when circumstances require an explanation as to why he or she found a particular child eligible for the MEP. This allows an independent reviewer to understand the recruiter's rationale for the eligibility determination in situations where it may not be clear (Migrant Education Program 2003:38-40).

Kansas Migrant OSY Needs Assessment Protocol. The protocol (see Appendix C) was developed for this study in order to gather quantitative data on the expressed needs and aspirations of Kansas's migrant out-of-school youth that result from their migratory lifestyle. The Kansas Migrant Education Program and I agreed upon the sections included in the protocol. The first, and most important, question asks whether the youth has dropped out of a U.S. school or the respondent is in the United States specifically to work (and most likely dropped out of school in their home county). In order for migrant OSY to qualify for the Migrant Education Program, they cannot have graduated from high school.

The first section focuses on educational needs and solicits information regarding the location of the last school attended as well as their last grade completed. Additional information is requested regarding their literacy levels in their primary and/or secondary languages. The next section addresses education goals and asks whether the youth may wish to pursue a high school diploma or a General Equivalency degree, English as a Second Language (ESL), college, additional job training, or computer training. A respondent may choose one or more of the items.

The next section considers social and economic needs. Items such as food, clothing, transportation, and immigration information were included as well as whether or not there are specific medical needs and whether or not the respondent is presently covered by insurance. The final section recognizes the various social and economic goals that migrant youth may have such as starting a family, obtaining health insurance, becoming a legal resident or citizen, saving more income, purchasing an automobile, or buying a home.

Work History Report. Part II of the COE (see Appendix B: Reverse Side) addresses Principal Means of Livelihood (PMOL) and Intent. PMOL means that *a temporary or seasonal agricultural or fishing activity plays an important part in providing a living for the worker and his or her family* (34 CFR 200.81(f)). With regard to the intent of an agricultural worker's move, a recruiter must document whether the worker moved in order to seek or obtain temporary or seasonal employment in agricultural or fishing work (1309(2) of Title I, Part C and Non-regulatory Guidance). Neither PMOL nor Intent adequately addresses the prior work history of the migrant worker. Therefore, a Work History Report form (see Appendix D) was created for this study in order to document the previous work experience, if any, of migrant out-of-school youth.

Interview Schedule. The Interview schedule (see Appendix E) was developed for this study with the intent of delving more deeply into the answers provided during the first phase of the study on the COE and the Needs Assessment Protocol. Interviews were conducted individually or in small groups, face-to-face or over the phone. The consent of the interviewee was requested prior to the interview (see Appendices F F1, G, and G1) and each interview was recorded so the interviews could be transcribed. Participation in the interview was voluntary and the interviewee could withdraw from participating at any time.

Kansas MEP staff and I developed the schedule and organized the questions into six general groupings. The first set of questions asked for some basic demographic information as well as information regarding their length of stay in their present community and their current and former employment. The second set of questions asked

about their knowledge of the Kansas Migrant Education Program and about experience with and impressions of the program. The third set questions asked about general experience with government or social agencies and their feeling about the help they may or may not have received. The fourth set of questions solicited information regarding prior educational experiences, current educational needs, and personal educational goals. In addition, economic needs and goals were explored. The sixth set asked only one question: *What help can the Kansas Migrant Education Program offer you?* The final set of questions explored personal and professional social networks and support systems.

Data Analysis

Descriptive and inferential data from the initial quantitative phase of this study will be presented. The descriptive data will both describe and summarize the target population of migrant out-of-school youth in southwestern Kansas and the inferential data will make estimates and inferences about the wider population of migrant out-of-school youth (Rowntree 2004). Demographic characteristics of the population will be presented along with the breakdown on migrant out-of-school youth who have dropped out of U.S. school and those who are here-to work having dropped out of school in their native country. Information on last grade completed in school, birthplace, location of residence, and type of agricultural work will be examined. The inferential data will appraise the education and socioeconomic needs and goals of the target population that are suggestive of the needs and goals of the national population of out-of-school youth.

The qualitative data generated from the interviews with a small sample of out-of-school youth will be analyzed to identify common keywords, concepts, and themes.

Basic demographic information, opinions regarding the MEP and other agencies, expressed educational needs and aspirations, the nature of help needed, and systems of support will be analyzed. Aggregate data will be synthesized into representative composites of migrant out-of-school youth. Each composite will chronicle the life of a dropout or here-to-work youth. I chose to create composites because no one interviewee provided the degree of detail that would allow for me to compose a single case study, so I chose to blend data from several interviews in order to write each story. In addition, qualitative data from the interviews with a small sample of migrant recruiters will be analyzed and used to enhance the quantitative data provided on the Certificates of Eligibility and the Needs Assessment Protocols.

Summary

Identifying and describing migrant out-of-school youth (OSY) is an arduous task. The universe of migrant out-of-school youth in the United States is unknown as are the populations in each of the States where they live and work. The population of interest for this study is migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas. The first phase of the study identified the target population and gathered quantitative data on the Kansas Certificate of Eligibility, the Kansas Migrant OSY Needs Assessment Protocol, and the Work History Report. The second phase of this study gathered qualitative data from a sample of the target population via face-to-face and phone interviews conducted in the region. Data analysis allows for the key research questions to be answered and illuminates the least understood world of this subset of migrant agricultural workers.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Organization of Data Analysis

This chapter begins with a restatement of the research questions guiding this study. The presentation of data will address each question independently. The story is followed by the descriptive characteristics of the population derived from data provided on the Certificate of Eligibility and Needs Assessment Protocol and the Work History Report. The chapter continues with the analysis of the second question concerning the educational, social, and economic needs and goals of migrant OSY gleaned from data provided on the Needs Assessment Protocol. The data will be presented statistically and will be organized according to the six general groupings of questions on the interview schedule. The analysis of the third question will conclude the chapter by drawing on the results from the interviews conducted with a sample of migrant OSY. The thorough analysis of data will allow for the key research questions to ultimately guide the future actions taken by the Kansas Migrant Education Program.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study to identify the population of migrant out-of-school youth (OSY) in southwestern Kansas and to gather data on a representative sample in order to illuminate the underlying characteristics of this least understood segment of migrant agricultural workers. Three key questions guide this study:

1. What are the key characteristics of migrant OSY?
2. What are the expressed needs and aspirations of migrant OSY?
3. What targeted services and outreach can the Migrant Education Program provide to migrant OSY?

Quantitative Analysis

The first purpose of this study is to identify and profile the population of migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas. Seventy-five migrant out-of-school youth (N = 75) were recruited into the study from January 1st through April 30th, 2008. Drawing upon information provided on the Kansas Certificate of Eligibility (COE) as well as the Kansas Migrant OSY Needs Assessment Protocol, some of the general characteristics of the population are in Table 1. The majority of migrant OSY are male, Latino, single and childless. However, the majority of females recruited into the study do have children.

For the purposes of this study, these youth are designated as migrant out-of-school youth and are further categorized as either dropouts or here-to-work youth. Dropouts attended school in the United States but left before graduation. Here-to-work youth recently immigrated, either authorized or unauthorized, to the United States primarily to work and generally have had limited schooling in their home country. Here-to work youth did not attend a U.S. school. The descriptive statistics regarding migrant out-of-school youth are found in Table 2.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics

CHARACTERISTIC	RAW NUMBER	PERCENT
Gender		
Male	61	81%
Female	14	19%
Ethnicity		
Latino	74	99%
Caucasian	1	1%
Marital Status		
Single	67	89%
Married/Partnered	5	7%
Non-Reporting	3	4%
With Children*	12	16%
Female	9/12	75%
Male	3/12	25%

* 58% percent of the children were born to U.S. citizens. It remains unclear whether the remaining children born to Mexican nationals were born in the U.S., and are therefore U.S. citizens, or were born in Mexico.

Table 2: Out-of-School Youth

	RAW NUMBER	PERCENT	MALE	FEMALE
Dropouts	17	23%	8	9
Here-to-Work	58	77%	53	5

In order to qualify for the Migrant Education Program (MEP) migrant out-of-school youth must be younger than 22 years of age and have not graduated from high school or hold a high school equivalency certificate. Four participants (5%) did not report their last grade completed. The majority of out-of-school youth (72%) dropped out of a school in their home country while the remaining (23%) dropped out of a U.S. school. Of those who dropped out of a U.S. school, 88% dropped out during high school and most of those from a Kansas high school. The average grade completed in a U.S. school before dropping out was the 10th grade. The average grade completed in Mexico, Guatemala, or El Salvador before dropping out was the 6th grade. Table 3 illustrates the last grade completed by the study's participants.

The vast majority of migrant OSY (81%) were born outside the United States (see Table 4). Nearly two-thirds of the migrant OSY (61%) moved directly from their home country to southwestern Kansas; 24% moved directly from another State; and 15% moved from within the State. Therefore, 85% of migrant OSY are new arrivals to Kansas. The vast majority of youth moved without family (92%) but may live with extended family in southwestern Kansas.

Table 3: Last Grade Completed

COUNTRY	RAW NUMBER	PERCENT
Last Grade in U.S.	17	23%
7th	1	6%
8th	1	6%
9th	5	29%
10th	5	29%
11th	5	29%
Last Grade in MX, GT, SV*	54	72%
3 rd	1	2%
5 th	8	15%
6 th	22	41%
7 th	8	15%
8 th	4	7%
9 th	8	15%
10 th	3	5%

*MX = Mexico; GT = Guatemala; SV = El Salvador

Table 4: Birthplace

COUNTRY	STATE/DEPARTMENT	RAW NUMBER	PERCENT
United States		14	19%
	CA	6	43%
	KS	4	29%
	ID	1	7%
	NM	1	7%
	OK	1	7%
	TX	1	7%
Mexico		54	72%
	Chihuahua	29	54%
	Zacatecas	8	15%
	Oaxaca	5	9%
	San Luis Potosi	4	7%
	Jalisco	3	5%
	Durango	2	4%
	Guanajuato	2	4%
	Michoacán	1	2%
Guatemala		6	8%
	Quiché	6	100%
El Salvador		1	1%
	Chalatenango	1	100%

Kansas is often cited as one of the states experiencing rural flight from the countryside into larger cities, especially in the western part of the State. Immigration to western Kansas is largely due to the availability of work in large-scale agriculture and the beef processing industry. The largest city in the region, Dodge City, is home to two of the largest beef processing plants in the nation, National Beef and Excel, as well as a number of associated businesses. Within a generation, the population of Dodge City has changed from majority Caucasian to majority Hispanic. Hispanic children now vastly outnumber Caucasian children in the public school system and the demand for social and public services is great. Migrant out-of-school youth were identified in ten communities in southwestern Kansas and the breakdown is in Table 5.

Table 5: Location of Residence

CITY	RAW NUMBER	MALE	FEMALE
Dodge City	30	27	3
Garden City	20	19	1
Liberal	5	5	0
Kinsley	5	4	1
Macksville	4	1	3
Lewis	4	2	2
Belpre	3	2	1
Hugoton	2	0	2
Cimarron	1	0	1
St. John	1	1	0

While the majority of male OSY live in the two largest cities in southwestern Kansas: Dodge City and Garden City (75%) where the two biggest beef processing plants are located, the majority of females OSY (71%) live in the rural environs of the region. Since 75% of the females have children and live in rural communities, issues such as reliable transportation and childcare as well as access to healthy foods may be of concern, but were not explored on the needs assessment questionnaire. In addition, the females tend to be employed in agricultural jobs, such as sorting potatoes, which pay less than beef processing jobs, are seasonal, and therefore do not provide a steady income with which to provide the basic necessities for their young families.

Migrant out-of-school youth in southwestern Kansas were found working in agricultural production or processing. Agricultural *production* includes work on farms and ranches while *processing* involves working with raw agricultural product and transforming it into a refined product. Two-thirds of migrant OSY were found to be working for large-scale beef processors such as National Beef (32%), Tyson (24%), and Cargill (11%). The remaining one-third worked for farming operations (33%). Sixty-nine percent of mostly male here-to-work youth are employed at processing plants as meat cutters, slaughterers, or packagers. These three jobs are predominantly immigrant jobs. Maria, one of the migrant recruiters interviewed for this study, suggests that existing relatives in southwestern Kansas sent money to Mexico to enable the youth to make the journey to Kansas in order to work. Other work, such as sorting potatoes is exclusively a female job performed by dropouts from high school. The various agricultural activities performed by the workers are found in Table 6.

Table 6: Agricultural Activities

ACTIVITY	RAW NUMBER	DROPOUT (M/F)	HERE-TO-WORK (M/F)
Meat Cutter	35	4 (3/1)	31 (28/3)
Slaughter	8	0	8 (8/0)
Packaging	6	1 (1/0)	5 (4/1)
Feeder	6	2 (1/1)	4 (4/0)
Potato Sorter	6	6 (0/6)	0
Land Preparation	4	0	4 (3/1)
Feed Preparation	2	0	2 (2/0)
Pen Cleaner	2	0	2 (2/0)
Planting Alfalfa	1	0	1 (1/0)
Milking	1	1 (0/1)	0
Cattle Sorter	1	0	1 (1/0)
General Farming	1	1 (1/0)	0
Fruit Harvesting	1	1 (1/0)	0
Cowboy	1	1 (1/0)	0

Needs Assessment

The second purpose of this study is to identify the needs and aspirations of the population of migrant out-of-school youth and a special protocol was developed to carry out the needs assessment discussed earlier.

Data has shown that all of the participants have not graduated from high school or received a high school equivalency certificate; a requirement for participating in this study. Twenty-four percent of the migrant youth dropped out of a U.S. school and 76% dropped out of a school in their native country. It has also been stated that the future success of migrant OSY is highly dependent upon the educational experiences acquired early in life. Therefore, it was imperative to assess the general English language literacy levels of the participants as a basis of need in order to determine need.

With regard to their primary language, only 12% of the participants reported English as their first language (all dropouts from U.S high schools), 5% reported Quiche, 80% reported Spanish, and 3% did not report a first language. All English and Quiche speakers reported Spanish as their secondary language, but only 11 % of the Spanish speakers reported English as their secondary language. With regard to English oral proficiency, 68% of native Spanish speakers (all here-to-work youth) reported that they speak no or very little English. Only 10% of native Spanish speakers reported a medium to high level of oral English proficiency. The ability to read and write in English was reported by only one here-to-work native Spanish speaker with 99% of the here-to-work youth reporting that they are unable to read and write in English. For English, Spanish, and Quiche dominant respondents, 83% reported they were able to read and write in Spanish with only one individual reporting an inability to do so (13% were non-

reporting). Reading and writing proficiencies in any language, however, were not tested and remained undetermined.

Participants were asked to select an educational goal or goals from among a list that included a high school diploma, a college education, or additional training. The Kansas Migrant Education Program currently offers GED programs as well as English as a Second Language programs to migrant OSY in a handful of state-funded local projects. Among those that last attended and dropped out from a Kansas high school, 100% report that they still would like to receive a high school diploma and/or a GED (4 males and 9 females) and 10% of Kansas dropouts have aspirations to attend college. Of the male here-to-work youth, 90% wished to pursue their GED while 55% of the dropouts still wished to receive their high school diploma. The desire to learn English as a second language was chosen by mainly here-to-work respondents as well as additional job and computer training. Only a small percentage (12%) of equally divided youth expressed and interest in attending college. Of those that did not select an educational goal (15%) from the choices provided, 90% are male here-to-work youth. The educational goals of the participants are found in Table 7 (more than one goal may have been selected).

The response rate for this set of questions was 87%. Upon further analysis, it appears that equally high numbers of both males and females, and dropouts and here-to-work youth, answered the questions in this section of the survey. I performed a chi-square analysis but the results were not significant and I had trouble meeting the assumptions of the model (see Appendix H)

Table 7: Educational Goals

GOAL	RAW NUMBER	PERCENT	DROPOUT (M-F)	HERE-TO-WORK (M/F)
GED	38	58%	8 (4/4)	30 (27/3)
English as a Second Language	21	32%	1 (1/0)	20 (19/1)
Diploma	20	31%	11 (3/8)	9 (8/1)
Job Training	11	17%	4 (2/2)	7 (6/1)
Computer Training	9	14%	2 (0/2)	7 (5/2)
College	8	12%	4 (2/2)	4 (3/1)
Diploma or GED	7	11%	4 (1/3)	3 (2/1)
Non-Reporting	10	15%	1 (1/0)	9 (9/0)

n = 65 respondents out of 75 participants

Participants were then asked to identify their most pressing social and economic needs from a list that included basic necessities such as food and clothing, to information about immigration, and medical insurance coverage. Only 23% of the respondents report that they have medical insurance provided by their employer (50% are dropouts and 50% are here-to work youth). The here-to work youth responding indicate that medical and dental insurance, reliable transportation, and immigration information are their most pressing needs, whereas no one pressing need stood out among the dropouts. Medical insurance was a need among 50% of the female youth and may be due in part to the fact that 75% of the female participants have young children. The need for reliable transportation and immigration information was primarily a concern among male here-to-work youth, but did equally affect 29% of the females as well. Childcare does not appear

to be a pressing need among participants with young children. The social and economic needs of the participants are found in Table 8 (more than one need may have been selected).

The overall response rate for this set of questions was 47%. Upon further analysis, it appears that a lower percentage of here-to-work youth (45%) answered questions in this section of the survey than dropouts (53%). In addition, those youth that were recent arrivals to the region responded at a lower rate (21%) than those who have been in the region for nearly a year (52%).

Table 8: Social and Economic Needs

NEED	RAW NUMBER	PERCENT	DROPOUT (M/F)	HERE-TO-WORK (M/F)
Medical Insurance	17	49%	4 (1/3)	13 (9/4)
Transportation	15	43%	2 (0/2)	13 (11/2)
Immigration Information	15	43%	3 (1/2)	12 (10/2)
Dental Insurance	14	40%	4 (1/3)	10 (7/3)
Vision Insurance	11	31%	2 (0/2)	9 (7/2)
Clothing	6	17%	2 (2/0)	4 (4/0)
Food	5	14%	1 (1/0)	4 (3/1)
Financial Information	1	3%	0	1 (0/1)
Counseling	1	3%	0	1 (1/0)
Childcare	1	3%	1 (0/1)	0

n = 35 respondents out of 75 participants

Again, participants were asked to select a social or economic goal from among a list included obtaining health insurance, securing a better job, and developing new skills. The dropouts indicate that getting a better job is their primary goal, whereas the main goal for here-to-work youth is developing life skills (although this category is a catchall and remains undefined). Of the females who responded, 50% indicate that they want a better job, 57% want to develop life skills, 36% want to both save more income and get health insurance. Male here-to-work youth predominantly want to get a better job, develop life skills, and save more income. Only 5 here-to work youth (16%) indicate that they wish to return to their native country one day. The social and economic goals are found in Table 9 (more than one goal may have been selected).

The response rate for this set of questions was 41%. Upon further analysis, it again appears that a lower percentage of here-to-work youth (33%) answered questions in this section of the survey than dropouts (71%). In addition, those youth that were recent arrivals to the region (less than 6 months) responded at a lower rate (29%) than those who have been in the region for nearly a year (44%).

Table 9: Social and Economic Goals

GOAL	RAW NUMBER	PERCENT	DROPOUT (M/F)	HERE-TO-WORK (M/F)
Getting a Better Job	20	65%	7 (2/5)	13 (11/2)
Developing Life Skills	18	58%	8 (2/6)	10 (8/2)
Saving More Income	15	48%	6 (2/4)	9 (8/1)
Getting Health Insurance	12	39%	6 (2/4)	6 (5/1)
Purchasing a Car/Truck	12	39%	4 (1/3)	8 (7/1)
Purchasing a Computer	10	32%	3 (0/3)	7 (6/1)
Buying a Home	8	26%	4 (1/3)	4 (3/1)
Renting Own Apartment	6	19%	2 (0/2)	4 (4/0)
Returning to Native Country	5	16%	0	5 (5/0)
Becoming Healthier	3	10%	0	3 (2/1)
Starting Counseling	0	0%	0	0

n = 31 respondents out of 75 participants

Upon further examination of the completed Needs Assessment Protocols, it appears that a disturbing pattern emerged. Two recruiters that identified and interviewed 44 out of 75 of the study's participants (59%) failed to complete 53% of the section of the Protocol that addressed social and economic needs and 57% of the section that addressed social and economic needs and goals. This accounts for the moderate response rate for these two sections of the Protocol. Although all of the recruiters were trained on each section of the Protocol and the importance of completing each section was repeatedly

emphasized, it is now clear that two of the recruiters did not adhere to the parameters set out for the study and failed to gather some important data. No reasons can be proffered as to why they failed to collect the data, but it affects the outcome for each of the sections nevertheless.

Participants were asked to identify any previous employment they had prior to their current position in southwestern Kansas. We were looking to determine if their work in Kansas was their first job as a young adult. Only 51% reported prior work. Of those that reported, 76% stated that they were farmhands previously, 13% worked at another meat processing plant, 5% worked with crops, 3% as a cattle feeder, and 3% sorting potatoes. With regard to those that were farmhands, 68% worked in Mexico harvesting crops (corn, beans, wheat, peppers, cactus) for approximately one to two years, 76% and 28% respectively, prior to coming to the United States. For those that previously worked for another meat processing company, their tenure of employment was anywhere between 3 months and 1.5 years.

Qualitative Analysis

The third purpose of this study is to identify what the Kansas Migrant Education Program (MEP) can do to better identify and serve migrant OSY. An interview schedule was developed to gather additional information from a sample of migrant OSY identified earlier in the study. After considerable effort, only four migrant youth made themselves available for face-to-face interviews and three were interviewed via phone.

Unfortunately, one week prior to the scheduled interviews, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement conducted a raid in southwestern Kansas and only few days later a

peer friend and relative was murdered in Mexico. As a result of these two events, it became very difficult to arrange for the migrant youth in the region to be interviewed. The Kansas Migrant Education Program only provided funds for a seven-day window in which to conduct the interviews in southwestern Kansas.

The first set of questions on the interview schedule asked for some basic demographic information as well as information regarding their length of stay in their present community, and their current and former employment. The second set of questions asked about their knowledge of the Kansas Migrant Education Program and about experience with and impressions of the program. The third set questions asked about general experience with government or social agencies and their feeling about the help they may or may not have received. The fourth set of questions solicited information regarding prior educational experiences, current educational needs, and personal educational goals. In addition, economic needs and goals were explored. The sixth set asked only one question: *What help can the Kansas Migrant Education Program offer you?* The final set of questions explored personal and professional social networks and support systems.

The first set of questions are illustrated through a hypothetical story of a migrant youth's journey from Mexico to the United States synthesized from information provided by the study's recruiters, from study's demographic data, from recent newspaper events, as well as from my years of work with migrant agricultural workers through the Kansas Migrant Education Program (KMEP). This approach was used in order to create a comprehensive profile story of a typical migrant out-of-school youth.

Mi nombre es José Gerardo. I was born in Chihuahua, Mexico. My father is a mechanic and my mother works in a *maquila*. I left school after I finished my 6th year of *escuela primaria* because my parents could not afford textbooks for me to continue my studies. In order to earn money, I began selling candies to the tourists, but I mostly just hung out *con mis amigos*. Many people in my family and from my city have left for *el norte* to work and they send money home to help their families. When I was 17, *mi padre* told me that other men from Chihuahua had found steady work in the U.S. at animal processing plants in Kansas and Nebraska. He said the work would pay more money than I would ever make by staying in Mexico. I would be able to send home enough money so *mi mamá* could stop working in the *maquila* and stay home with my little brothers and sisters.

My father said that if I wanted to go, he would find the money for me to make the crossing. I decided to help my father by working on a *rancho* planting and harvesting beans and corn. After one year, my father had gathered \$2,000 to pay a *coyote* and we saved an additional \$500 for me to live on when I arrived at my new destination. Because it was too dangerous to cross into Texas, we rode west on the back of a truck to the border town of Tecate, Baja. The next day we walked through the mountains for nearly 12 hours until we met up with a van on a highway in California. I paid the *coyote* \$2000 and he left us. A driver took us to a house where we spent the night and the next day we left for a town called Dodge City in the State of Kansas. I slept most of the way. When we arrived in Dodge City very early one morning, the driver said he would take us

to a man who would take us on to the two beef processing plants to apply for work. This man would also help us find a place to live. Later that afternoon, I had a job at National Beef making \$11.00 an hour and a place to live with my new *amigos*. The next day, I started training for work on something called the “kill floor.”

Several statistics were drawn from the quantitative phase of the study and provided the foundation for José Gerardo’s story.

- The majority of migrant OSY are male (81%) and were born in Mexico (72%) - primarily in the State of Chihuahua (54%)
- The majority of migrant OSY youth dropped out of school before completing the 6th grade (41%) and migrated to the United States to work (77%) and found employment in agricultural processing (59%) - primarily at National Beef (28%) - and are residing in Dodge City (33%)

The second set of questions asked about their knowledge of the Kansas Migrant Education Program and about experience with and impressions of the program. The third set questions asked about general experience with government or social agencies and their feeling about the help they may or may not have received. The fourth set of questions solicited information regarding prior educational experiences, current educational needs, and personal educational goals. In addition, economic needs and goals were explored. The sixth set asked only one question: *What help can the Kansas Migrant Education Program offer you.*

The transcripts generated from the face-to-face and phone interviews were coded and analyzed to identify common keywords, concepts, and themes. The raw data was the synthesized into the following representative composites of migrant out-of-school youth. Two composites chronicle the lives of high school dropouts and one composite of a here-to-work youth. The here-to-work youth were not as forthcoming with detailed responses to interview questions as the dropouts.

Sal

I was born in Kinsley, Kansas, but I lived in Mexico with my parents up until the 5th grade. We came back to Kinsley and I went to school in Lewis until my girlfriend, now my wife, became pregnant when I was in the 12th grade. I was working part-time and I was going from school to work and from work to school. It became really difficult with the money situation and all that. The situation just got pretty bad so I dropped out of school with just nine credits left.

Now I'm the father of three young boys and I'm the foreman at St. John's Feedlot. I worked there now for 6 years and many days I work 8-12 hour shifts. The reason I have the job I have right now as the kind of supervisor is because of all the experience I have with cattle and on feedlots. I am also bilingual. So I have to associate with a lot of people, you know, and kind of tell them what needs to be done and how to just get along at work. As far back as I can remember I have been working. I worked on oilrigs for a bit, but mostly did farm work.

The only thing that stands between me finishing school is the financial stuff. Everything is financial. Right now, money is pretty tight. My wife wants

to work, but childcare is so expensive and there is no good enough job anyway. So, she is a stay at home mom and I am the only one working right now. I make good enough money but it is still not enough to save a little bit at the end of the pay period. There is always something, always something either breaks down or you have to fix something.

I have never heard of the Migrant Education Program before until I was told about it. I guess it helps you finish your goals of school and whatever you want to... you know, your goals in life, I guess. I would just like help to finish high school. I would like to go to college. Yeah, I at least want to get my diploma. I wanted to become an architect and I was taking classes for it, but now the way it really is, I at least want to get my diploma and maybe, maybe if I can, you know, get started on something else, something that would really be helpful for me. I don't know, something, not working in the feedlots.

Whatever help I could get would be appreciated. It is not... you know, it is rare - it's not every day you get help. So, whatever I could get help with, I would take it.

Flora

I'm 19 years old and I'm the mother of two girls. I live in Lewis, Kansas with my parents, 3 sisters, 2 brothers, and my two babies. I was born in Escondido, CA and moved to Lewis three years ago after I had my baby. I left school because I was pregnant and then I was six months and I was getting morning sickness. Then I would only eat once a day and it would make me feel

dizzy. So I quit. But then when I tried to go back, um, I didn't have nobody to take care of my baby because my mom was living down here and I was over there by myself in California.

For a few months I worked in a potato field sorting potatoes. I got white spots on my arms because of the sun so I quit. I don't know what I want to do next. I wanted to be a teacher, but I couldn't finish school because then I got pregnant. I have been suffering a lot and struggling... my parents can't help me a lot with buying diapers and stuff since I am not with my new baby's daddy. My first baby has glasses. They told her that they were going to do an eye surgery on her since she was one year old. Supposedly the glasses were supposed to help her out. But I don't see no change on her. She still keeps bumping into things and stuff.

I really want to finish school, but I have no way of getting to school. I don't have a car. I really don't know that much. I think I forgot what I learned. I need to learn so I can help my kids when they grow up. When I was in school I was supposed to be in special ed, but they put me in regular classes and it was hard for me because they would hardly teach me stuff. Then they would get mad at me because I wouldn't be learning that fast how they wanted me to. They got me frustrated. I can hardly read and write in English and I cannot even read in Spanish. That's why I want to finish my school so I can be able to know to help my kids out whenever they need help from me.

My mom told me about the Migrant Education Program. She said they could help me finish school on computers. I was trying to go to the adult school

in Macksville but I didn't have a ride and I got upset because I really wanted to finish school. Well, I always suffer with rides. That is important. I don't have a car to move in or nowhere. I would like to have my own place close to my family. My sister helps me take care of the girls, but I hardly go out. I don't never go out.

Alejandro

I arrived in Dodge City 4 months ago from San Luis Potosi, Mexico. I work at the National Beef plant as a fat puller. In Mexico I worked on my grandpa's farm with corn and cattle. I was a cowboy. I'm 19 years old and I never went to school past the 6th grade. Now I work an 8 hours shift, sometimes 12-15 hours, and I send my money home to my family. I want to be able to work and go to school at the same time. I live with five friends in a house and a friend drives me to work. I do not have a license. People treat me nice in Dodge and if I find a girl here I will stay in Dodge. I will stay in the U.S. if I can get a certificate or something.

I want to go to a technical school, work with computers, carpentry, welding, even cooking. But I know I'll be running when immigration comes and picks me up. This worries me the most. I'm willing to go back to school. I'm smart. People tell me I'm smart. Then I start doing something and getting involved and everything and then boom, - I go back. You know. I want to stay here to be a better person

I never heard of the Migrant Education Program but the recruiter told me

that they don't charge for anything. I was told I could get something called a GED, English classes, computer classes. I want to learn English. I was told about the Learning Center, but I haven't gone. I just want to get a better job, stay here, learn something. I like talking to everyone on the line at work because they speak Spanish, but when I'm not working long hours at the plant I just stay in the house and sleep.

Several themes were identified by data gathered during the interview phase of the study and were used to generate the representative composites. Both Maria and Luz Maria, the two migrant recruiters, affirm that transportation is a pressing need, but Maria suggests that many of the migrant youth do not have reliable transportation because they do not have valid driver's licenses.

Luz Maria contends that earning money is a top priority and for many it is due to the fact they have children to support or are expecting a child.

Luz Maria: They just left school because they need to work to get money. So many... girls, so many girls are pregnant and they just quit school and they need to have a job. The same thing happened to the boys. They need to get married because they have kids coming. I even found a girl only 21 years old with four kids.

In addition, the immigration status of many of the immigrant migrant youth is an issue. Maria conjectures that if the youth were to finish their education, they may start making a better living and will choose to stay in the U.S. However, many fear the immigration authorities and choose to remain hidden in plain sight.

Maria: Oh God, immigration is a big issue. And you know, the problem with this weekend because of the damn immigration [There was a recent raid in

the region]. I know that everybody is hiding. You know? Everybody knows. They read the newspaper. Not them, they don't read the newspaper, but someone else reads the newspaper and they hear. And a lot of these people, they are kind of scared to sign [the Certificate of Eligibility (COE)] you know, because they said what do you need my phone number for.

Maria asserts that many of the undocumented migrant youth somehow end up with IDs and birth certificates. "They get the birth certificates from somebody," she says, "and they go to different places." As an example, Maria suggests that if you are able to secure an ID or a driver's license in Nebraska, then you can simply exchange your Nebraska ID and license for ones in Kansas. So, many youth may be living under assumed names.

Maria also affirms that many of the migrant youth are anxious to learn English. Every day they can learn something and practice – practice the English, because it is so sad. There are people who have been here for many years and they don't speak English." While U.S.-born dropouts are bilingual, the majority of here-to-work youth speak only Spanish.

Maria: Because it is so hard, especially when they go to the bank or places like that. They have to take someone – doctor. They go to the doctor and they need someone to interpret. So most of the young kids, they would love to learn English.

With regard to the help the Kansas Migrant Education Program can offer migrant OSY, Maria asserts that the youth "need someone they can trust and they can see that they are learning." In addition, the youth would benefit from positive peer pressure and turn to education programs that have proven to be successful with their peers.

Maria: It is going to be hard to get them all back to school, you know. If they see somebody doing something, see, this is the thing with Mexican people. If you see somebody that is succeeding a little bit, you know, they want to do it,

too. Because that is the way it is. You know they say, he is doing good, you know? Oh, I am so stupid. I should have just went and got the program too... And I said well, you can still do it. So if they see the young ones getting ahead, a little bit ahead in life, you know, the other ones don't want to stay behind. The other ones probably want to be ahead, too.

Luz Maria, one of the other migrant recruiters, is herself a former migrant agricultural worker and feels it is important to share her work history with migrant children in order to impress upon them the importance of staying in school and graduating from high school.

Luz Maria: I tell them [young kids] they need to finish high school because if they don't have education here in the United States they will be working all the time on the farms. And there is nothing wrong. It is a good and honest job. The only thing, it is long hours most of the time for a minimum wage. I tell them they maybe don't feel like they need to go back to school because like in Macksville, St. John and Lewis, all the work, all the jobs available in the area are farm jobs. And they are not required to have a high school diploma. They are required to be strong, to be healthy and to do a good job. But what happens if they move to the city? For some reason, there is no job available and they need to move to even Great Bend or Dodge City, even a small city, in order to work at least flipping hamburgers, they need to have a high school diploma or they will be stuck in McDonald's all their life with a minimum wage. When I have a chance and when the people want to hear me, I share my life experiences with them, how I started working in the fields pulling weeds for long hours until right now. I don't have a really good job right now, but it is a lot better than if I didn't get any education. I even mentioned to them, I went back to do the high school here in the United States when I was like 28 years old and I had two kids. And I went to the college for three years to get a two year degree in computer information systems in order to get at least a little education to get a job – almost the same kind of job I was doing in Mexico.

Summary

The Kansas Migrant Education Program's study of migrant out-of-school youth collected both quantitative and qualitative data using a variety of existing and specially developed instruments. A general profile was created of the target population (N = 75) in

addition to the presentation of data regarding educational and socioeconomic needs and aspirations. Finally representative composites of migrant high school dropouts and here-to work youth were generated from face-to-face and phone interviews (n=7). The final chapter will review the findings from the analysis of data, and present conclusions based on the study's research questions. Finally, practical suggestions for addressing the issues raised during the research will be proffered, as will a rationale for future research.

CHAPTER 5

COMPLETING THE NEEDS ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter will circle back to the several concerns identified as part of the three-phase model of needs assessment in an attempt to proffer policy recommendations and plans of action in order for the Kansas Migrant Education Program to better serve migrant out-of-school youth. The chapter begins with a summary of the findings and a discussion of the magnitude of need in order to better understand

- the magnitude of discrepancies between current and target states
- the causes and contributing concerns to the needs
- the degree of difficulty in addressing the needs

Next, the implications of the study are presented in an attempt to assess

- the consequences of ignoring the needs - risk assessment
- the effect on other parts of the system if a specific need is or is not met.
- the cost of implementing solutions
- other concerns that might affect efforts to solve the need

Finally, a rationale for future research will serve as a guide for planning future actions by this researcher and the Migrant Education program at both the state and federal levels.

Summary of Findings

The first purpose of this study was to identify and profile the population of migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas. Seventy-five migrant out-of-school youth (N = 75) were recruited into the study from January 1st through April 30th, 2008. Drawing upon information gathered during the quantitative phase of the study, it was found that the majority of the youth are male (81%), virtually all Latino (99%), single (89%), childless (84%), moved on their own (92%), and are here-to-work (77%). Most of the here-to-work youth have a 6th grade education (41%) and hail mainly from the Mexican State of Chihuahua (54%). Dropouts comprised only 23% of the population of migrant OSY and the average grade completed in a U.S. school before dropping out was the 10th grade. Migrant OSY were found in ten communities in southwestern Kansas and the majority was found in the two largest cities in the region, Dodge City (29%) and Garden City (20%). Nearly two-thirds of migrant OSY are involved the feeding, slaughter, or cutting of beef (65%) at one of the three major processing plants in the region: National Beef, Tyson, or Cargill.

The second purpose of this study was to identify the educational and socioeconomic needs and aspirations of migrant OSY. Two-thirds of migrant OSY (76%) dropped out of school in their native country. Among the population, 80% are native Spanish speakers with only 11% of Spanish speakers reporting that English is their second language. In fact, the majority of native Spanish speakers reported low levels of English literacy (68%). With regard to their educational goals, 58% of the respondents reported that they want to earn a GED and 32% want to learn English. Among the 13 migrant OSY that last attended and dropped out from a Kansas high school, 100%

reported that they still would like to receive a high school diploma and/or a GED and only 10% of Kansas dropouts have aspirations to attend college. With regard to socioeconomic needs, the most pressing issues among respondents are the need for medical insurance (49%), the need for reliable transportation (43%) and the need for immigration information (43%). The three most important socioeconomic goals among the respondents are to secure a better job (69%), to develop additional life skills (58%), and to save more of their income (48%).

The third purpose of this study was to identify what the Kansas Migrant Education Program (MEP) can do to better identify and serve migrant OSY. Qualitative information was gathered via face-to-face or phone interviews from seven OSY identified earlier in the study. The transcripts generated from the interviews were analyzed to identify common keywords, concepts, and themes. One theme that emerged from the interview data was the impact that a pregnancy had on the decision of whether or not to remain in school. The pull of work to support a young family was obviously stronger than the need to receive a high school diploma. However, the regret of dropping out of school lingers. Another issue raised is the lack of reliable transportation. This concern not only affects their work, but would also affect their ability to attend any program that the Migrant Education Program may provide.

The youth talked of the isolation they feel as well as the fatigue from working long hours. One talked explicitly about his fear of immigration officials. Some longed for their own place to live while other talked about the desire to settle down and start a family. All of those who emigrated from Mexico expressed a desire to remain in the United States, but also hoped to find a better job than the one they currently have.

Unfortunately, none of the migrant youth heard of the Migrant Education Program prior to being recruited into the study. All expressed a desire to receive help and gratitude that someone is taking interest in them. Many expressed the desire to learn English, but all wanted to continue their education in some way. Many talked about how this was the first time that anyone had asked them about their goals and aspirations.

The Magnitude of Need

Migrant out-of-school youth (OSY) face a whole host of economic and social obstacles that often hide and isolate them from the mainstream society. Dropouts and here-to-work youth have no other choice but to work, often at the expense of furthering their education, and as a result may find themselves relegated over the long-term to low-wage, low-status jobs. Migrant OSY, 18 through 21 years of age, are statutorily mandated to receive services through the federally funded Migrant Education Program (MEP). The MEP aims to provide education programs for migrant children and youth to reduce the compounded problems associated with repeated moves. The cornerstone of the MEP is the identification and recruitment of eligible children and youth, but this is often most difficult because of the high mobility of migrant workers and their families. According to the data, nearly two-thirds of the migrant OSY (61%) moved directly from their home country to southwestern Kansas; 24% moved directly from another State; and only 15% moved from within the State. Therefore, 85% of migrant OSY are new arrivals to Kansas. According to the recruiters hired for the study, however, dropouts appear to be less mobile than here-to-work youth.

The high mobility of migrant OSY poses educational, health, economic, and

political challenges that often leave them marginalized from exiting systems of support. As a result of these challenges, many migrant OSY have many needs that must be identified and addressed, but identifying this population and recruiting them into a study is fraught with problems. The population of migrant OSY is known to exist, but very little is known about the characteristics of the group. It is generally unknown how many workers are involved in the wide array of jobs in agricultural production and processing. It is generally unknown how many of these workers have the legal authorization to live and work in the United States. It is generally unknown how many agricultural workers are between the ages of 18 through 21. According to various State Migrant Education Programs, the number of migrant OSY appears to be growing, but the population has yet to be enumerated in any state. This study attempted to identify migrant youth in only one region of Kansas during a very narrow capture window. A multi-state consortium of 15 states funded by the federal Office of Migrant Education is in the process of enumerating and assessing the needs of the population of migrant OSY in consortium states. As long as the population of migrant OSY remains invisible, it is difficult to recruit them into a program of support and render services.

The theories underlying the root causes of migration continue to evolve. While neoclassical economists maintain that market forces and individual self-interest mainly determine migration, social capital theorists assert that strong migrant networks between sending and receiving countries are more powerful forces. The concentration of migrants into a few jobs, such as agriculture, equally support both theories and is a direct result of the demand for a particular skill set that is not dependent on the worker's English language ability. The steady stream of new immigrant labor into the Midwest has clearly

begun to change the very fabric of rural life.

While the plight of migrant agricultural workers is well documented, very little research has been done on the perceptions or expressed needs of migrant youth. A needs assessment is one such research methodology that documents existing individual and/or group needs in order to develop sound policies, programs, and activities that will ameliorate those needs. A needs assessment was used to identify the special needs of migrant OSY that have resulted from their migratory lifestyle and must be met in order for them to participate effectively in the workplace and in the society at-large.

While migrant youth are willing to do the jobs rejected by natives, many often aspire to achieve something greater than their present condition. According to the data, the majority of responding youth indicated that they would like to receive their GED, learn English, secure a better job, and develop additional life skills. If we do not provide migrant youth with educational opportunities that will enable them to achieve and give them access to higher paying jobs, they will be relegated to the unskilled, low-paying jobs of previous immigrant generations. Traditional schools often simply do not know how to connect to migrant youth, and programs of support such as the Migrant Education Program have yet to formalize any direct services that will enable this very young population to act upon their dreams. Thus, migrant OSY are not presently connected to any formalized educationally related services in the wider community and outside of the traditional schools that will help them build their knowledge and skills.

Implications

Since its inception in 1966, the Migrant Education Program has provided educational programs for migrant children in traditional K-12 grade settings. A migrant child, however, may have dropped out of a U.S. high school or immigrated here to work and never plugged into a U.S. school system. Migrant out-of-school youth comprise a segment of all migrant children and youth, are most in need of services, and are often the most difficult to find and recruit into a program of support. A false assumption underlying the Migrant Education Program is the belief that simply because a program of support exists the migrant youth will automatically seek it out. Another assumption is that there are actually programs in place to serve the target population. The majority of migrant OSY identified in southwestern Kansas has been in country for less than a year, are loosely affiliated, and are wholly unfamiliar with the mission of the federally funded MEP.

Outreach begins by putting a human face on the program. The migrant recruiters are the first contact the migrant workers will have with the program and they should target dropout youth and here-to-work youth differently because their needs are different. Here-to-work youth have recently arrived into the community from their native country and most likely do not know that they are even classified as migrant youth and are eligible to receive educationally-related services up to the age of 22 regardless of their immigration status. Specialized MEP recruiters should provide employers with information about the MEP, including a concise listing of services (GED, ESL, etc.), to be given to each new hire regardless of age and should arrange for the employer to contact a recruiter should a new hire fit the program's age criteria. It will still be the

responsibility of the State education agency to determine if the migrant youth is eligible to receive services. The MEP should aggressively advertise on Spanish radio and be a partner in locally sponsored events that target Latinos youth in the community or region. Ideally, every effort should be made to hire and train recruiters from the same demographic as the target population. Peer recruiters will engender trust and trust will leave an endearing mark about the Migrant Education Program regardless of where the migrant youth may travel to work in the United States. The migrant youth will then share their knowledge about the program with others in their peer network upon their arrival in a new community.

For those migrant youth that have dropped out of school, the MEP will need to inform this population of the rights they have as citizens and the social and governmental resources that are available to them. These youth were born in the United States, but their parents may be undocumented. Therefore, the parents are ineligible to receive many of the services afforded to citizens such as housing and food assistance. The youth did not learn from their parents to tap in to the network of social services that are typically available to citizens in poverty. Specialized MEP recruiters should work closely with the local school districts and be notified of the youth who may be at serious risk of dropping out of school or who may have indeed dropped out. These recruiters should have a background in social work and/or education. They should be able to immediately steer a dropout into a credit accrual program so they may earn their diploma or into a program where they may earn a general equivalency degree. The longer we wait to reconnect these youth with an educational program or educationally-related services, the less likely they are to continue their education and work toward improving their present condition.

Since the majority of here-to-work youth have, on average, a 6th grade education, the MEP must be willing to develop and offer more non-traditional educationally-related services that are provided for in the program's mission. The data suggests that here-to-work youth need short-courses on American culture, banking and money management, immigration, renting an apartment, and purchasing a car. While some of these courses are offered sporadically in a variety of State migrant programs, they have yet to be formalized and implemented in the Kansas Migrant Education Program. The youth also need to learn how to gain access to basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter as well as how to avoid unscrupulous predators who may attempt to exploit them because of their status. These youth may need more information on how to navigate the ins and outs of the workplace and to know more about the protections afforded them as workers.

Dropout youth may need many of the life skills that here-to-work youth need, but they need to understand the long-term socioeconomic implications of their decisions regarding their continuing education. Many of the dropout youth left school due to their own pregnancy or the pregnancy of their girlfriend. Many of these young parents need assistance with diapers, food, clothing, and transportation. What existing social and faith-based resources may be brought to bear to assist these vulnerable young families and help prevent the next generation of children from dropping out of school as well?

Nearly two-thirds of migrant OSY in southwestern Kansas work for the large-scale beef processors in the region. This confirms the claim that the most significant factor attracting most new migrant labor to the rural Midwest is employment in the food processing industry. Also, nearly two-thirds of migrant OSY moved directly from their

home country to southwestern Kansas and half of those stated that they were farmhands in the year or two prior to their crossing. Since many OSY hail from farming backgrounds, the Migrant Education Program should value the skills the population already has and create education program that will enhance their farming skills. Instead of working for agricultural producers and processors, migrant youth should be encouraged to become producers themselves. Classes could be offered regarding how to start an agricultural business as well as how to sell their local food in the marketplace.

While migrant youth are clearly willing to do the jobs that most natives are unwilling to do, many aspire to leave agricultural production and processing behind at some point in the future. However, if migrant youth are living from paycheck to paycheck and many are sending money to their families in Mexico and elsewhere, how are they capable of making a rational assessment of the costs and benefits of possible future actions? Data indicates that the majority of OSY feel that acquiring English is directly tied to their success in the U.S. as well as the desire to earn a high school diploma or general equivalency degree. The Kansas Migrant Education Program currently participates in the text-based Project PASS (Portable Assisted Study Sequence) program. The program consists of self-contained semi-independent study courses that enable students to earn middle- and secondary-level academic credits. Computer-based online education models such as those provided by Compass Learning (<http://www.compasslearning.com>) may be more conducive to the migratory lifestyle of the youth. Rather than moving several textbooks and packets of worksheets, each student would have a laptop or access the curriculum at a local library. The GED prep is also offered online and was designed for the more non-traditional student.

Although access to computer-based education programs is important, access to health insurance is even more important. Only 23% of the respondents report that they have medical insurance provided by their employer (50% are dropouts and 50% are here-to work youth). In addition, 16% of the OSY have children (75% are female) and many of these children may not be covered by health insurance. The recently enacted federal healthcare legislation prohibits the undocumented from receiving publicly funded healthcare. The Kansas Department of Health and Environment, however, does offer the Kansas Statewide Farmworker Health Program. The program covers, regardless of immigration status, primary and preventative care, pharmaceuticals for treatment, dental care, and lab and x-ray, but does not cover the emergency room, hospitalization, or surgeries. The program, however, is restricted to seasonal agricultural workers who work in crops and not at processors. Perhaps, a farmworker-focused charitable organization such as the Harvest of Hope Foundation (<http://www.harvestofhope.net>) could establish a national insurance pool to cover those workers who are not covered by employer, state, or nonprofit programs.

Finally, in order for the Kansas Migrant Education Program to provide better outreach and targeted services to migrant OSY, a serious discussion must be undertaken regarding the immigration status of the population. Nearly three quarters of migrant OSY identified in this study were born in Mexico or Central America. Most, if not all, are not authorized to live and work in the United States. They simply hide so as to not alert authorities of their presence. Does the Migrant Education Program represent an agency of authority in the mind of these young workers? Will their very participation in a program render them too visible and put them at risk of detection? When is an offer of

help simply a ruse to trap and subsequently deport? None of the migrant OSY interviewed for this study had previously heard of the Migrant Education Program. Was it nearly impossible for me to interview these youth because I was an outsider and simply unknown to them? The program must undertake a new series of trust-building steps in order to win over the hearts and minds of this skeptical population.

Although the remaining migrant OSY were born in the United States and are, by virtue of birth, U.S. citizens, members of their immediate or extended family may be undocumented and they may fear exposing loved ones should they become more visible in the community. When it is known by the general populace that some of the newcomers are likely undocumented, then the legal residents must be undocumented by virtue of mere association. According to the transitive property of equality, if $A = B$ and $B = C$, does not $A = C$? In other words, if all Mexicans in southwestern Kansas are migrant workers and all migrant workers are undocumented, then all Mexicans must be undocumented, regardless of birth. Fear of being visible has driven the population of migrant OSY underground and into a new underclass. Being highly mobile is a safeguard against detection. This is why migrant youth often leave a community *en masse* when news of an operation by *La Migra* (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement) reaches them. Do migrant youth perceive the federally funded Migrant Education Program as an arm of *La Migra*? This question was not asked or answered in this study.

Future Research

Two broad themes contributed to the comprehensive study of migrant out-of-school youth: 1) the relationship between migration and labor, and 2) the aspirations-

achievement paradox. The historical and theoretical underpinnings of Mexican migration to the United States are well documented, as is the plight of migrant agricultural workers. In addition, we are only beginning to fully appreciate migrant labors impact on the segmented marketplace of the rural Midwest. While important periods such as the Bracero Era between 1942 and 1964 have been examined, only a modicum of sociohistorical research has been conducted and published since the Immigration and Naturalization Service's now infamous Operation Wetback in 1954. Any present-day discussion of migrant agricultural workers should include their participation with the Migrant Education Program. In 2016 the MEP will have been in existence for 50 years and its storied history needs to be documented and shared. Therefore, I would like to research and publish the definitive history of migrant agricultural labor in the United States and use the history of the Migrant Education Program as the structural framework for the book.

In addition, the aspirations-achievement paradox as it relates to migrant OSY needs to be better understood. What remains unclear is how much past educational experiences impact individual aspirations. Further research needs to be conducted on quantifying and qualifying the costs and benefits of the possible actions taken by migrant OSY. In other words, how rational is the decision-making process? Is a longitudinal study of migrant OSY possible given their high mobility? Such an undertaking would have to be coordinated by multiple State MEPs and utilize resources available through the newly implemented national Migrant Students Records Exchange System (MSIX). State and local MEPs simply do not know how to connect with migrant OSY, but must learn to do so in order to respond to their educational and socioeconomic needs.

Programs of support such as the Migrant Education Program can help this very young population turn their needs into realistic and achievable goals.

Furthermore, the intent of a needs assessment process is to derive information and perceptions of values in order to make policy and program decisions that will benefit target population. The national Migrant Education Program has a comprehensive need assessment procedure in place to guide the overall design of each statewide MEP. Each statewide MEP undertakes a needs assessment in order to develop a comprehensive State plan for service delivery that describes the strategies the State will undertake to address the special educational needs of migrant children and youth. The Kansas Migrant Education Program conducted its statewide needs assessment from 2004-2006; however, the needs of migrant out-of-school youth were largely ignored. The U.S. Department of Education's Office of Migrant Education needs to draft supplemental guidance with regard to conducting a comprehensive needs assessment of migrant out-of-school youth in each State under the leadership of the *Opportunities for Success of Out-of-School Youth Initiative* funded through the Office of Migrant Education.

A generally agreed upon protocol to assess the immediate needs of migrant OSY when they arrive in a community should be developed, field tested, and employed nationwide. Existing programs across the country that are currently serving migrant OSY should be studied and their array of services should be documented and described in a compendium of best practices. Additional programs and services should be developed as new needs arise and studied for their efficacy. The undefined term "educationally-related services" that appears in the *Non-Regulatory Guidance* needs to be fully operationalized by the Office of Migrant Education so both State and local Migrant Education Programs

clearly understand which programs and services are to be permitted for migrant OSY.

Finally, it remains unclear what push and pull factors brought the majority of migrant OSY from rural Mexico to the United States and exactly which social class or classes migrated. Questions regarding socioeconomic status and class were not asked in this study, but should be included in future studies in order to enhance the statistical profile of the population. What was confirmed is that food-processing industry in the rural Midwest is the single most important factor attracting migrant labor. What is also now known is that the majority of migrant OSY traveled directly to the Midwest from their country of origin. What remains unclear is at what stage during the migration did they hear about possible jobs in the Midwest. Upon arrival into a community in Kansas, migrant OSY should be identified and recruited into the Migrant Education Program. Ideally, every effort should be made to work through the employers to develop a notification process and once a newcomer is identified the MEP should assess their most immediate needs and begin to provide them with targeted services.

While a representative sample of migrant OSY who work in the processing plants was identified because their work is not seasonally dependent, a representative sample of migrant OSY who work in agricultural production was not identified because recruitment into the study occurred during non-production winter months. The Kansas MEP should hire and train recruiters to specifically target migrant OSY working in processing plants and those working for producers and growers. As a result, recruiters will develop stronger relationships with the employers in their area of specialization and be able to better address the job-specific needs of the workers. While the migrant OSY are willing to do the jobs that most natives are unwilling to do, their tenure at these jobs is often

short and then they are on to the next job in the next community. The MEP must realize that may not see the fruits of their efforts due to the high mobility of the population they are charged to serve. The new Migrant Students Records Exchange Initiative (MSIX), however, will allow states to electronically transfer education and health information on migrant youth who move from state to state.

Gaining entrée into the invisible population of migrant OSY is fraught with challenges, but this growing subset of migrant agricultural workers must be better understood lest we relegate them to a permanent underclass with generational repercussions. Yes, migrant OSY focus exclusively on work to the detriment of other aspects of their lives, but programs of support such as the Migrant Education Program can provide this underserved population with educational opportunities that will enable them to academically, socially, and economically succeed.

In their book, *Remaking the American Mainstream* (2003), Alba and Nee would contend that the incorporation of migrant out-of-school youth into mainstream American society is fraught with many challenges. Chief among those is the belief that the actual trajectory of incorporation “ lies in the interplay between the purposive action of immigrants and their descendants and the contexts – that is, institutional structures, cultural beliefs, and social networks - that shape it” (14). The purposive self-interests and incentives of labor migrants are often in opposition to the interests of a mainstream institution such as large-scale agribusiness. These migrant youth may lack financial capital but they do possess both the social capital and network ties (49) that will enable them to navigate the difficult labor landscape and, as a result, are visibly restructuring America’s food economy.

APPENDIX A

Definition of Key Terms

Several issues relating to both the migrant work and the migrant worker are addressed in this study and will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. It is imperative to define some of the key terms and concepts that are directly related to this research.

Agricultural Activity. An agricultural activity is:

1. any activity directly related to the production or processing of crops, dairy products, poultry, or livestock for initial commercial sale or as a principal means of personal subsistence;
2. any activity directly related to the cultivation or harvesting of trees; or
3. any activity directly related to fish farms. 34 CFR 200.81(a) (Migrant Education Program 2003:22).

Agricultural Production. Agricultural production includes work on farms, ranches, dairies, orchards, nurseries, and greenhouses engaged in the production of crops, plants, or vines and the keeping, grazing, or feeding of livestock or livestock products for sale. The term also includes the production of bulbs, flower seeds, vegetable seeds, and specialty operations such as sod farms, mushroom cellars, and cranberry bogs (Migrant Education Program 2003:22).

Agricultural Processing. The term “processing” means working with a raw agricultural or fishing product and transforming it into a more refined product (Migrant Education Program 2003:23).

Emancipated Youth. An emancipated youth is a child under the age of majority (for a given State) who is no longer under the control of a parent or guardian and is solely responsible for his or her own welfare. Emancipated youth are eligible for the MEP so long as they meet the definition of a “migratory child” (Migrant Education Program 2003:12).

Farmworkers. Laborers who cultivate, harvest, and prepare a variety of seasonal crops for market or storage, including fruits and nuts, vegetables, horticulture, and field crops (Thompson and Wiggins 2002:3).

Identification and Recruitment (ID&R). *Identification* means determining the location and presence of migrant children. *Recruitment* means making contact with migrant families, explaining the Migrant Education Program, securing the necessary information to make a determination that the child is eligible for the MEP, and recording the basis of the child's eligibility on a Certificate of Eligibility or like form. Upon successful recruitment of a migrant family, eligible children may be enrolled in the MEP (Migrant Education Program 2003:45-46).

International Move. A move from Mexico or Canada to a school district in the U.S. is considered the same as a move from one school district to another within the U.S. The reason for this is that there is historical pattern of migration from Mexico and Canada to the U.S. to perform temporary or seasonal work in agriculture (Migrant Education Program 2003:20).

Migratory Agricultural Worker. According to section 200.81(c) of the federal regulations, a migratory agricultural worker is “a person who, in the preceding 36 months, has moved from one school district to another, or from one administrative area to

another within a State that is comprised of a single school district, in order to obtain temporary or seasonal employment in agricultural activities (including dairy work) as a principal means of livelihood” (Migrant Education Program 2003:11).

Qualifying Move. A move qualifies if:

1. it is a move across school district boundaries; *and*
2. it involves a change of residence; *and*
3. the purpose of the worker’s move is to obtain qualifying work in agriculture or fishing; *and*
4. the purpose of the worker’s move was not to relocate on a permanent basis; *and*
5. it occurred within the preceding 36 months (Migrant Education Program 2003:13).

Temporary or Seasonal Employment. For purposes of the Migrant Education Program, temporary employment is employment in agriculture or fishing that lasts for a short time frame, usually no longer than 12 months (Migrant Education Program 2003:29)

APPENDIX B

KANSAS CERTIFICATE OF ELIGIBILITY		PROJECT NAME:	EFFECTIVE DATE 9/1/03
SECTION I : PARENT DATA		COE #	
1A. Father's Name (Last, First):		2A. Current Father/Guardian's Name (Last, First):	
1B. Mother's Name (Last, First):		2B. Current Mother/Guardian's Name (Last, First):	
3A. Current Address:		3C. State:	3D. Zip Code:
SECTION II : CHILD DATA			
4A. Name: Last, First, Middle	7. Birthdate	8. Birthplace (use appropriate abbreviation)	11. Student ID No.
5. Sex	6. Age	9. City	10. State
		10. Country	11. Grade
			12. Enrollment code
			13. Date
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
SECTION III: ELIGIBILITY DATA - THE CHILDREN LISTED MOVED:			
12. From:	City	State	Country
16. <input type="checkbox"/> Parent	<input type="checkbox"/> Guardian	Worker's Name:	13. To: City
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Family Member	<input type="checkbox"/> Child	<input type="checkbox"/> Home	State
		14. Qualifying Arrival Date	
		15. The <input type="checkbox"/> In Moved <input type="checkbox"/> On His/Her Own	
		16. STATUS	
		17. To enable that person to obtain or seek AS AN IMPORTANT PART OF LIVELIHOOD:	
		17. <input type="checkbox"/> Temporary Employment <input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural Related <input type="checkbox"/> Fishing Related	
		18. <input type="checkbox"/> Seasonal Employment <input type="checkbox"/> Fishing Related	
		19. Residency Date	
		20. <input type="checkbox"/> A. The employer hires the worker to perform a task that has a clearly defined beginning and ending date and is not one of a series of activities that is typical of permanent employment (e.g., digging an irrigation ditch or building a fence from May to August).	
		20. <input type="checkbox"/> B. The employer hires the worker for a limited time frame.	
		20. <input type="checkbox"/> C. The employer hires additional workers during periods of peak demand.	
		20. <input type="checkbox"/> D. The agricultural or fishing work may be permanent but the interviewer has specific reason to believe that the worker does not intend to perform the tasks indefinitely.	
		(If 20A, B, C, or E checked - Complete information on back of COE)	
SECTION IV : PARENT/INTERVIEWER STATEMENT			
23. The rules for migrant eligibility, services, student record transfer, and the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) have been explained to me. I hereby authorize this school district and the State Educational Agency to release, transfer, and/or receive my child's education and health records, including immunization records and standardized test results, to/from other school districts, educational agencies, and other pertinent agencies. In order to potentially qualify for more educational, health, or social services, I further consent that student/family information, otherwise confidential under the provisions of FERPA, may be shared with organizations that provide services under the auspices of the following: the projects of the State Migrant Education Program (MEP), the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP), the High School Equivalency Program (HEP), the Migrant Education Even Start Program (MEES), and child nutrition programs.			
24. Parent/Guardian Signature	Child Signature	Date	
I certify that these students are eligible for MEP services based on the information provided herein. Based on the interview, I have determined that the qualifying work is an important part of providing a living for the worker and his/her family in accordance with the Principal Means of Livelihood (PML) requirement. I hereby certify that, to the best of my knowledge, the information is true, reliable, and valid.			
25. The above information was obtained from the: <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Guardian <input type="checkbox"/> Child and is correct to the best of my knowledge			
Interviewer's Signature	Interviewer's Initials	Date	
26. <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Guardian <input type="checkbox"/> Child and is correct to the best of my knowledge			
27. I certify that based upon the above information and applicable definitions, the child(ren) listed is/are eligible for the Migrant Education Program.			
1. Last Reviewer Signature	2. Approver Signature		
28. <input type="checkbox"/> Principal Means of Livelihood <input type="checkbox"/> If 28 or 29 checked, complete back of COE			
28. <input type="checkbox"/> Incent Only <input type="checkbox"/> Comments:			

APPENDIX B: REVERSE SIDE

ELIGIBILITY DOCUMENTATION

While COE comments do not need to be extensive, the interviewer's comments should clarify, for anyone who later reviews the document, the circumstances that led the interviewer to believe that the child is eligible. Additional clarification is warranted in cases where standard information may not clearly establish the child's eligibility. The interviewer's statements may be prepared in any way the SEA specifies.

#20 A, B, C, or E

CERTIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY

Interviewer needs to document the reason why she/he believes the worker does not intend to perform the tasks indefinitely.

#28

PRINCIPAL MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD (PMOL)

CLARIFICATION QUESTIONS RECRUITER ASKS FOR PURPOSES OF DOCUMENTATION:

Recruiters should ask the following types of questions to determine whether or not the Qualifying Activity (work) is a PMOL for the family: (Response to this question refers to the arrival to do the qualifying work).

- 1) Were you employed at the time of the move? Yes No

If yes, what did you do? _____

- 2) Was there anyone else from your household employed at the time of the move? Yes No

If yes, who and what type of employment did they do? _____

- 3) Was the work important to your household livelihood? Yes No

- 4) If yes, how? Examples: food, clothing, shelter (necessities of life). _____

#29

INTENT (IN SEARCH OF WORK)

CLARIFICATION QUESTIONS RECRUITER ASKS FOR PURPOSES OF DOCUMENTATION:

- 1) Does the family have a history of moving in order to perform qualifying work? Yes No

If yes, what was the type of work? _____

- 2) When did they apply for work? Date: _____

- 3) Where did they apply for work? _____

- 4) What was the qualifying activity they applied for? _____

- 5) Why did they not obtain employment? Were there external circumstances (i.e., flood, crop failure, no openings available, waiting to be called) that prevented the worker from obtaining the work?

- 6) Is the worker's geographic location (where he lives) a place where such work is found? For example: Harvesting wheat in the summer in Kansas is believable, but harvesting wheat in February in Kansas is not believable. Yes No

Print 3 copies of the completed COE front-and-back: one on white paper, one on yellow paper, and one on pink paper.

Send the signed white and yellow copies to the Kansas Migrant Education Program for certification, and give the pink copy to the parent or guardian.

[Print Completed COE](#)

APPENDIX C

Kansas Migrant OSY Needs Assessment Protocol

Name _____

Telephone Number _____

Date of Birth _____ Place of Birth _____

Youth is Dropout Here to Work

Living with Parent/Guardian No Yes

Single Married Partnered Housemates How many? _____

Children No Yes How many? _____

Educational Needs

Location of Last School Attended _____

Last Grade Completed _____ High School Diploma No Yes

College Experience No Yes Location _____

Primary Language _____ Secondary Language _____

English Language Oral Proficiency High Medium Low None

Read English No Yes Write English No Yes

Read Primary Language No Yes Write Primary Language No Yes

Educational Goals (may choose one or more)

HS Diploma GED ESL College Job Train Computer Train

Other _____ Other _____

Comments

Social & Economic Needs (may choose one or more)

Food Clothing Childcare Counseling Transportation

Immigration Information Workers' Rights Information Financial Information

Medical Dental Vision

Do you have Medical Insurance Dental Insurance Vision Insurance

Do you have a health condition(s) you would like to share?

Social & Economic Goals (may choose one or more)

Starting a family Having more children Getting better childcare

Getting health insurance Becoming healthier Starting counseling

Becoming a legal resident/citizen Returning to your native country

Saving more of your income Getting a different job

Purchasing a car/truck Purchasing a computer

Renting your own apartment Buying your own home

Other _____ Other _____

Comments

Interviewer _____ Date _____

APPENDIX D

Work History Report Kansas Migrant OSY Study

Name of Worker (Last, First) _____	Telephone Number _____
---------------------------------------	---------------------------

I certify that the information I will provide is true and correct
to the best of my knowledge.

Signature _____ Date _____

Name of Interviewer _____	Telephone Number _____
------------------------------	---------------------------

Previous Work Experience

#1

Job Title _____
Date (mm-dd-yyyy) From _____ Date (mm-dd-yyyy) To _____
Employer's Name _____
Employer's Location (City, State, Country) _____
Describe This Job _____ _____ _____ _____

APPENDIX E

Interview Schedule

What is your first name?

How old are you?

Where were you born?

How long have you lived in (Dodge City)?

Where did you live before coming to (Dodge City)?

How long have you been working at the (plant)?

Tell me about some of the other jobs you have had before your present job.

Have you heard of the Kansas Migrant Education Program?

How did you hear about it?

Where did you hear about it?

Tell me what you know about the Kansas Migrant Education Program.

What are your general impressions of the Kansas Migrant Education Program?

When you found out about this program, how did it make you feel?

Have you had any experiences with other government or social agencies?

How did they help you?

How did they make you feel?

Tell me about an experience that wasn't helpful or was frustrating.

If you could improve that agency, what would you do?

Tell me about what worries you the most.

Tell me about your educational experiences.

Tell me about your most important educational need.

Tell me about your educational goals.

What are you saving money for?

Tell me about your most important economic need.

Tell me about your economic goals.

Tell me about some of your short-term goals.

Tell me about some of your long-term goals.

What help can the Kansas Migrant Education Program offer you?

Do you live alone, with family, or have roommates?

Do you socialize mostly with friends or family?

What are some of the things you do outside of work?

Do you talk to a lot of people at work?

With whom you most often turn for advice and information?

With whom do you discuss work related matters in an ordinary week?

APPENDIX F

Informed Consent Form for Interviews

We are requesting a face-to-face interview with you as part of the Kansas Migrant Education Program's study of migrant out-of-school young adult workers. This research is designed to improve services to migrant workers. We wish to learn about your personal and professional goals and, together with you, develop concrete ideas about how our services might be improved to better meet your needs. As a result of your participation, the Migrant Education Program will develop programs and services that will be of direct benefit to you.

Your participation in this interview and your answering of any of the questions is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from participating in this discussion at any time. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled from the Kansas Migrant Education Program. There may be some questions that may be uncomfortable to you such as those that relate to past work history. You are free not to answer any questions and you may cease participation at any time. At no time will any of the topics discussed or information provided by you be shared with your employer.

The interview should not last longer than 90 minutes. With your consent, the information you offer as part of the interview will be tape-recorded. Recordings will be used to help us identify important themes. Data will be treated confidentially and will be kept on a password-protected computer used only by research staff. At no time will you be identified individually.

I am being paid by the Kansas Migrant Education Program to conduct this study. If you should have any questions about the research project, please feel free to contact the researcher, Joe Tillman, at 573.864.6484 or the research advisor, Dr. Jere Gilles, at 573.882.3791. For additional information regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board at 573.882.9585.

Again, your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from participating at any time. A copy of this consent form is being left with you for your records. Do you agree to take part in this interview in accordance with the conditions described above?

APPENDIX F1

Consentimiento Informado para Entrevistas

Por medio de la presente, le solicitamos una entrevista en persona como parte de un estudio del Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios en Kansas (Kansas Migrant Education Program). El estudio es sobre jóvenes trabajadores migratorios que no han terminado la escuela secundaria o preparatoria. Esta investigación ha sido diseñada para mejorar los servicios ofrecidos a los trabajadores migratorios. Quisiéramos saber acerca de sus metas personales y profesionales y, con usted a nuestro lado, desarrollar ideas concretas para mejorar nuestros servicios y así llenar mejor sus necesidades. Como resultado de su participación, El Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios desarrollará programas y servicios que lo beneficiarán directamente a usted.

Su participación en esta entrevista y las respuestas a las preguntas son completamente voluntarias y usted podrá dejar de participar en este programa en cualquier momento. La denegación o rechazo a participar no significará ninguna pena o pérdida de beneficios a los cuales usted ya tiene derecho con el Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios en Kansas. Quizás haya algunas preguntas que puedan ser incómodas para usted como las relacionadas a su experiencia laboral en el pasado. Usted tiene toda la libertad de no contestar algunas de las preguntas o dejar de participar en el programa en cualquier momento. La información que usted nos proporcione o los temas discutidos no serán compartidos con su empleador en ningún momento.

La entrevista durará menos de 90 minutos. Con su consentimiento, la información proporcionada durante la entrevista será grabada. La grabación nos ayudará a identificar temas importantes. Los datos e información dados serán confidenciales y se mantendrán en una computadora con contraseña que será utilizada solo por el personal involucrado en la investigación. En ningún momento usted será identificado individualmente.

El Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios en Kansas me está pagando para llevar a cabo esta investigación. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca del proyecto, por favor no dude en contactar al investigador: Joe Tillman al Tel. 573-864-6484 o al consejero de la investigación: Dr. Jere Gilles al Tel. 573-882-3791. Para cualquier información adicional relacionada a sus derechos como participante de la investigación, por favor contacte al Comité de Revisión Constitucional de la Universidad de Missouri (the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board) al 573.882.9585.

Una vez más, su participación es completamente voluntaria y usted podrá retirarla en cualquier momento. Una copia de este consentimiento se quedará con usted para sus archivos. ¿Está de acuerdo a tomar parte en esta entrevista siguiendo las condiciones descritas anteriormente?

APPENDIX G

Informed Consent Form for Discussion Groups

As scheduling permits, we are requesting your participation in a small discussion group of 4-6 individuals as part of the Kansas Migrant Education Program's study of migrant out-of-school young adult workers. This research is designed to improve services to migrant workers. We wish to learn about your personal and professional goals and, together with you, develop concrete ideas about how our services might be improved to better meet your needs. As a result of your participation, the Migrant Education Program will develop programs and services that will be of direct benefit to you.

Your participation in this discussion group and your answering of any of the questions is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from participating in this discussion group at any time. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled from the Kansas Migrant Education Program. There may be some questions that may be uncomfortable to you such as those that relate to past work history. You are free not to answer any questions and you may cease participation at any time. At no time will any of the topics discussed or information provided by you be shared with your employer.

The discussion should not last longer than 90 minutes. With your consent, the information you offer as part of the discussion group will be tape-recorded. Recordings will be used to help us identify important themes. Data will be treated confidentially and will be kept on a password-protected computer used only by research staff. At no time will you be identified individually.

I am being paid by the Kansas Migrant Education Program to conduct this study. If you should have any questions about the research project, please feel free to contact the researcher, Joe Tillman, at 573.864.6484 or the research advisor, Dr. Jere Gilles, at 573.882.3791. For additional information regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board at 573.882.9585.

Again, your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from participating at any time. A copy of this consent form is being left with you for your records. Do you agree to take part in this discussion group in accordance with the conditions described above?

APPENDIX G1

Consentimiento Informado para Grupos de Discusión

Si el horario nos lo permite, estamos solicitando su participación en un grupo pequeño de discusión de 4 a 6 personas como parte de un estudio del Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios en Kansas (Kansas Migrant Education Program) sobre jóvenes trabajadores migratorios que no han acabado la escuela secundaria. Esta investigación ha sido diseñada para mejorar los servicios ofrecidos a los trabajadores migratorios. Quisiéramos saber acerca de sus metas personales y profesionales y, con usted a nuestro lado, desarrollar ideas concretas para mejorar nuestros servicios y así llenar mejor sus necesidades. Como resultado de su participación, El Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios desarrollará programas y servicios que lo beneficiarán directamente a usted.

Su participación en este grupo y las respuestas a las preguntas son completamente voluntarias y usted podrá retirar su participación de este programa o grupo de discusión en cualquier momento. La denegación o rechazo de su participación no atraerá ningún tipo de pena o pérdida de beneficios a los cuales usted ya tiene derecho con el Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios en Kansas. Quizás haya algunas preguntas que puedan ser incómodas para usted como las relacionadas a su pasada experiencia laboral. Usted tiene toda la libertad para no contestar cualquiera de las preguntas y dejar de participar en el programa también. La información que usted nos proporcione o los temas discutidos no serán compartidos con su empleador en ningún momento.

La discusión durará menos de 90 minutos. Con su consentimiento, la información compartida durante el grupo de discusión será grabada. La grabación nos ayudará a identificar temas importantes. Los datos e información serán confidenciales y se mantendrán en una computadora con contraseña que será utilizada solo por el personal involucrado en la investigación. En ningún momento usted será identificado individualmente.

El Programa Educativo para Trabajadores Migratorios en Kansas me está pagando para llevar a cabo esta investigación. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca del proyecto, por favor no dude en contactar al investigador: Joe Tillman al Tel. 573-864-6484 o al consejero de la investigación: Dr. Jere Gilles al Tel. 573-882-3791. Para cualquier información adicional relacionada a sus derechos como participante de la investigación, por favor contacte the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board at 573.882.9585.

Una vez más, su participación es completamente voluntaria y usted podrá retirar su participación en cualquier momento. Una copia de este consentimiento se quedará con usted para sus archivos. ¿Está de acuerdo a tomar parte en este grupo de discusión siguiendo las condiciones descritas anteriormente?

APPENDIX H

Chi-Square Tests

Crosstabs: Gender and ESL as a Need: No significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.093 ^a	1	.014		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.05.

Crosstabs: Status and ESL as a Need: No significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.247 ^a	1	.000		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.49

Crosstabs: Gender and Education as a Goal: No significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.482 ^a	1	.115		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.48.

Crosstabs: Gender and ESL as a Goal: No significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.369 ^a	1	.544		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.92.

Crosstabs: Gender and Training as a Goal: No significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.121 ^a	1	.145		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.99.

Crosstabs: Status and ESL as a Need: No significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.247 ^a	1	.000		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.49.

Crosstabs: Status and Education as a Goal: Significant .05

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.137 ^a	1	.042		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.44.

Crosstabs: Status and ESL as a Goal: No Significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.334 ^a	1	.021		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.76.

Crosstabs: Status and Training as a Goal: No Significance; 1 cell less than 5

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.855 ^a	1	.355		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.63.

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