

**Changing Relations:
Newcomers and Established Residents
in Garden City, Kansas**

Final Report

February 5, 1990

Donald D. Stull, University of Kansas
Janet E. Benson, Kansas State University
Michael J. Broadway, State University of New York, Geneseo
Arthur L. Campa, University of Colorado, Boulder
Ken C. Erickson, Kansas Dept. of Social and Rehab. Services
Mark A. Grey, University of Colorado, Boulder

Institute for Public Policy and Business Research, University of Kansas
Report No. 172

Pages i and ii were intentionally
left blank.

CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Introduction	1
Theoretical Perspective: Economic Change and Migration	5
Project Description and Methodology	11
Changes in the Economy and Population Structure	27
Cultural Conceptions of American Identity and American Life	37
Power Relations Among New Immigrants and Established Residents	47
Communication, Accomodation, and Accord in Multigroup Interactions	63
The Nature of Relations Among Established Residents and New Immigrants ...	83
Dissemination	105
Policy and Recommendations	111
Appendix A: Theoretical Perspective: Ethnicity Janet E. Benson	125
Appendix B: Papers, Presentations, and Publications of the Garden City Changing Relations Project Team	131
References	135

FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

Location of Garden City, Kansas (maps)	vi
1. Distribution of a Sample of Newcomers to Garden City by Ethnic Group	33
2. Distribution of a Sample of Anglo Meatpackers and Professionals in Garden City	35

TABLES

1. Percent of Monfort Workers by Gender and Ethnicity, 1986-1988	96
--	----

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is the product of long-term collaboration among researchers, their institutions, and members of a community. We have benefited from the support and assistance of many. In addition to major funding from the Ford Foundation, the University of Kansas awarded Stull a sabbatical leave and a grant from its General Research Fund. Janet Benson received a sabbatical leave and awards from the American Ethnic Studies Program, the Bureau of General Research, and the Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work at Kansas State University. Michael Broadway's initial research in Garden City was funded by grants from Wichita State University. This supplemental support and the many forms of assistance and encouragement each of us received from our home institutions made the completion of our research possible.

The Institute for Public Policy and Business Research of the University of Kansas provided the support services to produce this report. Jan Beecham, Mary Brohammer, and Shakura Jackson transcribed endless hours of interviews. Mary Brohammer did the wordprocessing for the final report. Laura Kriegstrom Poracsky drew the map of Kansas and designed the project logo.

We are grateful to Holly Hope and the late Robert Oppenheimer for generously sharing materials from their earlier research in Garden City. Mary Warren, executive director of the Finney County Historical Society and Museum, generously shared her institution's resources, collaborated with us in disseminating our findings, and read the final draft of this report.

The administration of the Garden City School District (USD 457) provided us with office space and granted permission for our school research. We thank the district for its hospitality and cooperation.

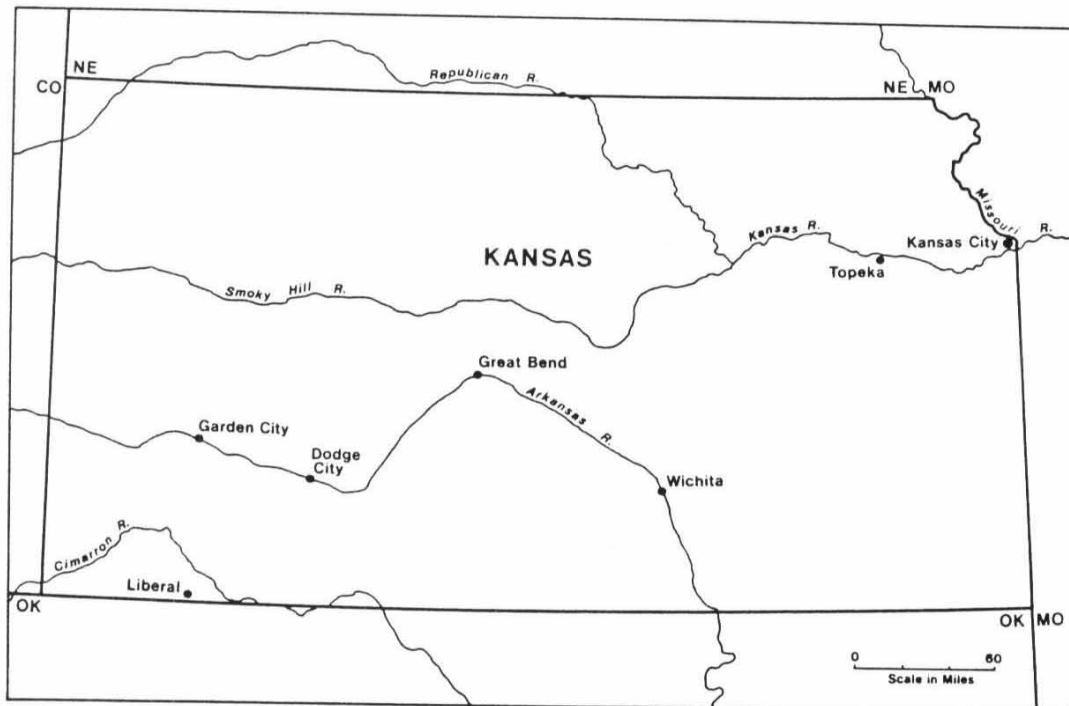
We have come to know many people in Garden City. Whether they were newcomers, like us, or established residents, all have made us feel welcome. The people, the institutions, and the organizations who helped and befriended us are too numerous to mention. To all, we say "thank you" from the bottom of our hearts.

Donald D. Stull
Janet E. Benson
Michael J. Broadway
Arthur L. Campa
Ken C. Erickson
Mark A. Grey

Location of Garden City, Kansas



0 200
miles
SCALE



INTRODUCTION

Garden City is located in southwest Kansas, 215 miles west of Wichita and 309 miles southeast of Denver, Colorado. At an elevation of approximately 2,900 feet, it rests amid a semiarid region of short grass and sandsage prairie. With an estimated population of 25,000, it is not only the Finney County seat but a trade and service center for small agricultural communities and unincorporated rural settlements in a five-state area of the southern High Plains (Garden City Planning Department 1989).

In February 1872, D.W. "Doc" Barton left South Texas trailing 3,000 longhorns up the Pecos Trail. That July he and his men set up camp under an old cottonwood tree along the Santa Fe Trail, where Garden City now stands. In the fall he moved his headquarters east along the banks of the Arkansas River and established the first ranch west of Old Fort Dodge (Blanchard 1989:45-46). Barton and later cattlemen fattened their herds on buffalo grass and shipped them by rail to eastern markets.

Soon others began arriving, including C.J. "Buffalo" Jones, the model for Zane Grey's *Last of the Plainsmen*, and the man generally credited with saving the North American bison from extinction. Garden City was platted in April 1879 and by 1887 2,000 people lived there (Garden City Planning Department 1989:7).

Early settlers were lured by tales of cheap land and bountiful harvests, but an average annual rainfall of 18 inches has always made farming a chancy proposition. Water remains the limiting factor in the area's economic development, and from the outset agriculture has been heavily dependent on irrigation. Water was originally drawn from the Arkansas River, which bisects the region, and from a small number of wells. Sugar beets were introduced in the late 1800s and played a major role in the agricultural economy of southwest Kansas until the 1950s, when technological and market forces combined to spell the end of the industry in the region. As the importance of sugar beets declined, innovations in irrigation technology transformed agriculture in southwest Kansas. The development of deep-well turbine pumps in the 1960s allowed farmers to exploit the Ogallala Aquifer, which underlies much of the area.

Center-pivot irrigation brought marginal land under cultivation and within 10 years a new "corn belt" emerged, as southwest Kansas became one of the most productive agricultural areas in the nation (Fund and Clement 1982). An abundant supply of feedgrain spawned the feeder cattle industry, and by 1985 the 19 counties in

southwest Kansas held 83 feedyards with a combined one-time capacity of 1,121,800 head (Crockett 1985). In 1987, Finney County, the top cattle feeding county in Kansas, had a one-time capacity of 210,000 and produced 450,000 head of fat (or slaughter) cattle (Laudert 1988).

In 1980 Garden City had a population of 18,256, and in many ways it typified the so-called "heartland." Its population was overwhelmingly Anglo (82 percent). The largest minority was Hispanic (16 percent), who first came in the early 1900s to work on the railroad and in the beet fields. One percent was black, and .5 percent each was American Indian and Asian (Garden City Planning Department 1989:16).

But the 1980s brought rapid change to "the Garden." The area's feedyards attracted beefpacking plants. The feedgrain-feedyard-beefpacking chain was completed in 1980 when IBP, Inc. (formerly Iowa Beef Processors, Inc.) opened the world's largest beefpacking plant 10 miles west of Garden City, near the hamlet of Holcomb. In 1983 Val-Agri (later Swift Independent Packing Company and now Monfort, a division of ConAgra Red Meats Companies) modernized its Garden City plant and doubled its workforce. Today these two plants employ approximately 4,000 workers and have a daily slaughter capacity of 8,400 head. In 1987, they slaughtered and processed 2,400,000 cattle (Laudert 1988).

Garden City now sits atop beefpacking's "Golden Triangle"--50 miles to the southeast is Dodge City with two plants, while 65 miles to the south is Liberal with one. By 1985 Kansas had replaced Texas as the leading beefpacking state (Webb 1986), and Garden City had emerged as the "buckle on the beef belt."

The opening of IBP and the expansion of Val-Agri coincided with steady declines in the region's other major industries to "push and pull" an estimated 6,000 new residents to Garden City between 1980 and 1985. During that time, Garden City grew by 33 percent, making it the fastest growing community in Kansas. In those five short years, Garden City was transformed from a bicultural community of established Anglos and Mexican Americans to a multicultural community as Southeast Asian refugees and Hispanic immigrants came to work in the beefpacking plants. And Garden City assumed a cosmopolitan quality that is indeed rare for a community its size, especially one that sits as it does atop the heartland.

Word of its ethnic diversity, of its reputation for successfully accommodating new immigrants and the rapid growth that brought them, attracted us to Garden City. We have not been disappointed, though at times we have been surprised by what we found. Perhaps we should not have been.

Garden City was founded by immigrants, and it has always attracted them--some stay, others don't. After all, it is quite literally in the middle of the country--1,640

miles from the Atlantic Ocean and 1,625 from the Pacific (Mares 1986). And ever since it was born, even before, it has straddled the major highways of the Plains--the Santa Fe Trail, the Santa Fe Railroad, and U.S. Highway 83, "the Main Street of the Great Plains."

Money, or the lure of it, has always drawn people. Trailherds, ranching, sugar beets, oil and gas, irrigation, feedgrains, feedyards, beefpacking--each has brought new money, new men and women. And Garden City has been lucky. [Although in Garden City they'll tell you they make their own luck.] As each preeminent economic pattern has waned, another has succeeded it. After the Great Blizzard of 1886 decimated the cattle herds, sugar beets came along. With their demise came the ascendancy of irrigated feedgrain agriculture, followed closely by feedyards. And in the early 1980s when oil and gas prices plummeted and American agriculture was in crisis, beefpacking came to town.

From Doc Barton and Buffalo Jones to Mexicans fleeing the Revolution to work on the railroad or in the beet fields to Vietnamese and Laotians fleeing their war-torn homelands or immigrant Latinos escaping the ravages of runaway inflation or civil strife, Garden City has welcomed new immigrants. Some not so willingly, but it has made a place for them nonetheless.

What follows is an attempt by the Changing Relations Project--six sojourners--to understand and explain how Garden City has met and accommodated its newest arrivals.

This page was intentionally
left blank.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: ECONOMIC CHANGE AND MIGRATION

Our initial investigation of Garden City was guided by the literature on rapidly growing communities, or "boomtowns." The boomtown model (discussed elsewhere in this report) provided a useful framework to examine the macro-level effects of sudden population growth upon Garden City. But it fails to account for the presence of large immigrant and refugee populations within the community and their high mobility. To explain these phenomena, we look to recent structural changes in the American economy and migration theory.

Structural Change in the American Economy

Since the end of World War II, three basic changes have occurred in the American economy in terms of *what* is produced, *how* it is produced, and *where* it is produced. First, there has been a shift away from agriculture and manufacturing toward service activities. Second, production is now characterized by oligopoly, as larger and more efficient corporations have driven out their competitors. Third, advances in technology and communications have allowed the redeployment of capital at the metropolitan, national, and international levels. One consequence of this capital mobility has been the transfer of routine production operations to regions with lower labor costs (Knox 1988). While these structural transformations were occurring, from 1972 to 1982, the American economy experienced a prolonged crisis. This period was characterized by high inflation, increased energy costs, international competition, and slow economic growth (Hamilton 1984). According to Carnoy and Castells (1984), new relationships between capital and labor have emerged to deal with this crisis, with capital recapturing the initiative over wages and regulations. New roles for the public sector have also emerged, with a decline in government intervention and an increasing emphasis on assisting the capital accumulation process. The aggregate effect of all these changes, according to some observers, is polarization, with increased numbers of highly qualified and highly paid employees on the one hand and of employees in "secondary" jobs on the other (Stanback and Noyelle 1982). The secondary labor market contains jobs that are low paying, low status, and offer little security or chance for advancement.

The impact of these structural changes has been felt in Garden City and Finney County with the construction and expansion of two major beefpacking plants in the early 1980s. The presence of these two plants reflects cost-cutting strategies. Over the past 30 years, meatpacking has been transformed from an urban to a rural industry. New companies, like IBP, have located their plants in rural areas in right-to-work states and vigorously fought efforts to unionize them (Skaggs 1986). The old packing firms like Wilson and Cudahy were located in large urban centers, such as Chicago, and had unionized labor forces. In the face of competition from the new companies with their lower labor costs, many of the old packers either closed their plants or sold out to competitors.

Costs have also been reduced by eliminating highly skilled butchers. In their place, hundreds of unskilled workers now perform routine repetitive motions on disassembly lines--jobs that often result in injury. Indeed, throughout the 1980s meatpacking was America's most hazardous industry (U.S. Department of Labor 1988). As part of the new relationship between labor and capital, the new packing companies limit medical benefits to employees who have worked a minimum of four to six months. In Garden City, for example, Mexican immigrants complain they are often "encouraged," through harassment or reassignment to less desirable jobs, to quit just prior to becoming eligible for benefits.

Meatpacking has experienced structural changes similar to those in other segments of the U.S. economy, and the new packers epitomize the new relationship between capital and labor. Most of the jobs in the new plants are part of the secondary labor market. Capital mobility and advances in technology allow companies to move their production facilities to lower-cost rural areas like Finney County. But these areas often lack a sufficient labor force to meet the demand created by the new plants, which in turn leads to the in-migration of workers and their families.

Theoretical Perspectives on Immigration

The economic theories of Karl Marx and Adam Smith provide the bases for two opposing views of international migrant flows. Both suggest that migration is the result of capital accumulation, but they disagree about the triggering mechanism. Smith (1971) argued that the additional labor required by capital accumulation would be provided by a demographic process. When the demand for workers exceeded the supply, market forces would raise the wage level and, hence, improve the standard of living, consequently increasing the number of workers (Marshall 1973). Some of Smith's views were incorporated by Ravenstein (1885) in his laws of migration, which acknowledged the importance of economic growth in stimulating migrant flows. Economic motivations

also underlie Lee's (1966) theory of migration. Lee notes the importance of increasing economic differences between developed and developing countries in promoting emigration from the Third World to developed nations.

Marx, in direct contrast to Smith, suggested that increases in the demand for labor could be immediately satisfied by the economic system. He argued that capitalist expansion depended upon the availability of a large pool of unemployed, highly mobile workers--the industrial reserve army of labor. These unemployed workers were made redundant by processes of capital accumulation--concentration and centralization of the means of production and technical innovation. The function of this surplus labor is to keep wage changes at a level that does not interfere with the expansion of capital. However, when shortages in the reserve army of labor occur as a result of economic growth, the need arises to import labor to prevent wages from increasing. Thus, immigrants and migrant workers are viewed as contributing to the supply of surplus labor and, as a result, capital accumulation.

Immigration is also considered by dependency theorists (Dos Santos 1970) as a method of ensuring continued capital accumulation within advanced capitalist economies--core countries. The economies of core countries expand at the expense of developing countries by importing both their raw materials and their labor. Migrants are imported to fill positions for which there is a shortage of labor (for example, doctors, scientists, and engineers), or to perform tasks that native workers reject in the secondary labor market (Cornelius and Kemper 1978; Piore 1979a). Piore (1979b:8) argues that, because native workers refuse employment in this sector, "industrial economies are forced to draw upon other social and demographic groups who are either indifferent to secondary job characteristics or are powerless to resist them." Immigration can thus be viewed either as a method by which advanced capitalist economies accumulate capital, at the expense of developing countries, or as a response to the distribution of global income.

Immigrant Hispanic beefpacking workers in southwest Kansas provide support for Piore's view that some workers are "powerless" to resist employment opportunities in the U.S. secondary labor market. Some hold advanced degrees and were professionals at home, but they cannot earn a living there. For them, status is exchanged for a higher wage. Circular movement between Garden City and "home" is exacerbated by job insecurity and the ever present risk of injury. Recent research by Chavez (1988) suggests that among undocumented immigrants, single persons are likely to return to Mexico after a brief period of employment in the U.S. In contrast, undocumented immigrants living with their families in the U.S. are likely to view their job as relatively secure and want to remain. We were unable to substantiate Chavez's findings

because of difficulty obtaining precise residential histories of undocumented migrants in Garden City.

Internal Migration

Conventional migration theory, in the form of the gravity model, would predict that since most people migrate short distances, the majority of migrants to Garden City should arrive from the hinterland (Lewis 1982). Short moves predominate because of the higher costs of long ones--increased transportation costs, greater psychic trauma, loss of earnings while between jobs, and uncertainty about income prospects in distant communities. The gravity model argues that migration between two places is a function of the distance between them and population size. As distance from a town increases, knowledge concerning opportunities there decreases, while, at the same time, the cost of moving increases, thereby reducing the likelihood of migration. The distance constraint on knowledge and migration costs can, however, be overcome by channelized or chain migration, according to MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) and Roseman (1971). This type of migration occurs primarily through interpersonal contact and is normally observed between rural areas and a specific city.

Neither of these models--gravity nor chain migration--helps us understand the migration of Southeast Asians to Garden City. Many of the refugees were not initially resettled in their place of choice. Indeed, the official government policy was to disperse refugees throughout the country. As a result, refugees incur few psychic costs in subsequent moves. Moreover, many are initially unemployed, so there is no loss of earnings associated with a move. In short, the traditional constraints on long moves have less effect on Southeast Asians.

Broadway's (1987a) analysis of secondary in-migration to Garden City supports this assertion. Nearly half his sample (N = 683) originated in Wichita, 215 miles east of Garden City. Wichita attracted refugee sponsors by virtue of having a major U.S. military installation (McConnell Air Force Base) and being the largest city in Kansas. In the early 1980s, a recession in the aircraft industry (the principal employer in Wichita) and layoffs in its meatpacking plants put many refugees out of work. These factors "pushed" migrants out of Wichita, while the availability of employment "pulled" them to Garden City. After Wichita, the next leading sources of refugees were California, Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, New York, and Illinois (Broadway 1985). These diverse origins clearly reveal the initial efforts to disperse refugees throughout the United States and the extensive array of interpersonal contacts among them. Unfortunately, there is no comparable data set from which to analyze the origins of Anglo or Hispanic migrants to Garden City.

Migrant Mobility

Migration is a selective process. In the U.S., young adults between the ages of 20 and 34 have the highest mobility, and males are more likely to move than females. Renters are three to four times more likely to move than homeowners (Clark 1986; Lewis 1982). Given these broad generalizations, a community undergoing rapid growth as a result of in-migration is likely to experience high mobility simply because of its demographic structure. High mobility is further compounded by the nature of employment in beefpacking. Turnover at the two plants is estimated at between 6-8 percent a month (Wood 1988:76; Stull fieldnotes 7/10-15/88:16). Using the lowest estimate, 6 percent of the approximately 4,000 workers at the two plants amounts to 240 persons a month, or 2,880 persons per year, who leave the industry. They normally leave the community and are, in turn, replaced by new migrants. This means that over 5,700 workers move in and out of the community within a year, which amounts to more than one-fifth of the town's population! [These calculations do not take into account these workers' additional family members.] The instability produced by such mobility is evident in elevated levels of social disorder in Garden City.

There is, however, little evidence of significant overt conflict between newcomers and established residents. This may be attributed to the relative size of the different newcomer populations and to the fact that newcomers are not seen as competitors for scarce economic resources. As Banton (1983) observes, the smaller the minority group, the more likely its members will be viewed as individuals and the less probability for conflict. As group size increases, or economic conditions worsen, more resentment develops against a minority. [For a more detailed discussion of this and other issues related to ethnicity, see Appendix A.]

Conclusions

The presence of the meatpacking industry in Garden City and the associated influx of Southeast Asians, Hispanics, and Anglos is attributable to structural changes in the U.S. economy since 1945. The meatpacking industry has lowered costs by transforming itself from an urban unionized industry to a rural nonunion industry. This has been accomplished by eliminating highly skilled (and highly paid) workers and replacing them with unskilled or semiskilled workers who perform the same repetitive motions for a lower wage. This unpleasant and dangerous work is unattractive for many Anglos, which in turn has led to the employment of Southeast Asians and Hispanics. However, the nature of the work remains the same--and the net result is high turnover among packinghouse employees in all three groups. And Garden City suffers the adverse consequences of high social instability.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION AND METHODOLOGY

Although the project officially began in January 1988, team members actually started their work much earlier. Ken Erickson moved to Garden City in 1981 and has served as the Refugee Services Coordinator for the Garden City Area Office of the Kansas Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS) since 1984. His work as a practicing anthropologist among Garden City's Southeast Asians paved the way for the subsequent efforts of the Garden City team. He was the facilitator, and in some cases the instigator and molder, of the interests and activities of out-of-town researchers prior to the formation of the Changing Relations Project (CRP) team. In 1984, Erickson asked Michael Broadway, then of Wichita State University (now at SUNY, Geneseo), to analyze existing data and conduct original research on the size and demographic characteristics of Garden City's Southeast Asian (SEA) population. Between 1984 and 1987 Broadway and Erickson carried out baseline studies of SEAs dealing with age structure, occupation, residence, household organization, and attitudes toward Garden City (Broadway 1985, 1987a, 1987b; Erickson 1988).

After making initial contact with Erickson, Donald Stull first visited Garden City in the summer of 1986. Funded by the Institute for Public Policy and Business Research of the University of Kansas, he began a pilot study of Anglo responses to rapid growth and ethnic in-migration in the summer of 1987. At about the same time, Janet Benson, Kansas State University, started research among Southeast Asians in Garden City.

As the CRP team began to coalesce in response to the call for preproposals, Arthur Campa and Jose Cintron of the University of Colorado-Boulder's BUENO Center were asked to participate. They first visited Garden City in the summer of 1987 and made subsequent visits during the remainder of that year. The final member of the team, Mark Grey, also of the BUENO Center, joined in the summer of 1988, when Jose Cintron resigned to take a faculty position at California State College, Sacramento.

Team Characteristics

As in any collaborative project, the makeup of the Garden City team has influenced both the research process and its products. The seven who participated are all professionals: five held doctorates when the project began; one received his doctorate

during the course of the project, based on previous research; and one is a practitioner with an M.A. Their maturity and professionalism allowed them to carry out their duties largely independent of one another and without the supervision often required for student researchers. It also meant, however, that their other professional and personal obligations weighed more heavily on the project's mission.

The team has generally maintained an egalitarian structure. Whenever possible, decisions are made on the basis of consensus reached during group discussions. Unfortunately, geographic dispersal and scheduling conflicts have severely limited our ability to meet regularly as a group. We have tried to overcome this problem by keeping in frequent touch by phone, Bitnet, and mail, and by circulating drafts of reports and papers before release.

Gender, ethnicity, nationality, background, predilection, and language have all played a part in our research. Six of the seven who worked on the project are men; five are Anglo and two Latino (Mexican American and Puerto Rican); one is a British immigrant. Janet Benson's presence served as a corrective to the team's inherent male bias, exacerbated at times by the predominance of male culture in loci of study such as packinghouses and bars. At crucial times she was careful to remind the rest of us that male and female attitudes, single and family experiences, may differ widely.

Ethnicity and nationality have also played a role in research activities and analyses. We recognized from the very beginning that the absence of a SEA on the team was unfortunate, both from linguistic and cultural standpoints. Two team members were Latino, but only one (Campa) could be considered a "native anthropologist" (there are no Puerto Ricans in Garden City). Cultural and idiosyncratic differences among team members contributed to variant interpretations of our observations. While discussions of certain events have at times been animated, they have ultimately served to clarify and enrich our understanding of anthropological methods and cultural processes.

On the surface the team appears to be a rather homogeneous lot--five sociocultural anthropologists, a social geographer, and an educational psychologist; six ethnographers and one quantitative researcher; six university-based researchers, one community-based practitioner. And clearly we share much in personal and professional background and interests. But these obvious similarities masked important differences that were revealed over the course of the research. For example, some team members are confirmed urbanites who had difficulty adjusting to small-town America; others came from cultural traditions similar to Garden City and were eager to reembrace their "roots." Individual personalities and interests as well as professional considerations guided who, where, and what team members did and saw. They influenced the arenas

and groups each researcher chose to study; how they conducted their investigations; who they associated with and what they did in their "leisure" time.

Three of the team speak Spanish (Campa, Cintron, and Erickson); one is moderately fluent in Vietnamese (Erickson). Conversations and interviews with Hispanics and SEAs were conducted in the respondent's language of choice. Team members were able to conduct Spanish-language interviews without assistance. Communication with non-English-speaking Southeast Asians was a different matter.

Benson began learning Vietnamese once the grant was awarded, but relied on translators when respondents did not speak English. She originally wanted to hire a full-time Vietnamese translator/field assistant but could not offer enough job continuity to attract qualified applicants. Consequently, Benson had to use several translators in the course of the project. They included a young Vietnamese woman with many contacts among high school and college students, particularly Laotians; a Laotian male college student; a retired male Vietnamese schoolteacher who worked for the Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association (MAA); and a young Christian Laotian woman, from a minority ethnic group (Tai Dam), with some college education.

In retrospect, while continuity in translation services would have been less frustrating, the use of translators of different ages, genders, and backgrounds was probably beneficial. Ideally, researchers responsible for working with SEAs would have been fluent in both Laotian and Vietnamese to avoid the inevitable bias of working through third parties. But this was not possible. It was soon clear the most important service rendered by the translators was the ability to introduce Benson to a circle of friends and acquaintances, vouch for her benign intentions and those of the project, and help people feel at ease with a stranger. In fact, in a number of cases interviews were conducted in English after the "translator" had properly introduced Benson. But not all the translators were equally well known among respondents. As a result, contacts were more difficult to initiate in some cases, and less confidence should be placed in those interviews.

Time on Site

The Garden City team was the only one in the national study not primarily based in the community. Only Erickson lived in Garden City and being a practitioner restricted his role. A written agreement with the local director of SRS allowed him to spend 10 percent of his time on the project (as an in-kind donation). His insider access to settings, individuals, and data sources helped team members and the project as a whole, yet his time for research and analysis was limited. Conflicts between his roles as researcher and community member were also difficult to manage.

For the rest of us, off-site residence presented a very different set of challenges and constraints. Investigators from the University of Colorado (Campa, Cintron, and Grey) did not hold faculty appointments and had administrative duties preventing long absences. As a result they were unable to spend protracted periods in Garden City. Both the Garden City team and the CRP board recognized the research limitations imposed by these time constraints, and a compromise was reached. Team members from Colorado tried to visit Garden City for two-week periods approximately every two months; shorter visits, to accommodate either researchers' schedules or community events, were made from time to time. Although this arrangement was far from perfect, it did allow time to collect ethnographic data (and to be on site throughout the "seasonal round"). For example, Grey logged over 700 hours participating in and observing school-related activities, while Cintron logged approximately 300 hours. Over the two years of the project, Campa made 16 trips, totaling 182 days.

In addition to periodic short-term visits beginning in 1987, Benson and Stull each made two protracted fieldtrips to Garden City (aided by sabbaticals from their universities). Benson lived there from early June through December 1988 (with her young son) and from June till late August 1989; her time on site exceeded 9.5 months. Stull lived in Garden City from mid-May till mid-August 1988 and from early January till the end of August 1989; he spent at least one week per month there during the fall of 1989 as well. Since 1987, Stull has spent approximately 16 months in Garden City.

While in Garden City, Stull, Campa, Grey, and Cintron rented a two-bedroom home. Centrally located in an older, ethnically mixed neighborhood of modest homes, they were afforded a view of life among a cross-section of Garden City's established working class. Across the street was the hospital's emergency room entrance; around the corner was Emmaus House, which provides food and temporary shelter for new immigrants and transients; within a few blocks were three schools, three parks, the downtown, the county historical society, the zoo, and the world's largest free outdoor concrete municipal swimming pool. The house served as both a residence and a field station, where team members held meetings, conducted interviews, and entertained friends, CRP board members, and others.

In contrast, Benson tried to live as a member of local households and/or in newcomer neighborhoods as much as possible. In 1988 she lived in four locations including two mobile home parks; in the summer of 1989 she was the guest of an established Mexican-American family.

The team also maintained an office in the central administration building of USD 457, provided at no cost by the district. Here they kept project files, typed

fieldnotes, conducted interviews, and visited with school personnel and community members who "just dropped in."

Even though the Garden City team did not have the luxury of being residents of the host community, they were able to spend considerable time on site. In fact, other investigators and board members expressed envy of the Garden City team's ability to carry out "traditional anthropological fieldwork." Indeed, when in Garden City, team members were immersed in their fieldwork, while researchers at other sites complained of having to sandwich their research in between other professional and personal obligations. Yet, even when we were in the field, the outside world often impinged on our research: Campa spent many hours on the phone overseeing projects at the BUENO Center, while Stull was often tied down in the Garden City office by his duties as program chair for the 1989 annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

In spite of these constraints, the team mounted a first-rate fieldwork campaign. We scheduled our time so that at least one member was in the field almost continuously. When not actually in Garden City, team members have kept up with people and events through subscriptions to the *Garden City Telegram*, frequent phone calls, and correspondence with key informants. Residents and past residents of Garden City have visited us in our home communities, keeping us up-to-date on important "doings."

Research Protocol

Our team developed protocols designed to produce a holistic community study with special emphasis on four arenas--work (especially packinghouses), school, neighborhoods, and community structure. To accomplish our goal, we sought to balance ethnography with the collection and analysis of quantitative data from published and unpublished documents; to divide our time between participant observation and in-depth interviews. Each member of the team was assigned primary responsibility for specific arenas and populations, although there was a conscious attempt to overlap with and assist one another.

Team discussions resulted in a general interview protocol designed to elicit answers to the five project questions; more specific protocols were developed for interviews with packinghouse workers, working families, Hispanics, and high school students. These protocols served as loose guides for interviewers, but more often than not interviews were designed to elicit specific information from respondents who were selected purposely for their special knowledge (Agar 1980).

Formal interviews were almost always audiotaped. [Occasionally circumstances prohibited audiotaping; in a few instances mechanical failure required reconstruction of interview content from memory.] Most have been transcribed verbatim. Lists of

interviews were systematically shared among team members and transcriptions are provided to other team members on request.

Team members conducted a total of 260 formal interviews, ranging in length from about 30 minutes to three hours. In general, interviews involved one-on-one exchanges between researcher and respondent, but at times multiple respondents and/or interviewers were involved (e.g., husband and wife, interviews of two or three friends conducted in social settings). Respondents were usually interviewed only once; however, this too might vary. For example, a Hispanic school administrator was interviewed separately by Stull, Cintron, and Campa, while Stull conducted five separate formal interviews and numerous informal discussions with one Hispanic packinghouse worker.

In addition to its own interviews, the team was provided audiotapes and/or transcriptions of interviews by two investigators in the early 1980s. Shortly before his death the late Robert Oppenheimer, a historian at the University of Kansas, provided copies of 18 interviews he conducted in Garden City in 1981. These interviews, in both English and Spanish, focused on the early history of Hispanics in southwest Kansas (see Oppenheimer 1985). Included were some of our own respondents as well as now-deceased persons who figured prominently in the community's past, such as the late D.C. Garcia, city commissioner and mayor of Garden City in the early 1970s.

Holly Hope gave us audiotapes of 10 interviews she conducted in 1980 and 1982 as part of the research for her book, *Garden City: Dreams in a Kansas Town* (1988). Hope, a member of a prominent Garden City family, focused on her contemporaries, mainly Anglos in their early 30s, who like Dorothy Gale in the *Wizard of Oz* had left and returned to southwest Kansas (and in some cases have since left again). Oppenheimer's and Hope's kindness in providing these interviews has added an important diachronic component to our research.

Grey developed a confidential written questionnaire that was distributed to 200 high school students (a 20 percent sample). He gave a separate questionnaire to the high school's teaching faculty; nearly one-half were returned.

Although formal interviews and written questionnaires were central to our research, the team emphasized participant observation. We observed, participated in, and recorded a broad spectrum of community life. Of special interest were public events and rituals, and we participated in and documented the full ritual calendar of Garden City. In addition to formal interviews, we audiotaped 15 public events, including Tet, high school graduation, Memorial Day services, the Beef Empire Days Rodeo, an ESL class, a school board candidate public forum, and radio broadcasts on our project. Videotapes of portions of the Community Mexican Fiesta and parade were also made. The team also took hundreds of photographs (color slides and prints), some 30 of which

are now on display as part of the "Changing Faces" exhibit in the Finney County Museum.

But it was in fieldnotes, kept by each of us, that the bulk of our observations were recorded. One copy of everyone's fieldnotes, typed in Wordperfect (to ensure compatibility), were kept in a central file. Each investigator was expected to be thorough and candid in notes and to keep them up to date. We read each other's notes and provided others with relevant entries from our own. In this manner, debriefing could occur in spite of our inability to hold frequent team meetings.

The team was organized so each of us worked primarily with different populations in separate arenas. Nevertheless, we felt a degree of redundancy was desirable. Whenever possible more than one member observed the same public event; we often crossed over into "another's arena" or developed contacts and did interviews with members of "someone else's people." And because of overlapping interests, there developed a core of people that all of us came to know, work with, and befriend. But the parallel structure of the team, which usually worked separately yet in tandem, requires that the activities of each investigator briefly be discussed.

Benson. Janet Benson lived for varying periods with four Vietnamese families in two trailer courts and with a Mexican-American family in a working-class residential neighborhood. From June through December 1988, her six-year-old son lived with her. He participated in recreation commission programs and was enrolled in Victor Ornelas Elementary School; the newest school in the district, it had at that time a minority population of 56 percent. Over two years, she interviewed Vietnamese, Laotian, Anglo, Hispanic, and ethnic Chinese packinghouse workers, school administrators and teachers, service providers, and mobile home dealers and park managers. In addition, she attended most major public events while in residence as well as ceremonial occasions specific to the SEA community.

Together with a field assistant, she collected data on ethnicity and community of origin from two sources: marriage records available from St. Dominic Catholic Church and Finney County. These marriage records, combined with those collected at St. Mary Catholic Church by Campa, Grey, and Stull, provide a diachronic view of interethnic marriage and in-migration stretching back many decades. Benson and her field assistant also drew a 10 percent sample (N = 186) of intake forms from the United Methodist Western Kansas Mexican-American Ministries health clinic and cross-checked names with knowledgeable staff to determine ethnicity and newcomer/oldtimer status.

Broadway. Michael Broadway's responsibility was to determine the effects of changes in the local economy on how new immigrants and established residents interacted. In answering this question, he framed his analysis in terms of the

boomtown model. This required data from Garden City and Finney County on housing costs, crime, school enrollments, dropout rates, child abuse, mental health admissions, physicians in the community, and admissions to the state hospital for alcohol and psychiatric care. These data were collected over the course of six visits to Garden City during the spring and summer of 1988--each lasted a minimum of two days.

Broadway also contributed to the analysis of settlement and mobility among newcomers to the community. Using an alphabetic listing of all children enrolled in Garden City public schools for 1985-86, 1986-87, 1987-88, and 1988-89, he identified newcomers to the school district for the 1986-87 year and traced their length of residence in the community and where their families lived in Garden City. This analysis involved five site visits in the fall and winter of 1988-89 to collect the data. Again, each visit lasted a minimum of two days.

Campa. Arthur Campa was responsible for research among Garden City's native (established resident) and immigrant Hispanics. He participated in and observed Spanish-language Mass at St. Mary Catholic Church and other religious events; *bailes* (dances), weddings, family reunions, private parties, and other festive events; the daily lives of both native and immigrant Hispanics. Campa visited Hispanic bars and businesses and occasionally attended school board meetings as well. He was a volunteer instructor in an English as a Second Language (ESL) outreach class in a large mobile home park. In this class he met and befriended several immigrant Hispanic males.

Campa's time in Garden City, broken up into periodic short-term visits, required that he regularly visit key informants to keep up with events. This visitation circuit--a necessary part of both his entry and exit during each fieldtrip--was of mixed overall value to his research mission.

Campa was quickly and easily incorporated into the native Hispanic community. He served as a parade judge for the Community Mexican Fiesta in both 1988 and 1989--he was the keynote speaker at the 1989 fiesta. In addition, he was a panelist in a symposium on Hispanic culture held in Garden City in May 1988. He also actively participated in the Association of Hispanic Professionals and the G.I. Forum Scholarship Committee.

Erickson. Ken Erickson focused his research efforts on social services, especially those provided to SEAs by the State of Kansas. He regularly recorded, reviewed, and summarized staff meetings and interactions with other service providers and clients. Action memoranda, grant applications by agencies serving immigrant Hispanics and SEAs, support letters, and service reports from local agencies were compiled and shared with the team. He designed a computer database for key-word searches of these documents.

Beyond the social service arena, Erickson developed a listing of SEA businesses using two key informants who corrected and edited data on refugee-owned and operated businesses in Garden City and Dodge City.

A request from a Nebraska packinghouse for technical assistance in developing strategies to improve worker training and retention allowed him to spend six days at the plant and in the surrounding community. His time at this site included two days of participant observation on the fabrication line working with a small group of newly hired meatcutters. He was also able to do telephone interviews with the plant's owner, corporate personnel manager, and corporate benefits coordinator. He has begun work with a SEA key informant on a detailed map and description of the Processing "floor" at IBP's Finney County plant.

Grey. In the summer of 1988, Mark Grey replaced Jose Cintron as the team's school researcher. He spent the 1988-89 academic year studying Garden City High School (GCHS). [Cintron's research was restricted to Spring 1988 and a portion of the following summer. Grey has been responsible for all analysis of research at GCHS. He has drawn upon interviews and other research materials from Cintron, when available.]

Methods used at GCHS included participant observation; in-depth interviews and informal discussions with district and school administrators, counselors and school psychologists, teachers, and students; and written questionnaires administered to both students and teachers.

He chose activities for participant observation for a variety of reasons. Typical daily activities such as class sessions and lunch period were observed regularly. Other activities were chosen using any of the following criteria: 1) those where interethnic interaction might occur; 2) those specific to ethnic and/or resident-status groups, such as the Southeast Asian Club and La Familia; and 3) extracurricular activities that were representative of the high school in its relations with the larger community. Whenever possible, Grey participated directly in school activities. For example, he served as a marshall for the 1988 homecoming parade and was invited on several occasions to address social studies and English classes. Grey also participated in informal activities with teachers and students, such as evening pick-up basketball games and after-school socials.

In spite of the research constraints discussed above, Grey was careful to adjust his trips to Garden City to allow at least one visit per month to observe activities throughout the school's yearly cycle. When not on site, he has maintained extensive contacts with key informants.

Stull. In addition to his administrative duties as principal investigator, Donald Stull had primary responsibility for Anglos and for the arenas of work and community

structure. His research has consisted of participant observation, in-depth interviews, and review and collection of documents.

In-depth interviews were conducted with persons selected for their knowledge of or participation in local affairs or historical events; because they represented important subgroups; or because they had special knowledge of various aspects of beefpacking and/or cattle feeding. Respondents included past and present city managers, city commissioners, law enforcement professionals, educators, business people, clergy, service providers, refugee sponsors, attorneys, politicians, and beefpacking and feedyard workers. Working in tandem, Stull and Benson systematically interviewed staff and administrators in almost all the social services agencies in the community.

Although predominantly Anglo, respondents included Hispanics and blacks. Care was taken to interview both newcomers and oldtimers. Interview content usually combined questions from the formal protocols with individually tailored ones, arising out of previous observations, conversations, or shared experiences.

Stull reviews the *Garden City Telegram* daily for relevant items. These clippings, along with others from regional and national newspapers, are maintained in a topical file for project use. His subscription to *Beef Today*, a trade magazine put out by the *Farm Journal*, provides important information on the cattle industry and meatpacking. This vital data source is augmented by collection of published and unpublished reports on the cattle and packing industries.

Stull and Broadway are presently collecting data on victims and alleged perpetrators of crimes in Finney County in 1980 and 1988. When analyzed these data will shed light on the impact of Garden City's rapid growth on crime patterns.

Although participation and/or observation has occurred in many different settings over more than two-and-one-half years, Stull has concentrated on certain locales. These locales were chosen because they provided "windows" to the arenas and groups for which he was responsible.

Bars became a major focus of Stull's research, especially one with a diverse ethnic and occupational clientele, where he became a "regular" and sometimes bartender. Bars, especially Tom's, offered a place to meet and converse in a natural setting with a cross-section of Garden City--beefpacking line workers and supervisors, farmers and ranchers, professionals--the well-to-do and the unemployed; Anglos, blacks, Hispanics, and an occasional Southeast Asian; oldtimers and newcomers. Because access to the workplace, especially packinghouses, was limited, bars offered the best opportunity to talk candidly with workers. And in the relaxed atmosphere of the bar, people talked often and openly about their work.

Stull's role as a bartender served several important functions. It gave him legitimate work in the eyes of patrons. His research role was well-known but somewhat mysterious and a cause for suspicion among some patrons--a college professor who did not teach was a strange "bird" indeed. It afforded the opportunity to meet and feel out potential interview respondents, and a number came from these contacts. He could engage in or overhear conversations with a wide range of people, many of whom he would never have talked to otherwise. And it offered a legitimate reason to be in the bar and not drink.

The research setting influences the data collection process--this anthropological truism is never more obvious than when conducting participant observation in a bar. Taking notes was generally inappropriate, although people often commented on his ever-present pocket notebook and speculated about their conversations later appearing in it. Although he would occasionally duck into the bathroom or back room to jot down something important, fieldnotes on bar conversations usually could not be recorded for at least one day. Delay in recording events was not the most troublesome problem, however. Most participant observation took place as a patron. Drinking in Tom's, as in any bar, serves important functions. Among other things it is used to demonstrate important and shared values--manliness, camaraderie, generosity, reciprocity. But the participant observer's need to demonstrate these virtues to his hosts can impede the research mission. The influence of alcohol on memory and perception may serve as a source of bias. Nevertheless, Tom's was his richest arena for observation, informal conversation, and establishing contacts.

He chose an Anglo fundamentalist *Protestant church* for observation because its minister had been active in the Ministerial Alliance's efforts to "welcome" new immigrant SEAs; one of the church's deacons was a Vietnamese man; and it had a loyal, if small, group of SEA members. Although the minister left the state for another church in the summer of 1988, Stull continued to go there. He regularly attended Sunday School and Sunday morning service; his presence at other church functions was erratic. Nevertheless, the congregation came to view him as a regular "member," compelling him to abandon his original intention to attend several churches (the team consciously attended different churches). Becoming a regular participant in this congregation opened doors to interviews and conversations that would have remained closed had Stull divided his worship among several churches. His upbringing in a different convention of the same denomination might have influenced his research in this arena.

Stull regularly attended several *meetings and hearings*: 1) the Community Services Council, composed of representatives from Garden City's governmental and nongovernmental service providers, which met each month at a different agency; 2) the

Police/Citizen Advisory Board, which met monthly to hear reports from the chief of police and discuss issues of community concern, includes representatives from each ethnic group and other significant populations (students, churches, school district); 3) city commission meetings, which Stull attended so regularly that one commissioner assumed he was running for office; 4) occasional school board and county commission meetings; 5) and monthly workman's compensation hearings, which provided invaluable insights into work in packinghouses and related industries (trucking, feedyards).

Emmaus House was around the corner from the team's house, and Stull served as a regular volunteer, distributing food and running errands during the day, serving meals and as night staff when needed. He often just dropped in to drink coffee and visit with staff and guests and became the ringleader of irregular staff roller skating safaris. Emmaus House is a primary service provider for immigrant and transient Anglos, blacks, and Hispanics, and his time there yielded many valuable conversations and observations.

Morning *coffee breaks* are still an institution in Garden City, and Stull made regular rounds to the Cattlemen's Cafe and Dillon's coffee shop to watch the "goings on" and overhear an occasional interesting tidbit. Unfortunately, he never broke into the groups of Garden City's elite and powerful who meet for morning coffee and conversation at Coffee Ann's and the Wheat Lands.

Public rituals and events provided telling glimpses of the values, attitudes, and self-image of different groups in Garden City. Stull (and other team members as well) attended and photographed all annual public rituals while on site--Beef Empire Days, Tet, Cinco de Mayo, Memorial Day, Fourth of July and Zoobalee, Finney County Fair, Fiesta, Halloween (and the international Pancake Race held every Shrove Tuesday in Liberal). Other public events--concerts in the park, the gun show, the home show, auctions, high school and community college athletic events, horse shows and rodeos, the summer sidewalk sale--also provided important observational opportunities.

Special Circumstances and Constraints

Several factors that influenced our field methodology or otherwise impinged on our research have already been discussed (e.g., team dispersal, the use of SEA translators). Others that are important to consider are presented below.

Insecurity of SEA informants. SEA refugees tend to be very insecure, presenting researchers with ethical as well as methodological concerns (cf. Yu and Liu 1986). Informants have often had bad experiences with Communist intelligence efforts in Vietnam, while a 1988 IRS audit of Vietnamese tax returns in Garden City frightened local refugees. SEA mobile home court residents know they are violating

rules about maximum numbers per household and may not want outsiders visiting their homes. They also fear, with good reason, reprisals from packinghouse employers if they complain about working conditions. Benson dealt with these concerns by approaching refugees whenever possible through persons already known to them and by avoiding formal interviews until individuals felt more comfortable.

Research in Wagon Wheel mobile home park in the fall of 1988 was more difficult than the previous summer's research at East Garden Village ("Martin's Park"). Residents felt particularly apprehensive after one Vietnamese household suddenly left for another state following threatened loss of SRS support. Their departure created considerable suspicion about Benson's motives. Nevertheless, cooperation with Benson was good, if not always easily obtained.

Courtesy bias. SEAs appear to underreport prejudice, discrimination, and interethnic conflict, though some are quite articulate on the subject. "I don't have any trouble, I keep to myself," suggests the respondent may in fact have had some unpleasant experiences which he prefers not to discuss but which convinced him that it is better to avoid contact with established residents. More confidence could be put in statements such as, "I haven't had any trouble here but such-and-such happened to my friend," or "This town is o.k., everyone friendly, but I had trouble in Wichita." Anglo respondents were much more informative about discrimination, either because they personally repudiated such behavior or because they felt they could be frank about their prejudices. ["As far as I'm concerned, if they say it to me, they can say it in English."] A courtesy bias may also have been present among immigrant Hispanics; native Hispanics freely discussed Anglo discrimination and prejudice in private although they avoided such statements in public.

Lack of information on legal status of immigrant Hispanics. The team has been unable to obtain anything more than anecdotes on the number and proportion of undocumented immigrant Hispanics. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) policy prohibited the local special agent from granting an interview, and calls to the Wichita office were referred to the district office in Kansas City, Missouri. The district director (of Kansas and Missouri) agreed to grant an interview (after review of the questions), but Stull has been unable to set this up.

The Garden City INS office closed December 1, 1989--future operations in southwest Kansas will be handled by the Wichita office, 215 miles away. Unfortunately, statistics on calls and visits to the Garden City office, and the number of contacts with illegal aliens, are combined with those of Wichita and Kansas City. In an article appearing in the *Garden City Telegram*, the retiring local agent indicated that "there is a substantial amount of trafficking in fraudulent citizenship papers, and . . . Finney

County probably has more illegal aliens, per capita, than anywhere else in the state" (Jurgens 1989). Conversations with knowledgeable key informants have corroborated the agent's statement. We hope to obtain more detailed information from the district director.

Lack of cooperation from packinghouses. Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of the study was our limited access to beefpacking plants. From the very beginning, IBP declined Stull's invitation to participate in the study. Swift Independent agreed to participate when we were writing our proposal, but before research could begin the plant was sold to Monfort (a subsidiary of ConAgra Red Meat Companies, which incidently now owns Swift as well). Following IBP's lead, Monfort also refused to participate. Without ready access to company records and the plant floors, Stull and the other team members were forced to rely on indirect methods of data collection.

Stull and the others took every opportunity to go on tours of the plants, recording their observations in fieldnotes or in audiotaped team debriefing sessions. In Spring 1989, Stull enrolled in Meat and Carcass Evaluation at Garden City Community College to learn more about the industry, make contacts, and gain regular entry to "the cooler" where carcasses are graded for quality and cutability (he received an "A," by the way). He assisted his instructor on several occasions in tagging cattle on the IBP killfloor, which afforded more observation time than guided tours. Twice he rode the Santa Fe work train to IBP to pick up hides and tallow--on the first occasion he gained entry to the hide plant; the next time he photographed the plant's exterior. [Stull maintains that next to his meats instructor he has been inside IBP more than any other non-employee in Garden City.]

Stull and Benson regularly attended monthly workman's compensation hearings, which often provided detailed descriptions of work in both Monfort and IBP and clearly demonstrated the risk of injury which is such a part of this work. Stull spent countless hours as a patron at Tom's Tavern, a popular hangout for many Anglo, black, and Hispanic packinghouse workers. On Thursdays--payday at the packinghouses--he worked Midnight--2:00 a.m. (in 1988 he worked Sundays from 10:00 p.m.--2:00 a.m. ["zoo night," as it is called by regulars] and he filled in at other times), providing a "natural" and "unthreatening" opportunity to talk with and listen to thirsty meatpackers coming off "B" shift.

Stull, Erickson, and other team members conducted formal interviews with a cross-section of packinghouse line workers and line supervisors. A stroke of luck landed the daughter of an executive in a major meatpacking company in one of Broadway's classes at Wichita State University. This executive later granted him an interview.

Drawing on his own repeated observations and on five in-depth interviews with one worker, Stull developed a detailed description and map of the IBP killfloor. The map indicates the gender and ethnicity of each worker for one day in the summer of 1989. When combined with the map of the processing floor Erickson is working on, we will have an excellent picture of the inside of the IBP plant.

Research on cattle feeding--another important aspect of the industry and central to Garden City's economy--has been much easier to accomplish. Stull developed good contacts with the managers of two large feedyards. These and other informants (his meats instructor, the county extension agent, cattle feeders) are eager to answer questions and show their operations. In fact, discussions are now underway with cattlemen to begin a study of this industry, from cow-calf production through cattle feeding to packing.

In spite of serious roadblocks we gathered considerable data on beefpacking and cattle feeding. While there is still much to learn about the industry, we can answer questions on work posed by the CRP board.

This page was intentionally
left blank.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY AND POPULATION STRUCTURE

Massive change has overtaken the American economy since the end of World War II. Employment in both manufacturing and agriculture has declined; corporate oligopolies have emerged to dominate specific sectors of the economy; and capital mobility has enabled corporations to shift parts of their operations from high-wage to lower-wage areas (Knox 1988). Advances in transport and telecommunications systems have greatly reduced the need for manufacturing to locate near large urban centers, and, as a result, companies have been able to take advantage of regional variations in production costs. One consequence has been the movement of industry to rural areas. The main attractions of nonmetropolitan locations are the availability of relatively low-cost labor, inexpensive supplies of easily developed land, lower levels of local taxation, and unionization and labor militancy (Haren and Halling 1979; Kale and Lonsdale 1979). Because low-cost labor also tends to be less skilled, these attractions have been the greatest for labor-intensive industries (Knox 1988).

The meatpacking industry is representative of these national trends. Over the past 40 years the number of people employed in the industry has declined by nearly 50 percent. Accompanying this decline, meatpacking has been transformed from an urban-based to a rural-based industry. Simultaneously, four new companies emerged to dominate the industry--IBP, Inc., ConAgra Red Meat Companies, Excel Corporation, and National Beef. This transformation reflects cost-cutting strategies of the new packers within a marginally profitable industry. Their primary consideration is to avoid high costs associated with a unionized labor force and minimize the distance cattle travel to the plants (Skaggs 1986).

Rural areas in the Texas panhandle and southwest Kansas have been the principal beneficiaries of structural changes in beefpacking. Beginning in the 1970s, IBP, Excel, and National built plants in southwest Kansas, while ConAgra acquired a beefpacking plant (Monfort) operating in Garden City. The region offers an excellent supply of water from the Ogallala Aquifer and a plentiful supply of cattle from numerous area feedlots (Freiburg 1979). However, it does not offer the traditional attraction for a large manufacturing plant, namely an available labor force. The absence of a suitable labor force meant many workers would have to move to the area

for the plants to operate. In the case of Garden City, the construction and expansion of the IBP and Val-Agri (later acquired by ConAgra) plants in the early 1980s brought Southeast Asians, Hispanics, and Anglos. The influx of migrants in the early 1980s was so rapid that Garden City became the fastest growing community in Kansas. The consequences of this sudden influx of workers and their families are discussed below.

Rapid Population Growth in a Small Community

Finney County's population growth during the 1980s does not meet the 15 percent annual growth rate needed for classification as a boomtown. The boomtown model nevertheless provides a framework within which to view the effects of its sudden population growth (Malamud 1984). According to this model, rapid growth brings a breakdown of local services. One of the first problems to emerge is a shortage of housing. Soon afterwards, officials from public services such as medical facilities, schools, and law enforcement complain that they are unable to keep up with new demands. Local officials argue they are unable to provide additional services because increases in the tax base lag behind demand. Economically, the influx of workers means there is more money spent locally, providing greater profits for local businesses. However, accompanying the increase in local demand are increases in prices and rents, which adversely affect those on fixed incomes. Furthermore, the addition of new jobs raises the dropout rate among high school students. Socially, migrants bring new ideas and values to the community, some of which run counter to existing community norms. Moreover, newcomers can disrupt established social networks and support systems, such as neighboring patterns, which can lead to personal and social disorganization among established residents (Greider and Krannich 1985). Finally, boredom among newcomer housewives and work-related stress among husbands contribute to elevated levels of crime, depression, divorce, alcoholism, and child abuse (Gilmore and Duff 1975; McKeown and Lantz 1977).

The Effects of Rapid Growth Upon Local Services

According to the boomtown model, Finney County's rapid growth could be expected to strain existing services in housing, medical care, education, and law-enforcement. Evidence of a housing problem is provided by IBP's decision in 1981 to delay start-up of its second shift until additional housing was made available (Fisher 1981). Additional evidence of a housing shortage is provided by an analysis of housing sale prices and rents. Between 1981 and 1982, the mean selling price of homes in Garden City increased by over \$7,000. Since 1982, home prices have declined, indicating a weakening demand (Garden City Planning Department 1988). Rental prices for

mobile homes and three bedroom accommodations also peaked in 1982, while rents for one- and two-bedroom accommodations peaked a year later, according to a survey of rental properties listed in the *Garden City Telegram*. Rents for all properties have subsequently declined but have yet to regain their earlier levels.

Unlike housing, it is more difficult to determine whether the migrants strained local medical services. It is clear, however, that the ratio of physicians to population increased from one doctor for every 777 persons in Finney County in 1980 to one for every 1,044 persons in 1986 (Kansas Department of Health and Environment 1980, 1986). However, it is not possible to determine from these data whether the provision of health care has suffered as a result of the community's sudden growth.

In addition to housing and health-care problems, the sudden influx of migrants dramatically increased enrollment in local schools. From 1980 to 1986, children enrolled in Finney County schools increased by nearly 1,600, or 37 percent. By comparison, statewide enrollment remained stable (Kansas State Board of Education 1980, 1986). The community responded to the sudden increase in enrollment by approving three separate bond issues for the construction of three elementary schools. Growing numbers of new immigrant students increased demand for bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) education. Although the number of students enrolled in those programs has remained relatively stable during the 1980s, some dramatic shifts in origin groups have occurred. The number of Southeast Asian students increased during the early 1980s, but by 1988-89 Hispanic students were increasing more rapidly. For the district as a whole, Hispanics jumped from 1,493 students in 1987 (25 percent of total enrollment) to 1,908 (29 percent) in 1989. The numbers for Southeast Asian students were 369 (6 percent) in 1987 and 359 (5 percent) in 1989 (Hope 1989c; USD 457, 1987). In responding, the school district has been confronted with the difficult task of attracting Vietnamese- and Spanish-speaking bilingual/ESL instructors to an isolated area. It has been largely unsuccessful thus far.

The other principal local service that is supposed to be adversely affected by growth is law enforcement. Some evidence links the influx of migrants in 1982 with an increase in violent and property crimes. However, the property-crime rate subsequently declined in 1983 and 1984, while the momentum for increases in violent crime stems back to 1980. More importantly, the largest increases in crime occurred between 1985 and 1986, after the period of rapid growth. This suggests that factors other than rapid population growth are behind the increase in crime (Kansas Bureau of Investigation 1980, 1986). Data on a sample of crime victims and alleged perpetrators in 1980 and 1988 are currently being collected. When analyzed these data should shed light on

changes in the nature of crimes, ethnicity of victims and alleged perpetrators, and location of criminal activity.

The Economic Effects of Rapid Population Growth

The boomtown model predicts increases in the amount of money spent locally, greater profits for local business, and additional jobs through the multiplier effect. The addition of new jobs is also associated with an elevated high school dropout rate. Finney County clearly conforms to the first part of the model. During 1980-86, persons employed in local industry increased by 52 percent, with manufacturing employment increasing by over 200 percent, largely as a result of the opening of the beefpacking plants (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980, 1986). But at the same time these new jobs were added, the community's unemployment rate also increased from an average of 3.6 percent in 1980 to 5.0 percent by 1986 (Kansas Department of Human Resources, Research and Analysis Section 1988). This increase is probably attributable to high employee turnover associated with meatpacking.

An analysis of the effects of job growth upon personal income within the county indicates that many of the jobs that have been created are relatively low paying. The opening of the IBP plant boosted per capita income above the statewide average in the early 1980s, but since 1982 personal income in Finney County has declined relative to the rest of the state. Moreover, per capita income as a percentage of the statewide average was lower in 1986 than in 1980, before the expansion of the beefpacking industry (Kansas Department of Human Resources, Bureau of Economic Analysis 1988). The significance of the low-wage economy is also reflected in the declining dropout rate among Finney County schools through the first half of the decade. Clearly, employment in the meatpacking plants is not a sufficient inducement for many students to drop out of high school. The dropout rate at Garden City High School did begin to rise, however, in the 1987-88 school year. This increase does not appear to be the result of greater student employment in beefpacking plants. [It should be noted that no one under 18 is supposed to be hired in the beefpacking plants; some high school students do work "B" shift, however.]

The Social Impact of Rapid Population Growth

According to the boomtown scenario, the social consequences of sudden growth include increases in crime and in the incidence of depression, divorce, alcoholism, and child abuse/neglect. There is no evidence of an increase in the incidence of divorce in Finney County during the 1980s. Indeed, the divorce rate declined from 1980 to 1986 (Kansas Department of Health and Environment 1980, 1986). This may reflect the

changing population structure of the community rather than a decline in family stress, since many of the migrants to the community are young adult single males and consensual unions are common. [Women, many of whom are single or divorced mothers, are a rapidly growing segment of the packinghouse labor force.] Admissions from Finney County to the Area Mental Health Center peaked in the early 1980s; however, the rate has since declined, perhaps reflecting changes in ethnic composition of the newcomers. Southeast Asians, for example, are reluctant to use mental health services, since in their cultures mental-health problems are associated with being "crazy," while Hispanics are more likely to deal with mental health problems within the confines of the family or seek the services of a traditional healer. The center's staff is overwhelmingly Anglo and monolingual, which also contributes to lower utilization levels among immigrant groups.

An analysis of confirmed cases of child abuse and neglect shows a dramatic increase in rates from 1981 to 1982. Indeed, the rate tripled between 1980 and 1985. By comparison with the state, Finney County began the decade with a child-abuse/neglect rate below the state average, but beginning in 1982 it surpassed the state figure (Kansas Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services 1980, 1986). Further evidence of social dislocation is provided by dramatic increases in the rate of admissions to Larned State Psychiatric Hospital for alcoholic and psychiatric care.

Mobility in a Community Experiencing Rapid Growth

Clearly Finney County has experienced many of the problems associated with rapid growth in a boomtown. These adverse social impacts conform to Wirth's (1938) classic interpretation of the effects of industrialization. According to this perspective, industrialization alters the essential character of a society from a communal to an associational basis. This perspective has been challenged by a number of studies which document the existence of extensive informal networks and primary group ties in urban areas (Bell and Boat 1957; Adams 1968). But these studies have been completed after the period of rapid industrialization. In the case of rapidly growing communities, Albrecht (1982) suggests that breakdown in the traditional social support mechanisms which contribute to a community's stability is a temporary phenomenon, lasting only until newcomers develop ties to friends and kin in the area. In Finney County, this situation is exacerbated by high employee turnover in meatpacking. Area beef plants have a turnover rate of about 6 percent or more a month (Wood 1988).

To determine how long newcomers stay in the community, we focused on the most readily identifiable group--those with children of school age. This group may not be representative of all newcomers since families with children are thought to be less

mobile than young adult single males. However, single males are much harder to identify and trace.

Newcomer households (N = 241) were identified for the 1986-87 academic year from student listings provided by the Garden City School District; listings for earlier years were unavailable. These households were then traced for two academic years to determine length of residence in the community. Within a year of this cohort's arrival, 44 percent had left the community; a year later, another 20 percent had left--two years after arrival only a third of the sample remained in town. Furthermore, there was no statistically significant difference between the three principal ethnic groups and their length of residence in the community. Nor was there a significant difference in the length of time that meatpackers and nonmeatpackers stayed. These results suggest that for the majority of newcomers to Garden City, it is just a place to stop and work for a year or two before moving on. If people do not think they are going to stay for long, they are not likely to develop ties to the area. Failure to develop an attachment to the community must be considered a principal factor behind increases in social disorders.

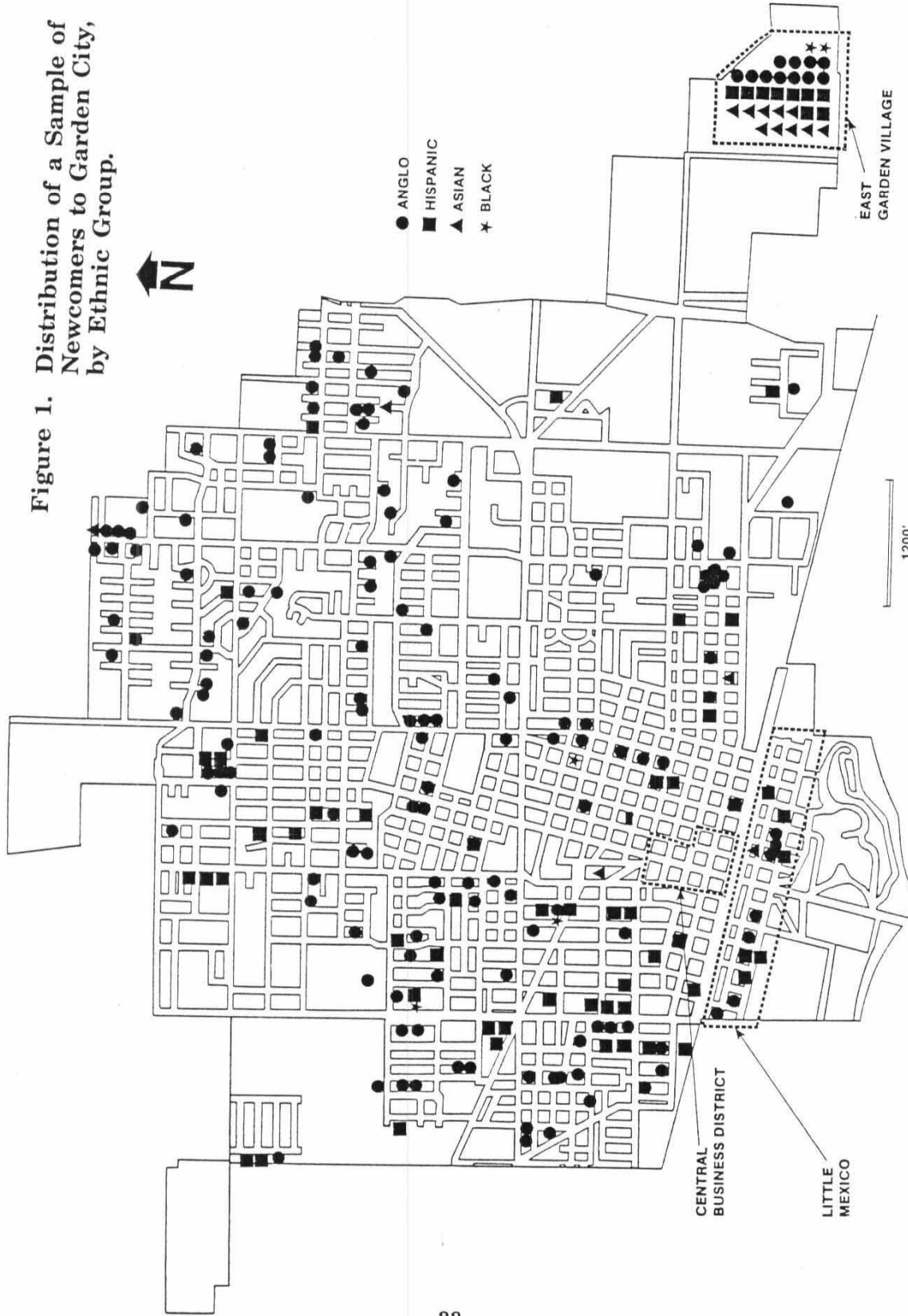
Newcomer Settlement Patterns

Conventional assimilation theory would predict that the recent immigrants to Garden City would seek the support and assistance of other members of the same ethnic group in adjusting to life in their new community (Park 1952; Marston and Van Valey 1979). Among Southeast Asian and Hispanic newcomers, an additional factor in fostering the development of residential enclaves is the central role of the extended family in economic adaptation and emotional adjustment to the host society. Indeed the presence of the extended family is regarded as crucial in the process of refugee adjustment (Haines 1982).

Many of the Hispanic newcomers to Garden City are documented and undocumented nationals from Mexico. Small numbers also come from El Salvador, Cuba, and other Central and South American countries. Members of these groups are generally of low socioeconomic status, with little knowledge of English, and would be expected to cluster in the same residential areas. Migration theory would predict that income and stage in the life cycle would determine the settlement pattern of Anglo newcomers (Clark 1986). In sum, income, life-cycle stage, and ethnicity should sort the newcomers into different housing classes (Rex 1968).

In analyzing where newcomers settled, the data consisted of households with children of school age. This meant that it was impossible to determine the influence of life-cycle considerations on where migrants settled. There is little evidence that ethnicity affects where newcomers in the sample settle in Garden City. Anglos,

Figure 1. Distribution of a Sample of Newcomers to Garden City, by Ethnic Group.



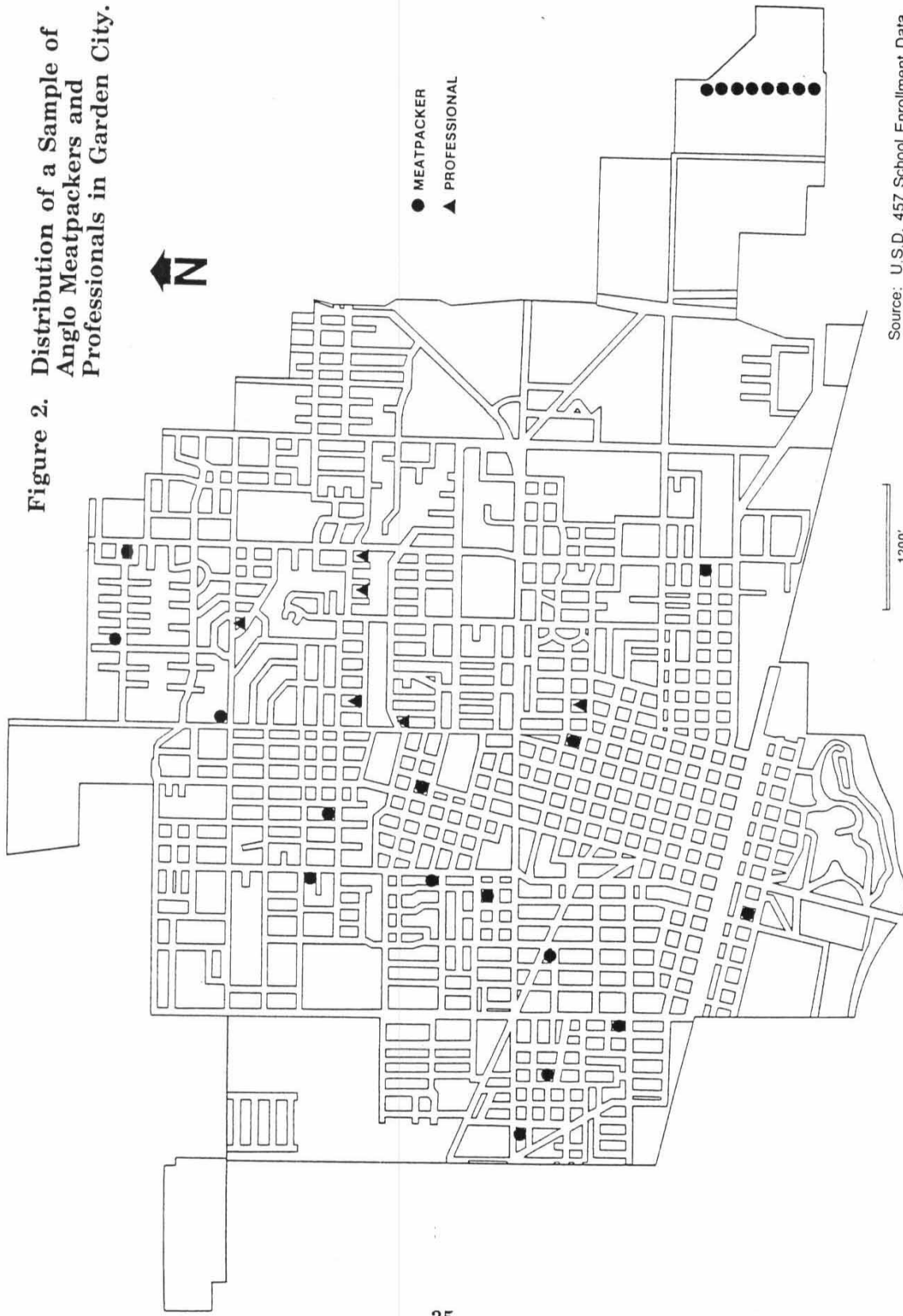
Source: U.S.D. 457 School Enrollment Data, Garden City, Kansas.

Hispanics, and Southeast Asians are found in the same neighborhoods throughout the city (Figure 1). The principal newcomer concentration is found in the East Garden Village mobile home park. In 1988, of the 533 lots in the park, 21 percent were occupied by Vietnamese, 5 percent by Laotians, 17 percent by Hispanics, 15 percent by Anglos, less than 1 percent by blacks, less than 1 percent by households of mixed ethnicity; 12 percent of the lots were vacant; and information was unavailable on 30 percent (Benson 1989). Further evidence of residential intermixing among newcomers is provided by the neighborhood surrounding Finnup Park in the southern portion of town. This area was once known as "Little Mexico" (Hope 1988). Today Anglo, Southeast Asian, and Hispanic newcomers are all found there and in some instances reside in adjacent houses.

The absence of distinctive ethnic neighborhoods is attributable, in part, to a tight housing market, which characterized Garden City's sudden growth during the 1980s. Limited housing meant there were no clearly defined areas with cheap accommodations to attract newcomer immigrant groups. More significant is the finding that newcomers are, with the exception of East Garden Village, well dispersed throughout the community. This pattern is suggestive of residential intermixing between established residents and newcomers. However, ethnographic research indicates that Southeast Asian and Hispanic newcomers are isolated from the mainstream Anglo culture. For example, low-socioeconomic-status newcomer Hispanics, for the most part, live separate lives and are not only isolated from mainstream Anglo life of Garden City, but from that of established Hispanics as well. These apparently conflicting results suggest that Park's (1952) classic interpretation of physical distance corresponding to social distance is inappropriate in a relatively small community such as Garden City. In short, residential intermixing between newcomers and established residents has little relationship to social interaction patterns.

Unlike ethnicity, the influence of income upon newcomers' residential patterns is more easily identified. Figure 2 contrasts the settlement pattern of professionals and beefpacking employees among Anglo newcomers. Five of the six professional households in the sample are all found within a quarter mile radius of each other in an older suburban subdivision in the northern part of town. The largest single concentration of beefpacking workers is in East Garden Village, while remaining workers are scattered throughout the western half of the community. These results indicate that income, and not ethnicity, is the prime determinant of where newcomers settle.

Figure 2. Distribution of a Sample of Anglo Meatpackers and Professionals in Garden City.



Source: U.S.D. 457 School Enrollment Data, Garden City, Kansas.

Summary and Conclusions

Since the 1950s, beefpacking has been transformed from an urban railroad-terminal-based industry to a rural feedyard-based industry. In the late 1970s, southwest Kansas feedyards produced a surplus of cattle and provided water from the Ogallala Aquifer. These two factors and Kansas's status as a right-to-work state attracted IBP and Val-Agri and swelled Finney County's population. Much of this increase in population came from in-migration of Southeast Asian refugees and Hispanics. Conventional assimilation theory predicts these newcomers should settle in distinctive ethnic enclaves. Yet a shortage of housing mitigated such enclaves as migrants have been forced to seek accommodations wherever they are available. Newcomers are thus dispersed throughout the community. This pattern suggests social interaction between established residents and newcomers; however, ethnographic research indicates social isolation among newcomers. Sudden growth caused many of the problems associated with boomtowns. And evidence indicates the social instability that characterized Finney County in the first part of the decade will continue. Indeed, the majority of newcomers to Garden City appear to stay less than two years, regardless of ethnic background or occupation. Given this high level of mobility, there is little likelihood the community will attain social stability.

CULTURAL CONCEPTIONS OF AMERICAN IDENTITY AND AMERICAN LIFE

The Anglo Perspective

From the perspective of the dominant Anglo population, Garden City (and by extension America) is seen as a place of increasing ethnic and national diversity--some applaud it, others decry it. But being an American and what must be done to earn this social status do not seem to be changing appreciably.

For Anglos, being a "plain old American" is to be white and native born. Other people, whether native or immigrant, may be thought of as more or less American. But their identity is always qualified by race or nationality. For example, third or fourth generation Garden Citians of Hispanic ancestry are still called Mexicans--a label they can never shed (children of mixed ancestry may be identified as "half-Mexican," but in everyday conversation and interaction they are still classified as members of the ethnic group of the "darker" parent). Thus, "being an American" cannot be separated from ethnicity.

Nevertheless, immigrants may be granted varying degrees of acceptance as Americans (albeit as a "hyphenated Americans"). By far the most important way immigrants are "transformed" in the eyes of Anglos is by achieving proficiency in English. As one Anglo female packinghouse worker said:

If I went to Iran or someplace else, I'd have to learn their language to get along. It should be the same for them. There is this Vietnamese guy who claims, when he's at work, he only knows a couple of words of English. I saw him at a party a few days ago and he spoke English very well. And it was "proper" English! (Stull fieldnotes 7/31/88:2).

She voices two commonly held notions: English can be rapidly learned, and immigrant Hispanics and Southeast Asians really can speak English when they want to.

While English proficiency is the primary criteria for "becoming American," it is not the only one. As a secretary in the local refugee services program put it in a meeting of the Community Services Council: "We help Southeast Asians become good citizens and good Americans . . . [through] language, citizenship training, and stuff like that" (Stull fieldnotes 5/22/89:6). Other "stuff" considered markers of growing American identity includes professional status and the sharing of so-called "American values."

Non-Anglo professionals, whether new immigrant or native born, are often accepted as "regular" Americans in Garden City society. Such acceptance at times goes so far that Anglos "forget" the person's ethnicity:

I would do anything for them [Anglos], and she forgot I was Mexican. She made a statement like, you know, like "You can tell when they're Mexican, and I sure wouldn't hire them," or something like that. . . . And before she made that statement, she even looked around to see if there was any [Mexicans] around. You know, I was sitting right next to her! (Stull interview with Hispanic professional 7/30/89:26-27).

Next to language proficiency and social class, the possession of "American values" is the most important indicator that immigrants are "becoming American." This indicator is discussed under *Southeast Asians* below.

But immigrants do not always wish to "become Americans." Instead they may proudly retain ethnic or national labels, such as Mexican, Vietnamese, or Amerasian. Even those immigrants who can "pass" as Americans may not chose to do so. But the ethnic self-identity of such persons is not totally up to them. An Amerasian youth told of being classified as "white" by people in a packinghouse town in Nebraska, even after he proudly pointed out his Vietnamese mother! His brother confirmed that he too was classified as "white," just someone who liked Oriental women (Stull fieldnotes 3/3-3/5/89:4).

Southeast Asians

One way of approaching cultural conceptions of American life as they emerge through group interaction is to examine local responses to beliefs and values identified as ideologically significant by students of American culture. These features include positive attitudes toward individualism, achievement orientation, equality, conformity, sociability, honesty, competence, optimism, work, and generally negative attitudes toward authority (Spindler and Spindler 1983:58). To what extent do Americans and Southeast Asians share similar beliefs and values? As these groups interact, and particularly as length of time in the United States increases, to what extent are Southeast Asians "becoming American"?

Generalizations about refugee responses are difficult because the Southeast Asian "community" of Garden City exists only in a metaphorical sense. The population is transient and highly diverse. Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian refugees come from different socioeconomic, regional, and religious backgrounds, while great variation exists in the extent of refugees' previous contacts with Americans. Some (mostly first-wave Vietnamese) came to the United States as children, speak English fluently, and socialize with Anglos as much or more than Southeast Asians. Others (mostly Laotians

and post-1980 Vietnamese from fishing or peasant backgrounds) have very limited contact with English-speakers and profess little knowledge of American culture, especially family life. Children, however, attend American schools and are rapidly acculturating.

Individualism. Unlike Americans, most Southeast Asians do not see the individual as the basic unit of society (Spindler and Spindler 1983:58). Interdependence (of husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters) is highly valued and, indeed, has been essential for refugees' survival. Clearly, for many in the parental generation at least, "being American" has certain negative connotations--more frequent divorce, loss of control over children. Adult refugees find the fragility of the American family frightening. While Vietnamese and Laotians see the extended family as a primary source of security in an uncertain world, from the Southeast Asian perspective Americans appear to value individual autonomy even if it threatens parent/child or husband/wife bonds.

Southeast Asian women and men have somewhat different views on this issue. Life in the U.S. permits more personal autonomy for women: a salary of one's own, drivers' licenses, more easily obtainable divorce, economic support for single-parent families, relatively easy remarriage due to a surplus of unmarried males. Vietnamese males in particular feel threatened by this situation.

According to less-aculturated Vietnamese and Laotians, however, the most striking feature of American family life is that children "have to leave home at age 18." Southeast Asian families, in contrast, place high value on keeping family members together. Children are usually expected to share the household with parents until they marry. Parents may even sell their homes and move to a new location with college-bound children to maintain family unity (Chapelle 1989). Most adults expect a continuing close relationship with their children.

Intergenerational conflict increasingly arises over the issue of personal autonomy, perhaps one of the clearest indications of Americanization. Teenage children, particularly girls, may want more individual freedom than parents are willing to grant. Having experienced American schools, they would like the freedom to travel on school trips, to date, and to be out at night, but parents often restrict them to the home to perform household chores and watch younger children while parents work. Girls in particular are expected to stay home unless chaperoned by relatives. Parents do not (or cannot) exert as much control over teenage boys, who may resist parental efforts to monitor their activities, direct their choice of friends, and choose marriage partners. But both boys and girls may reject parents' plans by running away or eloping with someone of their own choice.

Work and Achievement Orientation. Many Southeast Asians express positive attitudes toward work and achievement, leading middle-class Garden City Anglos to regard them as a "model minority." IBP employees, for example, commonly work six days a week. One single father with a two-and-a-half year old son happily worked seven days a week, a total of 80 hours, to earn money to start his own business. Southeast Asians not employed in the packing industry often engage in two or three jobs at the same time to make ends meet.

Both Southeast Asians and Americans also share, in a very general sense, a concern with achievement. However, success may be defined differently both within and between groups. For example, excellence in sports is often more salient among Garden City Anglo youth than academic achievement, while the reverse is apt to be true among first-generation Southeast Asians. Even within the refugee population, parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds may not value academic excellence as much as the material rewards of employment. Because of pressure from friends and relatives, as well as from childrens' Anglo classmates at school, families strive not only to become economically self-sufficient as soon as possible but to acquire the outward signs of success: new clothing, electronic gadgets, and fancy cars. The emphasis on hard work and success, symbolized by consumer items, certainly parallels current American ideology. But Anglo response to this behavior is mixed: middle-class Anglos are apt to openly admire their achievement orientation while working-class Anglos may respond with envy and hostility: "I didn't get to go to college; my car's not so hot; how come these guys have so much money?"

Conformity and Equality. The Spindlers describe conformity and equality as closely related concepts. "Equality" refers to the idea that everyone should have an equal chance to achieve; "conformity" refers to following group or community norms. However, norms vary according to religion, regional affiliation, and class. To the extent that refugees follow American norms of conspicuous consumption, they will be increasingly unable to maintain Southeast Asian norms of kinship reciprocity, such as support of relatives within their households and remittances sent abroad. Economic differentiation and the attenuation of social obligations, while condemned by some Vietnamese, is already taking place.

Sociability. Particularly in interacting with outsiders, friendliness and openness are not necessarily desirable. This is true of dealings with strangers, especially non-Vietnamese, and can be explained not only by norms of personal restraint but also by linguistic barriers and negative experiences with outsiders in both Vietnam and the United States. However, lack of sociability may be misinterpreted by Americans and can lead to conflict and negative stereotypes ("They're so rude"; "We'd like to know

them better but they keep to themselves"). More acculturated persons with good English skills seek out and talk more freely with Anglos and are more positively evaluated by the latter.

Authority. First-generation Vietnamese in Garden City tend to value certain kinds of authority (legitimate power) more highly than many Americans, a tendency that leads to positive evaluations by Anglos in certain contexts and negative evaluations in others. For example, Anglo teachers and school administrators speak in glowing terms about Vietnamese parents' willingness to comply with school requests and regulations and their "respect for teachers," not always shared by Anglos or Hispanics. The manager of one large trailer court praised Southeast Asians for promptly correcting park rule violations when brought to their attention.

As children become more acculturated, however, American peers teach them to question authority. Male authority over wives and parental authority over children wane with length of time in the United States. While women refugees find new opportunities for personal autonomy in the United States, males find their domestic authority eroding, and this leads to both intergenerational and gender conflict within the family. Anglos, however, increasingly reject a hierarchy of authority within the family and negatively regard this aspect of Southeast Asian family life.

Language. Language competence is the most important marker of being both American and Vietnamese in Garden City. It serves as an important reminder of cultural similarity and cultural difference. Native language retention by the young is especially important to Vietnamese adults. Sitting at makeshift benches and desks, Vietnamese children learn the basics of Vietnamese speaking, reading, and writing each Sunday at the Buddhist temple on the outskirts of town. At the children's festival, young people are asked questions in Vietnamese in front of an audience of adults; prizes are awarded for their ability to politely respond in Vietnamese. Catholic Vietnamese retain a Vietnamese priest and resisted efforts by an Anglo Monsignor to integrate them into mainstream services.

In relations between men and women, language retention takes on a particular kind of hierarchical meaning. The Vietnamese language marks sex and relative status in nearly every spoken interaction. Thus, a single Vietnamese woman once refused to speak Vietnamese to a single man who seemed romantically interested. "He calls me *em* (used for younger sister or wife), and I don't want to call him *anh* (older brother or husband)." Using Vietnamese always forces status distinctions into open view--English does not.

Conformity to American norms concerning language ("As far as I'm concerned, if they talk to me they can say it in English") is an important issue. Both Southeast

Asian and Anglo informants remarked, almost uniformly, on language barriers to interaction and understanding between groups. Linguistic differences also pose a barrier between more acculturated Southeast Asians, especially young people raised in this country, and newly arrived youth with little or no proficiency in English.

In addition to English-language proficiency, fashionable and appropriate clothing, the willingness and ability to socialize freely with outsiders, and "American" first names which Anglos can easily pronounce, also facilitate positive interethnic relations. Not surprisingly, reference groups for first-generation Vietnamese and Laotians are not Americans but refugees from similar cultural backgrounds. Only for teenagers who have grown up in the United States is the reference group likely to be American as much or more than Southeast Asian.

Hispanics

For native Hispanics, "being American" invokes a variety of emotions. For many it conjures up images of individual rights, most frequently freedom of speech and religion. Others emphasize the right to make choices in life. Still another common theme is summed up in the phrase, *sangre mexicana, corazon americano* (most aptly translated as "Mexican heritage, American soul"). In the words of one respondent: "I feel real strong about being an American but I'm also very proud of being Mexican because of my heritage and what I was taught as far as my culture is concerned, being a Catholic, that being a part of it." Native Hispanics frequently refer to their dual heritage. Some speak in racial terms: "white" Mexican was given as a referent, as if to distance themselves from darker-skinned Hispanics.

The majority of immigrant Hispanic workers are unconcerned with being American, since they do not intend to become U.S. citizens. The relatively few Hispanic immigrants who applied for amnesty did not usually express a clear concept of being American. An exception was a single Mexican in his 20s who had just received his resident-alien status after living with his parents for 15 years in Garden City and the surrounding area. "I have no desire to go back [to Mexico] now that I'm legal." He said his parents did not visit Mexico while they were undocumented for fear of being caught at the border. In contrast to his fellow immigrants, he is completely bilingual, "hip" in appearance, secure in his job as a white collar worker. "I am an American and know where I'm going," he adds confidently. Because of his appearance and demeanor he can "pass" as an "average white American."

In the span of one generation, some native Hispanics have entered Garden City's middle class. Perhaps one-fourth of the native Hispanics have moved literally across the tracks into "white" neighborhoods. These families have sought socioeconomic parity and

acquired conspicuous markers of material comfort. Often their children are English dominant and indistinguishable in dress and mannerisms from Anglo classmates.

Among middle-aged and elder native Hispanics, cultural identity runs from apparent assimilation to firm biculturalism. Almost all either freely or indirectly referred to their Mexican heritage, although fewer wholeheartedly embraced their Mexican cultural roots. Those with stronger Anglo identity were visibly middle class, as reflected in the decor of their homes. Yet some of them "apologized" for their "loss" of Hispanic culture and values.

Immigrant Hispanic professionals are bicultural and bilingual or multilingual; they are able to move freely in both Anglo and native Hispanic circles. Latinos of non-Mexican descent emphasize their cosmopolitan outlook in contrast to what many see as provincial or less-sophisticated native Anglos and Hispanics alike.

Several express their American identity as transcending U.S. boundaries. They feel they are not only citizens of the United States, but also of their home country. They resent the restriction of the term "American" to citizens of the United States because "we are all Americans on the American continent." These same professionals pride themselves on their knowledge of the history and culture of both the United States and their home country.

Hard work is stressed by both native and immigrant Hispanics. Many achieved their present status through backbreaking physical labor. Recent arrivals from Nicaragua and El Salvador, and natives alike, sometimes say that the Hispanic has to work "a little harder" to acquire the comforts of life enjoyed by Anglos. Immigrant Central and South American professionals resent "Anglo ignorance" in labeling them "Mexicans."

Entwined with American identity is the concept of patriotism. For most native Hispanics patriotism is synonymous with military duty and the American flag. Some pointed out, however, that while they would die for their country, they still suffer discrimination. In contrast, immigrant Hispanics remain loyal to their mother country. One South American pastor felt a patriotic obligation to his newly adopted country, yet he professed a primary love for his native land. Patriotism, he stressed, involves obligations and responsibilities to the United States, where he too "pays his taxes" and has settled with his "new American wife."

Native and immigrant Hispanics share a sense of loyalty to extended kin. In fact, native Hispanic family reunions are reminiscent of potlatches, as established families vie with one another in the size, frequency, and elaborateness of the social activities.

Spanish remains an important marker of cultural identity, yet fluency among native Hispanics varies widely. Anglos expect native Hispanics to be bilingual, though they realize not all are. This may help to explain why at times native Hispanics publicly profess fluency in Spanish, while admitting to limited proficiency in private.

The recent influx of thousands of immigrant Hispanics has increased the visibility and hence the frequency of Hispanic public rituals, which have in turn enhanced Hispanic identity. Ironically, native Hispanics are more apt to identify with Anglo Americans than with immigrant Hispanics, since the newcomers' occupational status, inability to speak English, and position as outsiders, make them less desirable as a reference group. In turn, most immigrant Hispanic workers look down on "Chicanos" and have little interest in "becoming American."

Garden City High School

As in the larger Garden City community, the ability to speak English well is the foremost criteria for "being American" in Garden City High School. Not only does the ability to speak English mean that communication--and therefore value transformation--can take place, but it signifies the immigrant's willingness and desire to acculturate into American society. Those immigrants who make a concerted effort to learn English and who can communicate well with native speakers may be at once admired for undertaking the process of learning the language and for fulfilling this first and crucial step to becoming American.

The established criteria for "being American" in Garden City High School revolve around the degree to which individuals are willing and/or able to participate in recognized activities and athletics. Anglo students do not need to participate in sports and clubs in order to be considered "true" Americans, but participation in these activities is explicitly encouraged by the school administration and community. Those who do not are often suspect, ignored, and relegated to a marginal status.

Involvement in school activities and sports as a criterion for being an American extends into school-community relations as well. The primary point of contact between the high school and the wider community is sports, and in particular football and basketball. In this sense, the high school provides the community with an important point for some of its primary rituals. Immigrant students by and large do not participate in these established rituals and thereby run the risk of being considered unwilling to become American. Immigrant students--particularly Southeast Asians--are noticed for their attendance at games not only because it is relatively rare, but because their presence satisfies this fundamental expectation for those who desire "assimilation."

The process of becoming an American begins with learning to speak English well and participating in established school activities. Trendy American clothes also mark American identity. This criterion must be qualified, however. Immigrant students who wear fashionable clothes do so primarily to fulfill some expectation developed for the so-called "socs," "brains," and "jocks." These immigrant students, fulfill this expectation only from their own perspective. Despite speaking English well and participating in mainstream activities, nice clothes do not gain them access to membership in an important, Anglo-dominated subgroup. [Of course, what is considered fashionable can vary greatly between different ethnic and other sociocultural groups.]

Fundamental contradiction exists in the differing expectations established for exchange students and immigrant students. The presence of foreign exchange students is actively promoted. Throughout their year exchange students are encouraged and expected to participate in typically American school and community activities and rituals. During the 1988-89 school year, for example, all three of the exchange students enrolled at GCHS (all female) were candidates for homecoming queen. Despite their involvement in such activities and encouragement from school personnel to learn more about American life, these exchange students are also expected to *remain culturally unique* for the benefit of American students who can learn about other cultures through them. Language is rarely a problem for exchange students as most student exchange services require a minimum competency before students are accepted for placement. However, this has not always been the case at Garden City High School. One Brazilian boy was enrolled in the school's ESL program some years ago to sharpen his English skills.

While exchange students' abilities to speak English and their participation in school activities may explain how they make inroads into mainstream student life, the same cannot always be said for immigrant students who speak English well and attempt to participate in mainstream activities. The primary difference between exchange students and these immigrant students is found in the circumstances under which they arrived. Exchange students are desirable in the school environment and their presence openly promoted. Immigrant students, however, have arrived under terms of *economic change*. While exchange students are invited, refugees and immigrants are not, and this contributes to their marginal status. In addition, exchange students are in the school and community for a predictable time, immigrant students may stay for extended periods, but usually don't. Their length of stay is largely unpredictable, contributing to their marginal status among administrators and many teachers.

Immigrant Hispanic students are often "lumped" together with lower-socio-economic-status native Hispanic students who do not generally participate in high profile mainstream activities. All Hispanic students are often referred to as "Mexicans" by Anglos. The use of a blanket term--"Mexican"--for all Hispanics signifies Anglo perceptions of the difference in these students' ethnic background (and in many cases their skin color). Hispanic students who participate in established and high profile activities, such as athletics and student government, can escape a marginal status. This contributes to their more ready acceptance as "Americans." Although they may continue to be referred to as "Mexicans," the sarcastic tinge that often accompanies this term in reference to other Hispanics is usually absent. Native Hispanic students (and to some extent immigrant Hispanics) who do not participate in high profile activities emphasized by the school are often referred to in a derogatory sense as "beaners" or "greasers."

Immigrant students (both Hispanic and Southeast Asian) generally consider becoming American in terms of fulfilling the economic potential they feel exists in this country. To fulfill this potential, and therefore to become an American of some type, the opportunity for an education and its benefits must first be fulfilled. Their use of the term "American" when describing Anglo students in the high school points more to their concern for being left out of mainstream Anglo life (or conversely, Anglo students' unwillingness to accommodate or incorporate immigrant students' interests) than to differences in ethnic backgrounds. One Vietnamese senior described this process perhaps most succinctly when asked why no members of the various ethnic groups represented in the school lunch room ate together. That the different Asian groups do not eat together, he said, is a matter of "culture." That Asian and Anglo students don't sit together, however, is a matter of "class."

POWER RELATIONS AMONG NEW IMMIGRANTS AND ESTABLISHED RESIDENTS

For our purposes, "power" is defined as control of people and resources. It may rest in formal institutions--instruments of the State--such as city and county commissions, the board of education, school administration and faculty, law enforcement, and local offices of state agencies. But in many ways it is the private sector that wields the greatest power in Finney County and Garden City. IBP, Monfort, feedyards, farms, banks, all control jobs, worker behavior, and economic resources. In fact, if power is measured in such terms, it is concentrated in only a few hands--a point not lost on the citizens of Garden City.

Ethnic Hierarchy and Social Class

To a very great degree power relations in Garden City, Kansas reflect the community's social and ethnic hierarchy. Anglos generally occupy the highest rung on the social ladder. They are the majority group (65-75 percent of the population), and they occupy most positions of authority, prestige, and leadership in the community. Mexican Americans (and educated new-immigrant Hispanics) occupy the second rung. They have been an integral part of the community since early in this century and have gradually gained access to the professions, business, and elective office. But their numbers in these areas are still limited. Blacks might be said to occupy a third rung on the social ladder, except that their population remains too small to be accorded a separate group status.

At the bottom of the social ladder, occupying roughly equal social standings, are the vast majority of new-immigrant Hispanics and Southeast Asians. With a few notable exceptions, they are largely isolated from "mainstream" community life--powerless people living in the community but not of it.

Ethnicity is not the only factor governing social hierarchy in Garden City--cross-cutting it is social class. While class and ethnicity are closely intertwined, they are not identical. There is an elite in Garden City, a small circle of moneyed and powerful people, well-to-do by any standards. These persons, and their families, have long been part of the community--some for generations, others came following World War II. Most

have led the way in the agricultural innovations that have propelled Finney County's economy since then--irrigated farming, cattle feeding. All are Anglos.

Slightly below them in prestige is an upper middle class--professionals, business owners or executives, college and school district administrators, prosperous farmers, ranchers, and cattle feeders. Like the elite, they may belong to the country club and live in expensive homes. And they rub elbows with elites--Garden City is too small and egalitarian for it to be otherwise. Most are Anglos, but those Hispanics and Southeast Asians who have achieved professional standing or prosperity through business acumen also travel in this circle--when they choose. And they may be seen at the country club's Sunday buffet making easy conversation with their Anglo peers.

Next comes Garden City's "ordinary" middle class--teachers, owners of small businesses, farmers, managers for the larger feeders and farms, professionals working in public services. Minorities are more evident here, but still underrepresented.

Garden City is a working class town--its heavy dependence on agriculture, cattle feeding, beefpacking, and related industries makes it so. People work with their hands, and they are proud of it. It can be hard to tell the middle class from their working class employees--they work side by side in the fields and feedyards, eat in the same restaurants, and often buy each other drinks at the end of the day. It is in this working class that Hispanics become more evident.

But all members of the working class are not equal in the eyes of the community. And the size of the paycheck is not the determining factor. The hired hand who works long hours maintaining "sprinklers" for a corporate farm or the cowboy who rides cattle pens all day both make less than many line workers at the beef plants. But they have a higher social standing in the community. Farmwork is honorable. Cowboys are mythic. But meatpackers, regardless of income, carry a certain stigma. And they occupy a lower rung on the social ladder. It does not help their social standing that a majority are new immigrants--Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Southeast Asians.

An underclass, the unemployed and underemployed, does exist in Garden City, but it is not immediately self-evident. Some are on welfare, others (mainly single men) work at odd jobs. Still others are just passing through, perhaps working on a harvest crew in early summer, or trying to find work as a roughneck on an oil rig, or drifting across the country looking for work, or just looking. But they are few when compared to major metropolitan areas, and many move on. Contrary to what one might expect, minorities are not "overrepresented" among them.

To speak about the class structure in Garden City as if it were monolithic is to do the community's complexity an injustice. Hispanics and Southeast Asians are found

up and down in the dominant class structure, and may move freely in its circles, but they have their own hierarchies as well.

Southeast Asians. Southeast Asians constitute a diverse and highly transient population, characteristics that retard development of group solidarity or expression of political concerns. For example, until recently different subgroups such as the Vietnamese Catholic Youth Group, the Buddhist Youth Group, and the Veterans' Association celebrated major Vietnamese holidays separately. Few English-fluent SEA professionals live in Garden City, making it difficult to locate potential leaders to articulate new residents' needs to the wider society and create coalitions with members of other ethnic groups.

For these reasons, Southeast Asians are largely unrepresented in formal community institutions, including politics. No SEAs serve as elected representatives. Most do not vote and are therefore not courted by local politicians. Some new citizens tried to vote in the last presidential election, but found they could not because they had failed to register. The police department has not hired any SEAs, citing applicants' linguistic and cultural difficulties with formal test instruments. They have, however, sought and found Asian membership for the police advisory board.

Although representation in formal government and political institutions is minimal, other forms of power relations link new immigrants and established residents. The term "established" is somewhat misleading for SEAs since few came before 1980 and the entire population is highly mobile. "Established," as used here, applies to the few Vietnamese families who arrived in Garden City between 1975 and 1980, the first wave of SEA immigrants to the U.S. These "first-wave" families are Catholic and of higher socioeconomic status than the fishermen and other rural people, both Vietnamese and Laotian, who have arrived more recently. However, the term "established" will simply mean those Southeast Asian families who are relatively long-term residents of Garden City, including post-1980 arrivals.

Although Southeast Asians have little visibility in public decision making, informal leadership and variation in resource control certainly exist within the SEA population. New-arrival refugees have little power, while established SEAs play a broker role between SEA friends, relatives, or clients, and the wider society. Established residents assist new arrivals with food, shelter, transportation, and information, usually along lines of kinship and friendship. Established refugees may also seek out new unrelated refugees as clients for various goods and services such as automobiles and apartments, tax preparation, translation, and interpretation services. New arrivals therefore serve as a kind of resource for established residents.

In addition to informal relations of the kind described above, other leadership or patronage is more public in nature and involves individuals known to a larger range of Vietnamese or Laotians, occasionally even to Anglos and Hispanics as well. Some well-known leaders come from first-wave established families, while others are newcomers. From time to time well-educated Vietnamese and Laotians arrive in Garden City, usually recruited by family and friends, to take positions in local agencies such as the MAA and SRS. A very few, such as a Vietnamese physician, are practicing professionals. Although relatively new to Garden City, these individuals have usually lived in the United States five to ten years, come from upper socioeconomic backgrounds, and are relatively fluent in English. Because of their English competency, their connections with Anglo patrons, and their employment in Anglo-controlled institutions, they can act as patrons for SEA new arrivals.

Anglos also seek out these English-competent leaders to "represent the Southeast Asian community" in public events where ethnic representation is desired. The same few individuals (a schoolteacher, the Americanized son of a first-wave established Catholic family) are called upon again and again as spokespersons in various contexts ranging from the annual Tet (Vietnamese New Year) celebration to membership on advisory boards. They may also have considerable economic power, such as the Vietnamese doctor who owns two trailer courts and the building used as a Buddhist temple.

Hispanics. Native Hispanics are descended from Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans who began coming to Garden City at the start of the 20th century to work on the Santa Fe Railroad and in the sugar beet fields. The more recent immigrant Hispanics are Mexican Americans and Latin American nationals (predominately Mexican, though some come from Central and South America, including the Caribbean) who come to Garden City primarily to work in the packinghouses and feedyards.

Among both native and immigrant Hispanics are a small number of professionals. But native Hispanic professionals most often leave Garden City to seek higher education and careers. Some female professionals marry into working class families if they remain in Garden City. The professionals, mainly immigrants, form a distinctive group and interact little with the much larger group of Hispanic "workers." The professional group is very small--its members are found in education, health care, social service agencies, or as entrepreneurs. They are English and Spanish proficient and move freely within the larger community, at times traveling in elite Anglo circles.

Hispanics make up between 16 and 25 percent of Garden City's population. Like their Anglo neighbors they are divided by class, but unlike them they are also divided by nationality and English proficiency. There is little, if any, interaction or mutual

awareness between the immigrant Hispanic workers and native Hispanics, Anglos, or Southeast Asians. Immigrant Mexican Americans socialize independently of Latino nationals. Although they may be coworkers, immigrant foreign nationals look down upon "Chicanos," as they call Mexican Americans. In turn native Hispanics generally avoid immigrant Hispanics. Worker transiency, especially among single males, discourages contact.

Though a small number of Mexican nationals have lived for years in Garden City (especially those with jobs in the feedyards), many never learned English at a communicable, fluent level. Frequently only the male household head has any fluency in English. Among the several evening English as a Second Language classes attended by Campa, two contained Hispanic immigrants in their late 40s-early 50s who had lived as long as nine years in Garden City, but never learned to speak English. Almost all were employed in packinghouse-related industries, such as feedyards and by-product processors. None worked in packinghouses, however, which may explain their more stable employment and longer residence.

While Anglos largely ignore Hispanic immigrants, Hispanic natives shun them. Many older natives frequently repeat pejorative stereotypes. Immigrants are rude, involved in drugs, drink too much--they are "wetbacks." Monolingual Spanish speakers in turn cannot communicate with many native Hispanics, who are monolingual English speakers. Mutual negative stereotypes serve to further distance interaction between the two groups. This further disenfranchises Hispanics as a whole.

Whereas immigrant Hispanics live in isolation in Garden City, native Hispanics interact much more frequently with the Anglos than with the immigrant Hispanics. Many are highly acculturated. Yet native Hispanics often feel discriminated against and controlled by Anglos. They may feel helpless, resigned, or angry over their "plight." When asked why they have not done something about it, the common reply is that they "fear for their jobs." Pressure is described as subtle and indirect, a containment designed to keep Hispanics from "rocking the boat."

Government and Governmental Agencies

City and county commissions, the school board and community college board of trustees, the police and sheriff's department, and other state and local agencies, are dominated by Anglos. While Hispanics occupy some positions in these institutions (usually lower-level), Southeast Asians are conspicuously absent (with the exception of the SRS refugee services grantees, but even here the top positions are held by Anglos). The city manager's office recognizes the need to employ Southeast Asians, especially in the police department, but a lack of applicants with adequate English skills and certain

institutional constraints (requirements for extensive background checks and passage of standardized tests for the police department, for example) have blocked hirings thus far.

A modest shift in power relations appears to be occurring following the election in April 1989 of an immigrant Mexican American to the school board and a native Mexican American to the city commission. Although some Hispanics may view these men as their representatives, they were elected with broad community support, defeating prominent, highly visible Anglo candidates who campaigned vigorously. The Hispanic school board member has since emerged as a vocal critic of the school administration and a spokesman for the "reform block" on the board. The city commissioner is less assertive, but his influence is felt on social, ethnic, and environmental issues.

The power to police its citizens--to make and enforce laws--is the clearest example of the State's authority and power. And it is in the enforcement of the law that tensions between groups are often revealed. Liquor laws, and their enforcement, offer a clear example of the conflict between immigrant Hispanics and established residents, both Anglo and native Hispanic. Anglos and native Hispanics allege that immigrant Hispanic clubs frequently violate the liquor code. Infractions do occur, but the general attitude among Anglos and native Hispanics is that keeping such establishments open rather than closing them down is the lesser of two evils. Immigrant Hispanics, vaguely aware of local liquor laws, drink according to the custom of their home country. As a result, they are at much greater risk for being arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol (DUI). Counter charges of police harassment of club owners and patrons might have some merit. Immigrant Hispanic club patrons complain of the high visibility of police squad cars at closing time, while police are said to be virtually absent at the "Anglo" bars. [The same complaint is heard by owners of some Anglo bars as well.] However, increased enforcement of drunk driving laws is a current focus of the police department, and DUI arrests have increased among all groups.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

We have interviewed the majority of nongovernmental service organizations (NGOs), collecting data on staff and client composition, funding sources, and services provided. There is only one organization dedicated to the needs of a single category of people--refugees. That organization is the Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association (MAA).

The MAA. The MAA is not unique to Garden City. It is supported by the Department of Health and Human Services' Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR),

which was created in 1981. Garden City's MAA was founded in 1984, largely through efforts of the community's Ministerial Alliance.

The ORR requires that an MAA must be a legitimate nonprofit organization with a board of directors of at least 51 percent refugees or former refugees. The Ministerial Alliance sought Southeast Asian leaders, and the first board consisted of fourteen Vietnamese; one ethnic Chinese from Vietnam; one Cambodian; one Anglo, the manager of the local SRS office; and two Hispanics, one the director of the bilingual program, the other the husband of the director of the school's migrant program. As many as five of those listed in the minutes of the first meeting were Buddhists, and the group decided that representatives from all the Southeast Asian ethnic groups (Laotian, Cambodian, Vietnamese), as well as both Buddhists and Catholics, should be represented.

Anglo members of the board have included at various times the personnel director of IBP; the director of the school district's migrant program; her assistant, a teacher with a Ph.D. in education; the district personnel director; the director of the Adult Learning Center; an insurance agent who serves new Asians and Hispanics; a Baptist minister whose church targets Vietnamese new arrivals; the U.S. Catholic Conference resettlement director, who still shares an office with the MAA; a Presbyterian minister who played a prominent role in the Ministerial Alliance; the police chief; and the assistant city manager. All have had some connection with Southeast Asians, not only as concerned citizens but usually as employers, educators, missionaries, or employees of agencies that must deal with this category of newcomers. Patron-client relationships appear to have played a significant role in the operation of this MAA, as they have in others, both in relationships with Anglo and Hispanic patrons and with other SEAs.

Other NGOs. Several organizations target Hispanics, but nevertheless serve members of all ethnic groups (United Methodist Western Kansas Mexican-American Ministries, Harvest America, SER Jobs for Progress). Most NGOs provide services to all; a slim majority of their clients are Anglo, with a significant Hispanic clientele. Although most serve Southeast Asians from time to time, they are an insignificant portion of the client population. Some providers would like to increase service to SEAs, but they are not sure how. Besides, they say, the MAA is there for the Southeast Asians.

Immigrant Hispanics, especially foreign nationals, form another "hard to serve" group. They are isolated within the community. They have little, if any, English proficiency, which contributes to their ignorance of daily events or attractions in the city and limited knowledge of available resources and services. Groups such as Harvest

America and the Mexican-American Ministries do have frequent contact with immigrant families, much less with single male immigrants. Immigrant Hispanic families probably stay longer in Garden City than the more transient single males; families also have a greater need for community services. The only way they learn of these services is by word of mouth or through their churches, which only underscores immigrant Hispanic isolation.

The staffs of most NGOs are by and large aware of and genuinely concerned with the needs of all ethnic groups, and they try to provide to all in need. Yet, in serving Hispanics and Southeast Asians, these organizations are hampered by a general lack of bilingual staff--most are monolingual Anglos. While they recognize the limitations of monolingual service providers, NGOs have their hands full serving English-speaking clients. Non-English-speaking clients are generally expected to provide their own interpreters--an added burden that may well keep some from seeking help.

Power and Ritual: Fiesta and Cinco de Mayo

Within the community, the exercise of power is not limited to governmental or nongovernmental agencies. Nor is the balance of power static, or the struggle for it always between different ethnic groups.

Native Hispanics seek public recognition and greater acceptance from the dominant Anglo community by sponsorship of community cultural events. Traditionally the Hispanic cultural event of the year has been the Community Mexican Fiesta which coincides with Mexican Independence Day (September 16). However, a rift developed over ownership and governance of the Fiesta Committee. This group was controlled by two native Hispanic families. Following a legal squabble over control of the committee, the Fiesta group "seceded" from the local chapter of the American G.I. Forum, the largest organization of native Hispanics in Garden City. After the two groups separated in the early 1980s, the G.I. Forum began sponsoring *Cinco de Mayo* (a Mexican national holiday commemorating General Zaragoza's defeat of the French forces at Puebla on May 5, 1862).

The G.I. Forum "owns" Cinco de Mayo and collectively ignores the Fiesta. The Forum even sponsors competing events during Fiesta. The Fiesta group lacks the numbers, the organization, and the money to compete with Cinco de Mayo. The more visible members of the G.I. Forum and the Fiesta Committee are conspicuously absent from each other's celebrations.

The significance of the Fiesta is diminishing, due not only to competition from the G.I. Forum, but also to more recent organized attempts to sponsor *bailes* (dances).

Independent immigrant Hispanic sponsors hire big name Tex-Mex *orquestas* to attract immigrant Hispanics in search of a good time.

This rift continues despite efforts by a local priest and occasional individual efforts by members of both groups to iron out their differences. For some, pride and wounded egos are still too sensitive to allow reconciliation. Professional immigrant Mexican Americans feel this is a petty dispute not worth their involvement. So the native Hispanic community remains divided and their limited power diminished.

Fiesta and G.I. Forum members alike express frustration over the lack of Anglo support for Hispanic holiday celebrations. Members of both organizations say that Anglo businesses profit from sales made during the celebrations, but do not release Hispanic employees to participate in them. In a recent symbolic gesture, however, the city commission proclaimed the week of Fiesta as "Hispanic Awareness Week," thus "upping the ante with the G.I. Forum."

Work in the Beefpacking Industry

Thirteen percent of the county's population is employed in one of two beef-packing plants (IBP employs approximately 2700 and Monfort about 1300). As the largest two employers (the school district ranks third), their presence dominates the economy of the county, and indeed much of the surrounding area. The general public is ambivalent about beefpacking in general and IBP in particular--they welcome the industry's significant contribution to the local economy and fear IBP will close the plant when its tax abatements expire. Yet many people resent the costs they have had to pay--crowded schools, higher crime, drains on social services, and the "forced" construction of a large trailer court to provide adequate housing so IBP could expand to two shifts.

While the "weight" of the packing plants is felt throughout the community, their power is keenly evident among packinghouse workers themselves. Power is exercised in several ways and at several levels. Most obvious is in the control of resources--wages. It is often said, and we have often repeated it, that hourly wages at the packinghouses are "good." And by regional standards they are. The beginning hourly wage for production workers is attractive--\$6.00 at Monfort, \$6.40 at IBP--especially to unskilled workers who can't speak English. But pay often proves inadequate. Gross annual income for Processing line workers at IBP ranges from about \$15,500 for a Grade 1 job after one year to about \$22,000 for a Grade 7 at the end of two years. Many workers, especially new arrivals and those with large families, are forced to rely on social service agencies for supplemental food, medical care, and other basic needs.

Not only are wages not as they first appear, but neither are benefits. The plants do indeed provide workers with insurance for medical, dental, and eye care, with paid vacations and yearly bonuses. But workers are not eligible for insurance for four or six months, depending on the employer. Many do not make it that long. And for all line workers debilitating injury and job loss are constant threats.

Power entails not only the control of resources, but the control of people. Packers control their employees in several ways. Mandatory urinalysis during job application, a 90-day probation period for "new hires," the ever present threat of writeups by line supervisors, who gets promoted and how, the very speed of the chain or line itself--all control the workers.

Jim [an immigrant Mexican American] has recently been promoted to a yellowhat [supervisor] on the brisket line. He was promoted because he had through happenstance learned a number of different jobs. But his in-law [who was more experienced in meatpacking] said his fluency in Spanish, especially when more and more Hispanics are coming to work at the plant, was very important in the promotion. Jim is really enthusiastic about his work and the company (Stull fieldnotes 1/27-2/20/89:4).

It is this enthusiasm that seems to be a major criteria for promotion.

How do you get to be a supervisor, do you bid on it?

No, you have to be noticed--a go-getter--you have to always be thinking of a better way to do things. One time I went home and my mom said, "Why work with your hands when you can work with your brain." I thought about it and decided she was right (Stull conversation with a supervisor who had worked at one plant for five years, fieldnotes 8/7/88:10).

Authority is circumscribed, the hierarchy rigid. Job type--and status--are marked by the color of the hardhat everyone must wear on the floor. In Slaughter, the floor supervisor is a greenhat. The general foreman is a yellowhat, as are the three line foremans [sic]. Each line foreman is assisted by a bluehat. Below them are the whitehats--the hourly line workers.

Bluehats are called "utility people" or "lead men." They are supposed to know how to perform most, if not all, the jobs on the line; to be able to fill in as needed and assist the yellowhat in other ways. Workers jokingly refer to them as "back scratchers" and "peter shakers." Whitehats often say that the way to get to be a bluehat is to "suck up" to the supervisor--take them hunting, buy them beer. The bluehat's job includes keeping tabs on whitehats and "writing them up" for infractions.

Jim says supervisors need to practice the "Three Fs" with those on their line: "Be firm, be fair, and be friendly." Beginning supervisors may be told to practice the Three Fs in training sessions, but on the line it is a different matter.

Dave [Jim's in-law] has worked for the plant for three years. They made him a bluehat, but there was "too much bullshit" and he asked to go back to being a whitehat. He found keeping tabs on those workers who were on the yellowhat's "shitlist" especially distasteful. He said there are plenty of ways a supervisor can find to fire you if he gets it in for you. He knows them all because when he first came to work his yellowhat took a liking to him and taught him the ropes. For example, you are allowed 6 minutes for a "piss break." But there is no way you can get to the bathroom, take off all your gear, take care of business, wash up, put your gear back on, and get back on the line in 6 minutes. Especially for women who are having their period. But the supervisor can enforce that [as well as deny or simply ignore the worker's request altogether] by having his bluehat keep time on the person and hound that person out or easily build a case for firing (Stull fieldnotes 1/27-2/20/89:5).

Writeups may be issued for many reasons--failure to show up for work or call in sick, safety infractions, horseplay, taunting or arguing with another worker, or simply not being able to do the job. If you are written up, you have to sign a form. If you refuse to sign, you are sent home.

If you can't do your job the supervisors will tell you, "Either do your job or go home." Carlos has been used as a translator in several instances, and apparently language difficulties contribute to some Hispanics being fired. He spoke of Hispanics who were told by the supervisor to "go home." When they returned to work the next day, they were told they had abandoned their post and were terminated. However, he says yellowhats are now being held more accountable, that you can appeal a writeup, and in some cases supervisors have been reprimanded for bad writeups (Stull fieldnotes 6/14-19/89:11-12).

The company does not control worker behavior with the threat of writeups alone. Incentives may also be adopted. When a plant found punitive measures were not significantly reducing accidents, it adopted incentives. If a line goes 15 days without an accident its members get a free lunch; 30 days, 5 pounds of hamburger; 60 days, a cap; still longer brings a jacket. This system has proved more successful, although yellowhats still carry green cards to write workers up for infractions (Stull fieldnotes 7/12-16/89:12).

Supervisors and bluehats are not the only ones who exert power on the floor. Whitehats may contest for power among themselves. They also let their supervisors know they'd can't be pushed too far.

Thelma [not her real name] was mad when she came into Tom's. As several of us--Hispanic and Anglo--sat around the table, she angrily recounted how earlier that evening some workers had intentionally caused her to injure her finger--pushed something down the line, I think. She is an orangehat, training to be a yellowhat. She said that they were Mexicans and much of the conversation that followed centered on how it is always Mexicans who are mean and resentful on the floor, never the Asians.

Thelma is "half-Spanish"--her mother is from Spain, her father somewhere else. She speaks Spanish. She grew up in the Southwest. She started work "squeegeeing the floors, the lowest job out there." Mexicans would throw scraps on the floor intentionally so she would have to pick them up, or throw them directly at her. You're not allowed to confront other workers directly. If you have a complaint you have to go to your supervisor who will take it to Personnel who will take it up with the accused's supervisor. It boils down to one person's word against another, unless there are witnesses. And people that are out to get you will just deny it.

When she threw back the meat scraps, she earned the respect of those who were testing her--to see what she was made of. That she spoke Spanish helped as well.

The event earlier in the day seems to be the same thing. Workers who will eventually have to work under her authority are testing her and showing her that she is no better than they are. They are also pushing her because she is a woman.

Quite a bit of this goes on. You do something to goad or injure someone else--of a different ethnic group, a different sex, a newcomer on the line, or someone you just don't like. You do it so you can deny that it was you or that it was intentional, but then you make eye contact with the victim to let him know it was you. Then the victim may retaliate--Thelma threw back the meat, another time she turned up the water on the boot wash so they all got wet (Stull fieldnotes 8/7-8/8/89:14-15).

When told of this incident, Carlos responded in this way.

We Mexicans have that tendency of really getting to somebody, once that they see that that person won't do anything. See, like, they push and push and push to see how far they can go, you see what I mean?

It's like, I mean, there is no end to it unless a person really stops and puts an end to it and says, "Look, this is as far as you are going. And either you stop it right here, or we can settle it some other way. But I don't want that to happen, you know." That's the only way. And that's the way that it has to be. Test the bounds. Because over here, man, it's just more Mexican than anybody down there.

Do you think they were doing it to her because she's a woman?

They will do it because she let them. She will give in to anybody, that's why. . . . They will do it with anybody, even a guy, another guy that lets them, or another girl. I think that all that happens because they give them a little chance. They might start joking a little bit, but then things get joking heavier. They are joking, and that's when somebody's going to feel it, is when the others complain. Yeah, the best way to be . . . is not to joke, just to be so serious practically not to talk to anybody. . . . (Stull interview 8/13/89:36).

In spite of tension between supervisors and line workers, between members of different ethnic groups, common experiences of the workplace help build shared

concerns and identity that transcend ethnic boundaries, and the community's general antipathy toward packinghouse workers serves only to reinforce their common identity. All are subjected to the power and authority of large and seemingly indifferent corporations, who at times appear to value machinery and daily quotas over the welfare of their workers. And it is in the toll the work takes on the bodies and lives of line workers that power is at its ugliest.

Case 5 was a 40-year-old Anglo woman with severe pains from her shoulders to her fingertips. She must cross her arms and clench her fists to fight the pain. She found it hard, if not impossible, to work, to do housework, even to turn pages while reading. ["Do you read?" "Sometimes." "Do you turn pages?" "It hurts, that's why I said sometimes."]

She'd been a housewife till 1986 when she went to work at the packinghouse. She worked there till September 1987. At the time she was terminated she was making \$359 a week. This was the first paying job she ever held. She was forced to go to work when a divorce left her with two boys, now 19 and 17, to support.

She started out in Slaughter on the "head table" cutting sinew off skulls. The heads go around the chain at about 6 per minute and she had to make 5-7 cuts per head. . . . After she cut the sinew off, she put it in a bucket.

She began developing problems in her fingers and shoulders and as a result she was moved to "brains," where she took brains out of skulls, put them in a bucket, and when the bucket weighed about 30 pounds, she carried it to a different station and emptied it. Much of her job was to wash, weigh, and put the brains in a box. She also massaged the membrane that covers the brain, removing it--this involved the constant motion of her fingers.

The sinew cutting and the brain cleaning were part of the same process. There were two cutters--one black, one Vietnamese. Also working with her were several women and a supervisor named Rudolfo [not his real name]. At times she was the only person doing the brains, other times not.

The new job did little to alleviate the pain in her arms and shoulders, and she was often helped in lifting her load by one of the men on the line. She calculated that when working on the brains, she lifted a 30 lb. bucket every 5 minutes and performed approximately 1,800 squishing movements per hour with her hands in removing the membrane.

She complained of her pain to her supervisor. First she was sent to the "company doctor," then to a local specialist, then back to the company doctor, then to a specialist in Wichita. This specialist had her taken off work, but the company then cancelled her subsequent appointments with him, which meant she had to go back to work. They later sent her to a specialist in Denver. Ultimately she was terminated.

She still has the pain; she can't use her fingers at all now and keeps her hands clenched because it hurts to open them. She stays at home, where

she does only minimal housework. Her new husband, whom she met at work, still works for the company. He and her boys do most of the cooking and cleaning.

The company position is that her pain is not related to work but is caused by an underlying emotional problem. Their attorney questioned her emotional state, attacked her personality, and tried to suggest that divorce was the cause of her problem. The judge intervened and stopped this line of questioning (Stull fieldnotes on workman's compensation preliminary hearing 8/14/88:13-15).

The pathos in this case and the many others like it shows in the testimony of a Hispanic man against another employer later the same day: "Only thing I know is labor. I can't go back to being a lugger. I lugged beef for 9 years. That's the only thing I really know" (Stull fieldnotes 8/14/88:19).

Power Relations in Garden City High School

Immigrant students--particularly those who are Limited English Proficient (LEP)--are powerless at Garden City High School. Language maintains separation between immigrant students and mainstream Anglos and native Hispanics. In an institutional sense, the English as a Second Language (ESL) program at the high school is both a form of accommodation--addressing the needs of LEP students--and a means of creating distance between LEP and mainstream students. While the ESL program separates students on the basis of language, it does not necessarily represent a deliberate effort at segregation. The program's role in separating students is maintained for two primary reasons. First, the school administration is largely unprepared to address the unique needs of these students. Second, administrators are unprepared to consider how the institutional structure of the school can be changed or adjusted to encourage interaction between immigrant and mainstream students.

Accommodation for LEP students has arisen not out of LEP student "power" but because a few people have recognized their needs and consequently worked for appropriate program development. A bilingual education program has often been cited by school administrators as the basis for the relative ease with which adjustments for LEP students were made. But bilingual education in the school district resulted from a law suit filed by a local Hispanic group in 1980, a fact often downplayed by administrators. [This case is discussed elsewhere.]

Immigrant students themselves are without power because the school does not make adjustments for their presence beyond those directly associated with their LEP status. Adjustments made for their LEP status have actually contributed to their lack of power because they are separated from the mainstream. These students are not advised of what is expected of them in the ESL program or how their desires can be

communicated in the school as a whole. Additionally, LEP students are relatively impotent because they do not participate in mainstream school activities.

The one school activity involving a number of immigrant Southeast Asian and Hispanic students during the 1987-88 school year was a soccer club. It was not regenerated during the 1988-89 school year. Some evidence suggests that the school principal and others worked against the club's development because soccer is not considered an "established" sport, and they believed the club would divert attention from the football program. Not only did this club provide an important point of shared interest--an arena for the promotion of accord--between immigrant Hispanic and Southeast Asian students, but it provided many immigrant students their only real opportunity to develop a broader identity with the school.

The soccer club was reconstituted in the fall of 1989 after a year of criticism from some teachers and administrators and after advocacy by members of the Changing Relations Project. Following CRP recommendations, the school board approved "an interim soccer coach for the 1989-90 school year" and a salaried assistant.

Immigrant students' low status in the school is exacerbated by the powerlessness of their parents. Immigrant parents are generally perceived as lacking a direct interest in their children's education because they are unlikely to fulfill expectations for parental involvement held for American families. Immigrant parents, for example, rarely attend parent-teacher conferences at the high school. But they are not consistently informed of how they can more readily participate in school processes that affect their children.

Southeast Asian students who speak English well and who participate in mainstream classes have the potential to enhance their standing in the school. Teachers and administrators admire and respect what they often refer to as these students' "work ethic," and most say they would prefer "a room full of them" to any other group. Because they are perceived as superior in intellect and work habits, SEA students could hold political sway over teachers relative to their Anglo and Hispanic counterparts. Yet, this opportunity for empowerment is not used, perhaps because it would be inappropriate in their cultural perceptions of the school and their role in it.

Immigrant Hispanic students are by far the most impotent and isolated within the school for two important reasons: they are not seen as distinct from other Hispanics, and no one advocates for them.

Mexican and Central American students tend to be lumped together with lower status native Hispanics. Few, if any, faculty or Anglo students distinguish between these two groups. Therefore, immigrant Hispanic students are often viewed as members of the "quiet," "at-risk" Hispanic group who keep to themselves and are the most likely

to drop out of school. In addition, because native Hispanics do not identify or communicate with immigrant Hispanics, they are not concerned with the same issues or perceive the same sources of tension.

Second, in contrast with Southeast Asian students, immigrant Hispanic students have no representation from the community. Without such representation, they and their concerns will not achieve legitimacy in the school. There are no respected voices from outside the school to plead their case or foster recognition of their perceptions. One incident during the past school year illustrates this point: a Vietnamese boy was expelled from school, and as he left the ESL center, he struck a Hispanic girl in the face. Several younger immigrant Hispanic students saw the incident. Later the same day, this Vietnamese boy started a brief confrontation with a group of immigrant Hispanic junior high students as they waited for the bus to return them to their own school. The next day, immigrant Hispanics jumped two uninvolved Vietnamese in the boy's restroom, and a brief fight erupted.

A representative from the Vietnamese community, who is an SRS staff member, was asked by the district's bilingual education director to address the Southeast Asian students about the fight. But no Hispanic adult was asked to address the Hispanic students. With no representative from the community to hold these students "accountable," their powerlessness and low status were accentuated.

Although the presence of a respected representative of the Vietnamese community contributed to legitimization of the Southeast Asian student presence in the school, and Southeast Asian students could be expected to respect his call to end the confrontation, no school administrator was present during his discussion with the students.

LEP students are "empowered" only through advocacy by a handful of teachers and administrators. Therefore, students themselves are not empowered, but are represented by those with some voice in the school bureaucracy. Issues are generally not raised with an explicitly stated goal of advocacy for immigrant students, but are usually done "through the back door" with quiet and strategic application.

Ironically, the most outspoken critics of how LEP students are treated actually contribute to these students' isolation because many school administrators find their remarks (in the press or in internal correspondence) hypocritical and an affront to "proper" institutional processes. To paraphrase one administrator: "we've had one teacher who's done nothing but criticize the fact that we didn't have a soccer club this year, but I didn't see [that person] out there organizing it!" With such perceptions of a lack of team play, these teachers are not taken as seriously as others, and the ESL program suffers as a result.

COMMUNICATION, ACCOMMODATION, AND ACCORD IN MULTIGROUP INTERACTIONS

Garden Citians commonly say that people "get along" in large part because the different ethnic groups "don't mix." As one Anglo packinghouse worker succinctly put it: "People get along here because they don't [mess] with each other; whites don't [mess] with Mexicans and Mexicans don't [mess] with Vietnamese. . . . You wonder why somebody like me would come all the way down here (from the Upper Midwest, he has been here for about 2 years) to Garden City?" "Money," he indicated by rubbing his fingers together (Stull fieldnotes 5/25-29/89:1).

Newcomers, especially packinghouse workers, are in Garden City because it provides them a job--their attachment to the community is tenuous at best.

I don't think they feel part of Garden City, but then again Garden City could be anyplace. I don't think they would feel part of Marshalltown, Iowa, or Chicago, or anyplace. . . . I think it is because of the transient attitude that they have. . . . [T]hey were not born here. They were not raised here. It's not their home. They don't really have any ties here, except for their own family, you know some friends they meet at work or wherever (Stull interview with an Anglo wife of a Mexican packinghouse worker 7/26/89:78,80).

In spite of the detachment of many newcomers, and the relative insularity of immigrant Southeast Asians and Hispanics, the larger community and many of its individual members do try to promote communication, understanding, accommodation, and accord between the peoples that share Garden City.

Contexts which bring people together and provide opportunities for common interests and strategies to emerge are found in each of the arenas of study--schools, workplace, neighborhoods, and community. Although it does not fit neatly into any of the above, intermarriage is also an indicator of accommodation and accord and will be discussed separately.

Community Institutions and Organizations

Institutionalized interethnic alliances do not exist in Garden City, but some Anglo-dominated institutions and organizations try to reach out to and involve representatives of other ethnic groups. The Police/Citizen Advisory Committee meets with the Chief of Police once a month and includes representatives of the Southeast

Asian, black, and native Hispanic communities. Representatives of the school district, clergy, homemakers, and students are also mandated. The recently formed Finney County Arts Commission includes a respected Southeast Asian man, lists Hispanic and Southeast Asian public events on its calendar, and translates flyers and announcements of upcoming events into Spanish and Vietnamese, posting them at locales frequented by new immigrants. One of our team members, Ken Erickson, is active in the commission.

The Finney County Historical Society and Museum displays photos of native Hispanics. For the past two years it has hosted a folkarts festival (funded by the National Endowment for the Arts), which included a Vietnamese dressmaker, a piñata maker, an American Indian beadworker, among the white-ethnic artisans. The new director--from a prominent Anglo family--has eagerly followed our research and actively disseminated copies of our work. With modest funding from the Kansas Committee for the Humanities (provided by a grant she and Stull coauthored), the society launched what is hoped will be a long-term effort to use our findings to educate the community, region, and state about Garden City's ethnic diversity. The exhibit and forums funded by this grant are discussed in the chapter on dissemination.

Public Rituals

Public rituals and events offer an opportunity for, and indeed encourage, harmonious interaction between oldtimers and newcomers, among Anglos, Hispanics, and Southeast Asians in Garden City. Some rituals are sponsored by the community as a whole, others by ethnic groups. Major rituals are discussed below.

Community Rituals. The community's major public rituals--Beef Empire Days and Fourth of July/Zoobalee--are Anglo-dominated. Most in attendance are Anglos. These rituals reveal oldtimer values and attitudes and provide an opportunity for the community to demonstrate generosity. Twice during Beef Empire Days, free food (primarily beef) is given to the public. On July 4, as people congregate in the park adjacent to the zoo to listen to a free concert by the community band and watch a free fireworks display, free watermelon is given to all comers. Beef Empire Days--a four-day ritual showcasing the beef industry--celebrates the work and culture of cattle producers, feeders, and cowboys (mostly Anglo oldtimers). But it completely ignores the contribution of packinghouse workers, perhaps reflecting underlying tensions of class, newcomer-oldtimer status, and ethnicity.

The St. Mary Catholic Church International Festival is the one community ritual that recognizes Garden City's ethnic diversity and celebrates it. Founded eight years ago and held on Flag Day weekend, this fundraiser is modeled after a similar event in a Hispanic parish in Topeka. Each evening one can buy Mexican, German, Czech,

American, and Southeast Asian food (served by Anglos, though usually prepared by Vietnamese). This year marked the First Annual Children's International Parade--dressed in the "traditional" costumes of their "ancestral homeland," adorable youngsters paraded before a beaming audience and then lined up on a platform while the audience listened to a recording of "We Are the World." Most of the other activities are typical of American church bazaars--cakewalks, fishponds, dunking machines, and the ubiquitous carnival and midway.

Over 200 people helped found the festival, although serious organizers were much fewer. Several prominent Hispanic families were involved. The Vietnamese role has been minimal, in part because Vietnamese Catholics now belong to St. Dominic. Though very much a parish affair, perhaps 50 percent of those who attend are not from St. Mary (Stull interview with Anglo organizer 6/28/89).

Tet. The public celebration of Tet (the Vietnamese/Chinese Lunar New Year) is the main occasion for Vietnamese to demonstrate ethnic solidarity and solicit Anglo attendance and participation. Tet brings people together, primarily Anglo and Vietnamese, who have vested interests in maintaining harmonious intergroup relationships: the mayor, the police chief, the IBP personnel manager, the refugee services coordinator at SRS, Adult Learning Center staff from the community college, school district administrators, the local Vietnamese physician, the Southeast Asian MAA director, Vietnamese translators, paraprofessionals, and Vietnamese packinghouse workers. In effect, the Anglo guests are all patrons or potential patrons for individuals in the Vietnamese community, people who through their work and community roles must deal with Vietnamese on a regular basis. The more politically astute Tet organizers attempt to maximize the public relations potential of this celebration. Interestingly, this "public Tet" (there are other celebrations by other Vietnamese groups and by some of the schools as well) draws in Anglos much more effectively than the public Hispanic ceremonies.

Hispanic Rituals. The largest public ritual promoting Hispanic culture is the annual Community Mexican Fiesta (held to commemorate *16 de Septiembre*--Mexican Independence Day). On a somewhat smaller scale, *Cinco de Mayo* promotes the same goal. The Virgin of Guadalupe observance (December 12), less visible in the larger community, consists of a procession of clergy and traditional Indian Matachines dancers. Fiesta was inaugurated in 1925, *Cinco de Mayo* more recently, and *Los Matachines* has "gone public" only in the last decade. Fiesta and *Cinco de Mayo* have essentially the same format. They take place on the weekend nearest the holiday: invited dance groups perform Mexican regional dances; Mexican dance bands play for *bailes*; on Saturday morning a parade starts at the fairgrounds and proceeds down

Main Street, followed by dance demonstrations and other "cultural" activities in the city park.

In 1989 the Garden City Commission proclaimed September 10-16 "Hispanic Awareness Week." The proclamation, presented for the commission's approval by the Fiesta Committee, recognized the historical significance of Mexican Independence Day, but it also noted that "Hispanics have contributed their interest, dedication, and accomplishments in promoting the economic and social growth of Garden City." Arthur Campa delivered the festival's keynote address.

For the first time, a Mexican immigrant was elected to chair the Fiesta Committee. Past chairs were lifelong natives from prominent Hispanic families. Indeed, the office was said to be a revolving door for a few select committee members.

Cinco de Mayo, sponsored by the American G.I. Forum of Garden City, started more out of a desire to upstage Fiesta than to highlight Mexican-American culture. This conflict is discussed elsewhere.

Fiesta and Cinco de Mayo not only commemorate Mexican heritage, but they also provide Hispanics a brief time in the spotlight to demonstrate their cultural uniqueness. Fiesta applauds the courage and tenacity of the established Hispanics; how over several generations they have made a place for themselves in this community while retaining their heritage--a point often missed by Anglos. But in celebrating the accomplishments of their immigrant ancestors they seem to overlook the struggles of the new immigrants standing beside them. The welcoming statement in the 1988 Fiesta program, dedicated to the "immigrant woman from Mexico," praises the *vieja* for her struggle, but ignores her modern-day sister.

Welcome to the Annual Fiesta. Welcome each and everyone, for the whole community. Today we dedicate the Fiesta to the immigrant woman from Mexico, who came to join her husband. A few years after 1900, she came as a young woman poor, but rich with her Catholic faith, hopes and dreams for a happy future. The first two years she lived in a tent. Her contributions to her adopted country are many! She took care of her husband, family, friends, her garden, flowers, customs, traditions, her simple nutritional peasant cuisine and adapting the new recipes, thus with God's help the blending of two cultures, American and Mexican will live on! Viva la Libertad, Long Live Liberty, the Americas, Our Lady of Guadalupe, U.S.A. and Garden City, Kansas.

Ironically, these celebrations attract large numbers of immigrant Hispanics, fewer natives. Fewer still are the Anglos, while only a handful of Southeast Asians are to be seen (although the Vietnamese Dragon Dancers were a highlight of the 1989 Cinco de Mayo parade). Hispanics say the celebrations give them a good feeling and enhance their cultural identity and pride of being. Anglos come for the Mexican food, to watch the folkdancers, and to visit with and pay their respects to Hispanic friends or

relations. At the 1989 Fiesta, less than 10 percent of those present at any given time were non-Hispanic, and most public officials were conspicuously absent.

Churches

Churches and other religious organizations have, from the start, played a vital role in promoting accommodation and accord among established residents and newcomers. Much of the care offered to newcomers comes at the hands of Emmaus House (sponsored by an ecumenical coalition of local churches), United Methodist Western Kansas Mexican-American Ministries, Salvation Army, the ministers and congregations of Garden City's 40-odd churches.

To the Ministerial Alliance must go much of the credit for Garden City's successful adjustment to the initial influx of Southeast Asians. Ministerial alliances are found in most American communities--clergy get together for "fellowship" and to carry out worthwhile projects. In the early 1980s, key members of the Garden City Ministerial Alliance saw potential for adverse community reaction to the growing number of Southeast Asians and responded decisively. They worked with the newspaper, key school personnel, and community volunteers to provide services to incoming Southeast Asians and to counter rumors and negative community reactions. By acting in the name of the alliance, and not one particular church, they avoided the hostility and lack of cooperation that might have arisen had their actions been done in the name of one or two churches or pastors. They raised money through their national organizations to fund initial services, such as the Adult Learning Center.

They, and the community at large, can be faulted for ignoring the needs of Hispanic immigrants. They defend their decision by pointing out the limitations of their resources, the focus of community concern, and that institutions already existed to serve Hispanics (arguable points, all). Whatever their shortcomings, they held their finger in the dike until state and federal agencies responded to the need for refugee services in southwest Kansas. Unfortunately, two of those who led the alliance then have since moved away. No longer is it a unifying and dynamic force, challenging and inspiring the community to find innovative ways to meet pressing needs.

Religion offers common ground for established residents and newcomers. St. Mary Catholic Church sponsored the first Vietnamese refugees, who arrived in Garden City in August 1975. Anglo parishioners still warmly remember those early relationships.

Sponsor A: I think that one of the things that was the best . . . about our relationship was that we had a common belief. We were all Catholics and they were Catholics and we had a common belief in our religious upbringing and worship . . . they would come to Mass and some of these people that didn't know English at all, it would be very difficult, but I

think that really helped an awful lot just to have that common bond, that even if our cultures were from one side of the world to the other, we were still Catholics and when we went to church they understood the ritual.

Sponsor B: Even though they couldn't understand the language.

Sponsor A: That's right. But the ritual part is the same. Because on the other hand, when we'd go to Vietnamese Masses, we knew the ritual but we didn't know the language. (from recorded conversation among sponsors and members of the first Vietnamese refugee families 8/3/88:13).

St. Dominic Catholic Church has a Vietnamese priest and holds Mass in Vietnamese at 12:30 p.m. each Sunday. All the approximately 65 Vietnamese Catholic households in Garden City now go there. Introduction of a Vietnamese Catholic Mass has reduced interaction between Vietnamese and American Catholics, especially their original sponsors at St. Mary.

A handful of Southeast Asians belong to other Christian denominations. In one instance, a Vietnamese man serves as a deacon--an elective office--in a Protestant church. A Cambodian high school student who regularly attended services there throughout the study was baptized last summer. This congregation did not actively seek SEA members, but for a time it had a sizeable number. Its minister until the summer of 1988 was a guiding force in the Ministerial Alliance's efforts on behalf of SEAs. Under his direction the church had an "Asian ministry." Of the 334 members and nonmember participants (including children) listed in its 1986 directory, 13 percent (45 adults and children) were Southeast Asians. But by the summer of 1989, of the 100 odd persons at most Sunday morning services, only the Vietnamese deacon, his wife and two children, and the Cambodian student attended regularly.

While religion can serve as a common ground, spanning the cultural gulf between established residents and new immigrants, it can also be a chasm, dividing them. The belief that most Southeast Asians in Garden City do not practice any religious faith disturbs many Anglos and marks them as culturally alien. In fact, many are Buddhists though they may or may not attend the temple on a regular basis. Repeated attempts at proselytizing, by a Vietnamese-speaking Baptist minister among others, appear to have been singularly unsuccessful.

Recreation

Recreational interests may also transcend ethnicity and provide opportunities for common ground. Bowling, video arcades, and the Garden City Skate Plaza are places where Anglos, Hispanics, and Southeast Asians come together in pleasant surroundings and where immigrants may interact on equal footing with natives. At the Skate Plaza, wobbly Anglo skaters exchange knowing and friendly glances with Southeast Asians

who also struggle to stay upright. Skillful skaters--regardless of ethnicity--are uniformly admired, and they often share their expertise with novices of other ethnic groups. Like many other "public arenas," the roller rink is "owned" by different groups at different times--teens on Friday night, families on Saturday evenings and Sunday afternoons, adults on Wednesday evenings. Here interaction is determined not by ethnicity, but by age, life stage, and skill.

A taste for good food, and a desire for variety, lead members of all three groups to "cross ethnic boundaries." Garden City Anglos are very fond of Mexican food and support a number of Mexican restaurants. While many still refuse to try Vietnamese food and repeat rumors about the origin of meat dishes, a growing number dine regularly at Pho Hoa and buy fish and chicory coffee at the neighboring Vietnamese market. The immigrant owner of a Mexican restaurant dines at Pho Hoa each Friday night; an Anglo Vietnam veteran eats there several times a week and considers the owner one of his best friends. Joyce, the owner of Tom's Tavern, was first introduced to Pho Hoa by Stull. Now she sells its eggrolls at Tom's and invites him there.

Tom's Tavern. Tom's, an institution in Garden City, is also a setting where newcomers and oldtimers, packers and professionals, Anglos, Hispanics, blacks, American Indians, and occasional Southeast Asians, congregate. As with the skating rink or the Cattleman's Cafe, different clienteles occupy this common space at different times of the day. Weekday mornings a few stragglers come off the graveyard shift to drink "red bowls" before going home. Late afternoons or any time in bad weather, farmers belly up at the west end of the bar, buying each other rounds as they talk weather and crops and razz the bartender. Scattered around the elongated tavern, at tables or booths--or on the pool table or shuffleboard--young professionals, feedyard employees, or couples, drink and laugh as they review the events of their workday. In the evenings softball teams come to gird their loins before games, or afterward to share a cold one and to tell and retell of the game's great moments--or both. In the East Room others are playing darts and a circle of regulars is intent on Trivial Pursuit. From midnight on, packinghouse workers come in by ones and twos as they get off the line on "B" shift. If it is a Thursday--payday--the crowd swells. Men sit or stand at the bar, couples or groups of friends grab booths--some move from one to another, making the rounds of their friends. Others sit alone, perhaps at the same table, visibly exhausted, letting the alcohol numb them. As closing time approaches, the drinking intensifies--bowls and bottles are drained and rapidly replaced; rounds of tequilla shots are ordered up and slammed down, then ordered up again. But exactly at 2:00 a.m. ("bar time") all drinks are collected. As the bartenders clean up, Joyce ushers people

out the door with the friendly yet firm hand of someone who knows her trade and her patrons well.

"I don't care who they are, I need the money." If you behave in her bar, Joyce really doesn't care who you are. And if you don't, she'll kick you out and not think twice. Being "banned" from Tom's is serious--a sheepish apology may win a pardon, it may not. The decision is Joyce's, and it is final. She knows everyone that comes in, or finds out who and what they are. She introduces herself and learns what she needs to know--where you work, what you do, where you come from, and if you're a local, who your relations are (if she doesn't already know). Her recall is phenomenal--she says it has to be.

She protects her patrons vigorously. It doesn't matter whether she likes you or not, your color or your sexual orientation, whether you're a newcomer or an oldtimer. If you behave in Tom's, what you do elsewhere is your concern. The rules are simple and unbending--don't stand on the furniture, don't whistle, don't go into the wrong bathroom, don't bother others. If you don't do it in your own living room, chances are you shouldn't try it in Tom's. There is no doubt, however, that she prefers certain types of customers. The welcome for some may not be as cordial, although she is polite and friendly to everyone--until you cross her. Some may receive less leeway in breaking the rules, but then she throws everyone out with the same vehemence.

She takes great pride in what she considers to be Tom's cosmopolitanism. In the summer of 1989, for example, the walls of the "East Room" were adorned with maps (provided by Stull) of the world, the United States, Kansas, and Mexico. Customers are ceremoniously given colored pins to stick in their place of birth. She proudly points to the growing rainbow of pins and rejoices when one appears in a new and exotic spot.

The sharing of Tom's by disparate groups does not signal integration. Civility, cordiality, and conviviality are often thin veils for underlying distrust. Racial slurs roll from many tongues--sometimes in jest, sometimes in anger, sometimes in hatred. Even among Anglos themselves, who more than any other group "own" Tom's, there is a wall between natives and newcomers that is difficult, sometimes impossible to scale. Yet instances of accommodation, camaraderie, even compassion, often breach these walls.

It was payday and the place was busy. Around 10 p.m. a stranger came in. He was muscular, surly, wearing Wranglers, workboots, and a golfcap. A 24-year-old Anglo. [Joyce made me card him.] He started drinking Jack-and-Cokes, interspersed with Kamikazees, like this was his last night on earth. After three drinks, he wandered over to play pool, then back to the bar where he struck up a conversation with a young Anglo farmer. They talked trucks and the like and started buying each other rounds. Soon they were back at the bar, where the rounds extended to another guy.

Somewhere in all this, Joan (not her real name) came in and sat at the other end of the bar. In her mid-30s, she is scarred from an accident. Around 1 a.m., a cocktail waitress from the Grain Bin, still in her short black dress, joined Joan.

A few minutes later, the stranger summoned me over and told me to buy the lady in black a drink. When I put it down in front of her, she asked who it was from. From across the bar, the stranger laughed. "Oh, him," she ignored him as she drank his drink.

Hank (not his real name), a black in his late 30s and a member of an oldtime Garden City family, had watched it all as he stood in front of the tap. He summoned me and said he was buying Joan a drink--he didn't think it was fair that she had been slighted. He said he knew what it was like for her since he had an artificial leg--a legacy from Vietnam. I agreed--it wasn't right. Later he bought Joan, the lady in black, and a Chicano out-of-towner a round.

It was a poignant vignette. A lesson on fairness, courtesy, and manners. Of course, the stranger who started it all never knew what was happening (Stull fieldnotes 1/26/89:3-4).

Service Providers

Both governmental and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) provide services and adopt strategies designed to promote accommodation and accord. We have discussed the activities of NGOs earlier and will not do so here.

SRS. Planned institutional efforts can also bring groups together. The Garden City Area Office of the Kansas Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS) has several programs to promote cooperation and accord. This office operated a program providing social service access for Hispanic migrant workers in the early 1970s. It still maintains several bilingual social service aides, positions created during the earlier migrant program, to assist Hispanic clients, and the same model was used to design a refugee service program in the 1980s.

From 1981 to 1983, Garden City was the only community in Southwest Kansas with a federally funded refugee-specific service program. These social service monies were and are targeted at removing refugees from cash assistance (welfare) programs, which the federal government underwrites. The program was used to fund English language classes and assistance with job-skills training. After 1981, the refugee population grew rapidly in Garden City, Dodge City, and Liberal--the three largest towns in southwest Kansas--with expansion in the beefpacking industry.

In 1984, Garden City SRS added a refugee coordinator to its staff. The office then lobbied for and received additional social service monies to be used in southwest Kansas. This meant less social service money for Wichita and Kansas City. In 1985, a

needs assessment cited mental health service access, services to youth, and additional job-skills development as significant problems for Southeast Asians. The Garden City SRS applied for and received supplementary money--money not tied to welfare use--to address these issues. After six years of operation, community mental health centers in the three towns now have direct experience in serving Southeast Asians, where no need was perceived for such services in the past.

Public Assistance. New immigrants do not all receive the same public assistance benefits. Refugees--almost all Southeast Asians--have better access to some resources because SRS maintains a full-time Vietnamese-speaking case manager whose job is to make sure that the full range of SRS programs are accessible to refugees. Public assistance refers to cash welfare payments of federal and state monies: USDA food stamps; low-income energy assistance (LIEAP); and MediKan (Kansas) or Medicaid (federal) coverage--the "medical card"--for medical expenses and prescription drugs. These public assistance programs are administered by SRS. Other public assistance programs administered outside SRS include local home weatherization assistance and Women, Infants, and Children's (WIC) food and perinatal care programs.

- What new immigrants receive depends upon several factors, including their immigration status. Immigration status determines who is legally responsible for the immediate needs of new arrivals. Undocumented immigrants are not eligible for public assistance of any kind. Persons admitted under Seasonal Agricultural Worker programs or as documented immigrants are not usually eligible for cash or medical assistance, but they may be eligible for food stamps. Immigrants admitted to the U.S. as refugees are eligible for the same public assistance as any citizen. For 12 months after a refugee's arrival, any state cash and medical assistance are reimbursed by the federal refugee program.

For any eligible applicant, the amount of cash benefits provided depends on need, determined by a formula that takes family size, assets, income, and expenses into consideration. For example, a family of two with no income and no liquid assets was eligible to receive \$295 in cash in November 1989. The family could also be eligible for about \$182 in food stamps. The LIEAP program would provide about \$200 over six months in credits toward gas and electric expenses, or about \$33 per month. The total benefit package, excluding medical coverage, would amount to about \$415 monthly.

In December 1989, there were 427 public assistance cases in the Garden City area. [A case is usually one household and often contains more than one person.] Refugee cases (that is, those who had been in the U.S. less than 12 months) made up 3 percent of the caseload. The number of "time-expired" refugees on cash assistance

(those in the U.S. more than 12 months) is not known, nor is the ethnicity of the Garden City caseload as a whole.

The federal refugee program provides some additional benefits to refugees. The Department of State maintains cooperative agreements with 11 national voluntary agencies (VOLAGS), which arrange for family reunification or community sponsorship for new refugee arrivals. A new-arrival refugee family to Garden City will receive from \$200 to \$250 per person in federal resettlement funds, depending on which VOLAG was responsible for the refugee's resettlement. The VOLAG responsible for the refugee's needs during the first 90 days of resettlement may make part or all of that amount directly available to the refugee as a cash payment. If the money is given directly to the new arrival, SRS counts that as a cash resource and reduces the cash assistance available to the new arrival through the SRS-administered refugee cash assistance program.

The federal refugee program provides funding for a case manager/interpreter at the SRS office who simplifies the application process for refugees and refers cash assistance clients to the Adult Learning Center for job preparation training and English language study. Because this Vietnamese-speaking worker acts as a case manager, informing his clients of the full range of available cash and social services, newly arrived refugees may receive a wider range of services than other new arrivals.

Nationally, 52.1 percent of eligible refugees in the U.S. 24 months or less were receiving some form of cash assistance as of September 30, 1988 (Office of Refugee Resettlement 1989). Of the estimated 2,000 refugees in Garden City, there were 24 refugee cash assistance cases in December 1989. Those receiving refugee cash assistance are steadily decreasing along with the number of new arrivals from overseas. But nearly all newly arrived refugees receive cash assistance at least for a short time before going to work in the packinghouse.

The Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association. Some federal refugee dollars target the formation of mutual assistance associations (MAAs). To receive federal funds from the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), these organizations must be governed by a board of directors with 51 percent refugee or former refugee members. In 1984, a MAA was formed in Garden City out of initial efforts of the Ministerial Alliance, and with the help of the school district's bilingual director (a Nicaraguan refugee), the Anglo director of the area SRS office, and a few Vietnamese community leaders identified by the school district.

The Garden City MAA drew only nominal Southeast Asian community support, while providing interpretation and other services to part of the Asian community. Until

recently, the MAA provided many, though not all, services using a "dyadic contract" (Foster 1963), or patron-client model.

When the MAA's third Vietnamese director resigned in 1988, the board appointed a Vietnamese-speaking Anglo, a Baptist minister, as interim director. This apparently contributed to a greater acceptance of the agency by some Vietnamese leaders who were not part of the former leader's social network. The addition of Lao interpreters, and the hiring of a Lao director (who also speaks Vietnamese) who replaced the minister in spring 1989, helped redefine the agency in SRS eyes as a Southeast Asian, rather than a Vietnamese, service agency.

In 1987, the MAA's Vietnamese director obtained a grant from IBP to operate a Vietnamese-, Lao-, and Cambodian-language cable television program. The program was called "Tieng Me," Vietnamese for "mother tongue." The program ran from 1984 until December 1989.

While special SRS programs, including the MAA, promote needed access to services, they are by statute prohibited from using their federal resources to provide services to non-refugees. While not all refugees are Southeast Asians, all but a handful of refugees in southwest Kansas are. This means that the intergroup relations produced by these programs are primarily limited to Anglo-Vietnamese interactions, or, in the case of the MAA, Anglo-Southeast Asian relations. Reductions in funding during the last two years, along with new funding for English language and citizenship classes for (primarily Hispanic) legalization applicants--the SLEAG program--have added a Hispanic element to ethnic relations in some of these service programs.

Workplace

By congressional mandate, work is the focus of all refugee social service programs. It drives the local SRS office's search for discretionary dollars to pay the salaries of bilingual workers in local agencies, and it is, for Americans, an unquestioned social "good" in and of itself. The workplace is marked during Vietnamese Lunar New Year festivals, when a Vietnamese man portraying the Kitchen God reads a scroll that documents the past year's activities in the Vietnamese community. These readings always mention the reason why Vietnamese people are living on the High Plains--they have come to work. Work is a setting for intergroup cooperation, conflict, and conflict management. It is an arena where new cultures are created, even as "birth cultures" are maintained and the boundaries between them negotiated.

Work Culture and Women's Culture. Class similarities within workplaces bring together individuals of different ethnic groups and separate them from those of different class backgrounds. For example, relatively well-educated, English-fluent

Southeast Asians easily form relations with Anglos and Hispanics who work with them as secretaries, bank clerks, paraprofessionals for the school district, translators, SRS staff, teachers, or administrators. In these pink-collar or semiprofessional occupations, an interethnic "women's culture" draws Hispanics, Anglos, and Southeast Asians together in life-cycle rituals such as baby showers and birthday celebrations.

Among women working in the packing plants, by way of contrast, little interethnic women's culture exists. Life-cycle events are not celebrated. Lack of English proficiency, heavy work schedules and company policy, domestic duties in large families, and relatively less personal autonomy than men limit the formation of interethnic women's social networks. However, "men's culture" (common interests in drinking, hunting, fishing, gambling) flourishes, creating some social networks involving men (and some women) of different ethnic groups. Work both brings people with shared interests together and creates situations, particularly among men, where conflict may take place.

Cooperation. The workplace is generally a setting for newcomer-oldtimer accord and cooperation, where the exigencies of shared task define the social situation. This must be the case for a meat cutting line or the social service office to work. Small instances of helping also take place away from the line or office. They are complicated by language differences, as in the example below from a packinghouse in Nebraska.

In Personnel at the end of the day, a Lao guy came in and had lost his time card, and was really worried about not getting paid. [The personnel director] said "You have to find it." [The worker] said, "I can't find it." "Well, have your supervisor help you find it." Then the other [clerical woman] says, "What color is your card?" The worker replies with his name. The personnel director then asks, "What color is your card?" He again replies with his name. The clerical worker asks, "What color? What color is it?" She goes out in to the hall (where the cards are stored on racks). He sees her go, and follows. She returns, ". . . it was behind the other cards, we found it" (Erickson fieldnotes 1988:180).

Interethnic relationships established at work are maintained after people leave the workplace for another job. A former social service worker, a Vietnamese man, returned during the slow part of the fishing season, one year after leaving SRS, and paid a visit to his old workplace, the social service office in Liberal. He then stopped by Erickson's office during a visit to relatives in Garden City. He made it clear that he was ". . . up to date on most of the office stuff . . . He asks about Lan Do, and about Mary at the SRS office, and Mike [the SRS IM supervisor]" (Erickson fieldnotes 1987:591).

White collar workers from the packinghouses may make special efforts to retain valued employees. For example, the plant manager at a Nebraska plant, facing a high turnover rate in a start-up operation, traveled to a nearby county jail to bail out a Tai

Dam (Lao) employee. The worker, who held a skilled knife job, had been in a wreck with an Anglo friend (Erickson fieldnotes 1988:22088).

Conflict and Conflict Management. Work is rarely a setting for physical confrontation. Fighting is strongly sanctioned at packinghouses, and usually results in firing, though some informants feel that this rule is applied differentially to "Americans" and Vietnamese (Erickson fieldnotes 1987:8901).

Conflict at work may be managed by the new immigrant walking off the job, and a high-ranking supervisor mediating the dispute, as in this Nebraska example:

. . . his wife said "he almost quit on Saturday because he was asked to help out on another line, but his supervisor saw him afterwards, sharpening his knife, and [the supervisor] said, "Are you here to work or are you here to sharpen your knife?" You can't work with a dull knife. So [he] walked off the line. [The shift supervisor] came and got him back again (Erickson fieldnotes 1988:22088).

Unions. Intergroup cooperation was sought during a union drive held by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) in Garden City during 1988. The Excel plant in Dodge City has a long-standing union contract with a UFCW local based in the old packinghouse town of St. Joseph, Missouri, and in 1989 Monfort signed a contract with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. But in 1988, most informants were skeptical of the unions because of workers' experience in Dodge City. As one Dodge City Vietnamese noted, if ". . . I ask [for help from the Union in a dispute] they say 'go ask Personnel', or they say, 'sign the card'" (Erickson fieldnotes 1988:9347).

Union organizers claimed to have gathered ". . . between 500 and 600 signed cards from Vietnamese . . . about 80 percent of the Vietnamese at the plant," but had difficulty because potential members often said that "the union is bullshit, look at Dodge" (Erickson fieldnotes 1988:8293, 8277). To recruit members in IBP, UFCW hired a part-time Vietnamese organizer, a former packer seeking a court settlement from IBP to compensate for the loss of the use of his right hand from carpal tunnel syndrome. UFCW also brought in a Vietnamese union member, an employee of Campbell's Soup in Nebraska, to help recruit. These Vietnamese organizers routinely accompanied aggrieved employees to workman's compensation hearings and provided other interpretation services for Vietnamese workers. The union also had a Hispanic organizer who came in from out of town every other week. They left the Garden City area in the spring of 1988 to begin organizing the National Beef plant in Liberal after IBP settled with the union on issues of safety at their unionized Dakota City plant.

Neighborhoods

Although discrimination in housing exists, it is not systematic, and due to Garden City's rapid growth newcomers can be found widely dispersed throughout the community. However, 54 percent of Southeast Asians were estimated to be trailer court residents in 1984 and of these, 45 percent lived in the two trailer parks examined during this study (Broadway 1987b:12). Other Southeast Asians live in apartments or older houses within city limits, while a few have purchased single-family homes (Benson 1989).

In trailer courts, social interaction takes place largely within extended families and social networks linking friends and/or neighbors of the same ethnic group. Within other neighborhoods, newcomers are tolerated if not always warmly accepted, while long-standing interethnic or interracial relationships exist between some established residents.

Limited "neighboring" behavior does exist between newcomer households in trailer parks despite formidable linguistic and cultural barriers. Some Southeast Asian residents of East Garden Village, for instance, reported borrowing or lending, friendly conversation, and helping members of other groups during emergencies. Burglaries, which occurred frequently during 1988-89, led a number of people to watch one another's homes.

Packinghouse workers sometimes bring conflict home from the workplace. The high density of mobile home court life led one Southeast Asian to refer to the larger of the two courts as being "just like a refugee camp." He was complaining as much about intergenerational conflict (young men with loud stereos and fast cars) as conflict between ethnic groups. Although the mixture of ethnic groups and noisy, crowded conditions sometimes leads to trouble, few cases of overt interethnic conflict were observed or reported during 1988-89. To the extent that relatively peaceful interethnic relations exist in the trailer parks, they are maintained by trailer park policies (which include the threat of eviction or calling the police), bonds of common interest as workers or property owners, and segregation at community and household levels (Benson 1989:7-9).

Security and child safety are issues that could be used to form interethnic coalitions within trailer courts. In the larger of the two courts, several children have been injured by speeders. A Laotian child was hit by a neighbor's car during the summer of 1989, prompting an Anglo packinghouse worker to start a petition requesting the installation of speed bumps. Since most parents were concerned about their children's safety, he had no difficulty obtaining signatures from park residents of various ethnic backgrounds. In the end, perhaps because of ambiguity regarding

responsibility for the park's streets, he gave up in frustration. Such efforts are hard to initiate and complete with a transient population. Safety, however, remains a common concern with the potential to mobilize newcomers (Benson 1989:11-12).

Schools

Elementary Schools. The elementary schools are important locales for multigroup interaction among children. One informant noted, "Friendships are made in elementary school," and in fact several cases emerged of close friendships between black and Anglo or black and Hispanic established residents based on past elementary school association. Southeast Asian youth who have attended elementary school in the United States (though not necessarily in Garden City) also mention interethnic friendships developed at school. Elementary school children pay much less attention to group identities than adolescents or adults and readily form friendships on the basis of age, gender, and common interests. Parents do control who children play with outside school, however, which in the case of newcomers usually means relatives and neighbors of the same ethnic background. Newcomer children participate less than children of established residents in after-school events or recreation commission programs.

The clustering of children in ESL- or bilingual-designated schools for instructional purposes has decreased opportunities for contact between newcomers and established residents of different ethnic groups. Hispanic students needing bilingual instruction are now largely concentrated at Buffalo Jones, while Southeast Asians requiring ESL assistance are at Edith Scheuerman or Victor Ornelas. On the other hand, Southeast Asian newcomer families with English-proficient children, who are also more likely to come from middle-class or professional backgrounds, may own homes in mixed neighborhoods and attend schools with largely Anglo populations.

The district's bilingual program has potential to promote accord and mutual understanding through language-minority children's educational development. But discussions with teachers and paraprofessionals indicate that it is far from achieving these goals. In fact, Hispanics have charged that the district is not sincere in its commitment to the program.

The bilingual program, instead of promoting accord, is a divisive force in some of the elementary schools. The program is handicapped by what are seen as capricious actions by principals who do not understand its goals and district administrators who send mixed messages to staff. It is losing many of its most talented teachers who complain about lack of support. In the elementary school serving the most new immigrant children of all ethnic backgrounds, however, the program is seen as doing well because of teacher and aide enthusiasm.

A major concern of newcomers and established residents alike is the education and safety of children. Schoolteachers, nurses, and other school personnel report that SEA parents cooperate very well and generally follow school requirements. SEAs have traditionally respected education and view it as essential to economic mobility in the next generation. Some Anglo teachers at predominantly minority schools such as Victor Ornelas make special efforts to assist SEA children, even providing transportation to evening school events when parents are working and unable to attend. The quality of communication varies according to the staff's interests and ability, but at the two schools with heaviest SEA enrollment in 1988-89, important information was translated into the language of the home as much as possible and bilingual paraprofessionals or secretaries contacted parents by telephone when necessary. While parents may not always understand the school's policies or be properly informed of them, SEA adults report positive experiences with the elementary schools.

Garden City High School. The only explicitly stated goals for understanding and accommodation at Garden City High School have appeared either in pronouncements by the student council or in published statements by the school principal. Perhaps the best single example--and one designed for public consumption--was an open letter in the 1988-89 Garden City High School sports program.

Dear Fans,

Welcome to Garden City High School. It is our belief that a strong activities program can and should compliment [sic] a school's academic program. Activities are an integral part of the total curriculum. A well-balanced activities program provides the opportunity for physical, social and emotional development complementing intellectual growth.

Participation in school activities encompasses all students without regard to sex, race or creed and teaches that it is a privilege and an honor to represent one's school. Interscholastic activities constitute a part of the right kind of "growing up" experiences for students. Participants learn to accept success and failures, gain poise and confidence, achieve tolerance and understanding of others and gain self satisfaction of accomplishing goals. Under a well administrated school program, students and spectators become better citizens through participation and observation of activities conducted under established rules.

On behalf of our coaches, sponsors, and participants, I thank you for your support of our activities program.

Sincerely,

Principal,
Garden City High School

This statement emphasizes that school activities are open to *all* students. Students may not be legally barred from an activity if they hold an interest, or, in the case of athletics, can "make the team." And all students are allowed to try out. Along

with this assurance of open participation, however, is the notion that every student *should* be interested in these activities, and if students choose not to participate they do not accept certain standards established by the school. Also implied is that participation in activities is what it takes to "become better citizens." Encouraging student participation in school activities will promote accord through students achieving "tolerance and understanding of others" only when they interact in these designated activities. Students who choose not to participate--in the perceptions of those who maintain these values--also choose not to learn, for example, "to accept success and failures" on the same terms.

The school limits the range of possibilities by narrowly defining the accepted activities within which tolerance and understanding can be achieved. Other institutional barriers exist as well and these also contribute to the failure of goals for accommodation and accord. In GCHS these have to do primarily with the institutional separation of the English as a Second Language (ESL) program and its students from mainstream programs. Immigrant students' inability to communicate well in English separates them from mainstream students. Unlike exchange students, whose presence is promoted to give Anglo (and a few Hispanic) students some exposure to another culture, Limited English Proficient (LEP) immigrant students are kept separate from the mainstream. The only real recognition afforded immigrant students--and then, always Southeast Asians--is for academic achievement during occasional awards assemblies.

There are two types of successful interaction among immigrants and established residents. In both cases efforts to promote understanding and accord have *not been undertaken as a result of any explicitly stated goal*.

First, there are friendships that develop between English-speaking immigrant students (usually Southeast Asian) and Anglos. In this sense, promotion of accord is undertaken on a *personal level*. The majority (if not all) of these personal connections begin in the classroom, not in school activities or beyond.

Secondly, a particularly interesting pattern has developed in terms of who has assumed responsibility for LEP student advocacy. An alliance of three Anglo women has taken control not only of development of the ESL program, but of *de facto* advocacy for the LEP students as well. But their role in promoting accord is beyond the scope of their primary job roles. Not only have they become advocates outside of any stated goal for accord and understanding, but to an extent they have accepted their new duties without any formal expectation for them to do so. Efforts are "through the back door" in a sense, just as the alliance was undertaken outside of established procedures. It started largely because they became frustrated with the absence of *formal* mechanisms

for immigrant advocacy, and because the institutional processes for "achieving tolerance and understanding of others" are so *narrowly defined*. Despite their initial informal status, these women are willingly doing the extra work because no one else in the school either has the time or desire to do so.

Virtually no intergroup alliances exist among adults in the school. The informally developed, and now increasingly formal, alliance for immigrant advocacy does not necessarily align itself with other teachers, administrators, or counselors, but rather in some sense with LEP students themselves. Beyond their obvious differential status, the immigrant advocacy alliance and LEP students enjoy a relationship somewhat akin to that of athletes and their coaches. The potential for other interethnic group alliances does exist within the school, but more often there is a low-level tension among them. Advocacy for immigrant students (and in particular, LEP students) is by minority teachers and counselors on a case-by-case basis. There are few if any attempts to organize advocacy for groups *per se*. Students "at-risk" of dropping out are as a whole discussed openly, and concern for their status is often expressed by administrators and some teachers. These students' marginal status manifests itself, however, when "at-risk" students are dealt with on an individual basis. To paraphrase an associate principal when discussing one boy who was in trouble and about to be expelled, "school isn't for everyone."

For the most part, minority/ESL teachers and counselors keep a low profile in the broader institution. Most advocacy for students is handed over to Anglos who in turn work with other Anglos to address the issues. This lack of explicit promotion for minorities (either immigrant or established resident) by minority faculty often frustrates Anglos who are willing advocates and contributes to their eventual decisions to assume these activities themselves.

Intermarriage

One sign of accommodation between groups is intermarriage. Information on this process comes partly from observation but primarily from two data sets, the Finney County marriage license records (January 1, 1980-July 24, 1989) and marriage records of the two Catholic churches, St. Mary (1912-1989) and St. Dominic (1966-1989). Intermarriage is deduced from name, place of birth, and other information; however, identification by name is not always reliable, particularly for third-generation Mexican Americans. Preliminary analysis of the Finney County records indicates that legal unions between Hispanics and Anglos constitute 39 percent of all marriages involving Hispanics over the past decade. According to the church records, the first Anglo-

Hispanic wedding was in 1950 and intermarriage between the two ethnic groups totaled 30 percent of all Catholic marriages involving Hispanics between 1950 and 1989.

Legal marriages between Southeast Asians and members of other ethnic groups are much rarer, as might be expected given their recent arrival. One Vietnamese-Anglo marriage was recorded for St. Mary, while the Finney County records revealed seven Vietnamese-Anglo marriages, one Laotian-Anglo, and three Vietnamese-Hispanic unions since 1980.

These figures do not include consensual unions, however, which ethnographic research suggests are common in Garden City.

THE NATURE OF RELATIONS AMONG ESTABLISHED RESIDENTS AND NEW IMMIGRANTS

Schools

The School District. In 1988, when our study began, USD 457 (Garden City) had one high school, two middle schools, and fourteen elementary schools. Several of the elementary schools are older and centrally located (Alta Brown, Garfield, Buffalo Jones); others are small rural schools supported by strong public sentiment even though their enrollments have waned (Friend, Jennie Barker, Pierceville-Plymell, Theoni). One rural school is now used for Special Education (Valentine). And three--Edith Scheuerman, Florence Wilson, and Victor Ornelas--were recently constructed, respectively, to the west, north, and east as the city grew in the 1970s and 1980s.

Garden City's school enrollment has climbed steadily since 1973, accompanied by an increase in ethnic diversity. According to the assistant superintendent for instruction only 18 percent of the district's students were non-Anglo in 1973. By September 1989, minority enrollment reached 36 percent (38 percent for elementary schools). Minority enrollments ranged from 0 (Theoni, a small rural school) to 70 percent (Buffalo Jones, an urban school in a predominantly Hispanic area). Two elementary schools had minority enrollments of more than 50 percent and three more had slightly less than 50 percent.

Of the 6,591 students in the school district at the start of the 1989-90 school year, Hispanics were by far the largest minority group (1,908), followed by 359 "Asian or Pacific Islanders" (mainly Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians). There were 80 black students and 22 American Indians/Alaskan Natives (Hope 1989c).

In addition, 393 students are enrolled in four church-sponsored schools. These include two Catholic schools, St. Mary and St. Dominic, with respective minority enrollments of 43 percent (70 Hispanics, 8 blacks) and 20 percent (15 Hispanics, 13 Asians, and 1 American Indian) (Hope 1989c). These figures reflect the pattern of Hispanic attendance at St. Mary, which offers Mass in Spanish, and Vietnamese attendance at St. Dominic, with its Vietnamese priest and Vietnamese-language Mass.

School children are not only ethnically diverse--they come from many communities beyond Garden City, and indeed Kansas, as well. New students in the elementary schools during fall 1989 came from 23 different states, 30 Kansas towns,

and three foreign countries--Mexico, the Philippines, and the Soviet Union (Hope 1989). High student turnover is also characteristic of the school district as a whole (cf. Broadway 1989).

In the early 1980s, a succession of school bond issues were passed without major opposition in spite of rapidly rising minority and new immigrant enrollments. In the fall of 1989, the school board proposed yet another bond issue. If the \$12.7 million referendum is approved this spring, funds will be used to remodel the high school and add one tract each to Edith Scheuerman and Florence Wilson elementary schools, which are already overcrowded. The passage of this measure does not mean that established residents want their children attending schools with high proportions of lower-class or minority students, however. In fact, the effect of educational policies in recent years has been to decrease majority-minority group interaction within schools.

Victor Ornelas Elementary School. Victor Ornelas is the newest elementary school and one that contains many children from packinghouse families. It is not necessarily a "typical" or "average" Garden City school, if such exists. Rather, it was chosen for study because of its mixture of ethnic groups and the many newcomers.

Anyone visiting Victor Ornelas cannot help being struck by its physical setting. Located north of U.S. East Highway 50 with its heavy traffic of cattle trucks, the attractive modern building rises from cultivated farmland in apparent isolation. A newly paved road links it with Highway 50 to the south and to the east with East Garden Village, the large mobile home park where many of its students live. Children walk to school from the mobile home park but are bused in from several other residential areas.

Victor Ornelas was located on the southeast edge of town because of the need for an eastside elementary school and the availability of land from a local farmer. But the school's physical isolation symbolizes the social isolation of many of its students from mainstream community life. Often established residents have never visited Victor Ornelas (they incorrectly assume its students are mostly Vietnamese) or the mobile home park where many of the students live. Lacking transportation because parents are away at the packing plants, children find it difficult to participate in recreation commission programs, the county library's summer reading program, or after-hours school events. Owners of single-family homes may stigmatize apartment dwellers and particularly mobile home residents because of presumed transiency and low economic status. Perceptions of Victor Ornelas as a school dominated by Southeast Asians have exacerbated established residents' fears. It is ironic, given this stereotype, that the school was named after a local Mexican-American teacher following pressure from that ethnic group.

Victor Ornelas opened in the fall of 1987, several years after Garden City experienced its first major influx of Southeast Asians. Established residents in the attendance area were still initially fearful. According to one source,

people thought this was the "gook" school . . . in reality, last year just as well as this year, we had just as many Hispanics as Southeast Asians, but that didn't seem to concern them as much . . .

According to another staff member,

. . . you heard a lot of, "I don't want my kids going to school out there because they won't learn anything in English, because everything's going to have to be taught in another language"; a lot of, "I won't let my kid go to school in a room where they're going to be the only white kid."

However, once their children were enrolled at Victor Ornelas, most Anglo residents surveyed by the school have been very positive about their children's experiences. A February 1988 Parent Survey, given to all 259 families with students attending Victor Ornelas, produced a 98 percent favorable response, with a return rate of 78 percent. Parents bring few complaints to the principal's office or PTO meetings, and according to the staff very few cases occur of racial or ethnic conflict. In spite of this, parents in the wider community are uncomfortable about this school at the edge of town.

The Indian Hills Controversy. These attitudes are illustrated by an incident in the spring of 1988. Because of overcrowding in the Indian Hills neighborhood in northeast Garden City, and for reasons of "racial balance," the school district proposed sending some children from Florence Wilson to Victor Ornelas.

Indian Hills is a predominantly Anglo middle-class subdivision. Some residents are home owners and others, apartment dwellers. Many moved there specifically to send their children to Florence Wilson, whose current enrollment is 86 percent white and relatively affluent. Until recent reorganization and centralization of bilingual/ESL services, Hispanic and Southeast Asian children were more widely dispersed throughout the elementary schools, including Florence Wilson. Although a few Southeast Asians are enrolled there, children requiring ESL help must now attend either Victor Ornelas or Edith Scheuerman.

In spite of earlier efforts by the Ministerial Alliance and public media to allay residents' fears of newcomers, parents (and unfortunately some teachers as well) reacted fearfully to the proposed student transfers. Established residents assumed that Victor Ornelas would be an "all minority school." Said one staff member,

I really don't think they understand what the ESL program is . . . they did not make any attempt to come and visit the school, even though they were invited numerous times. And when we opened the building, we had a large open house and a large dedication . . . I basically think that it

was ignorance, thinking that these children were going to be in fights with their children, that their education was going to suffer.

In a public forum demanded by Indian Hills residents in January 1988, parents expressed resistance to leaving a neighborhood school and fears about children being bused across busy U.S. Highway 50 (Neufeld 1988). Homeowner opposition to renters surfaced in private conversations; since renters were thought to be "less stable," homeowners argued that those children should be transferred, not their own. However, several school district staff felt such statements were rationalizations. In reality, parents did not want their children attending a school with a large minority population, nor mingling with the children of packinghouse workers.

I thought Ornelas was built for those people over there that work at IBP. Why are they busing some of those kids over to other schools for ESL and bilingual? (Anglo parent, in Stull fieldnotes 1/28/88:5).

Most of the opposing parents were Anglo, but a few belonged to minority groups themselves. Anglo parents at other schools have reacted similarly when lower-class Anglo or Hispanic children were transferred in.

In the Indian Hills case, administrators were concerned about meeting federal guidelines on minority enrollment in a given school--some individuals thought 60 percent was the maximum allowed. Calls to Washington, however, are said to have resulted in the decision not to alter attendance boundaries since the federal government was not strictly enforcing guidelines. Three days later, parents packed a school board meeting to protest the proposed boundary changes (Post 1988). After months of vacillation, the school board finally left the decision to the administration, which adopted a system of forced transfers on an individual basis. In effect, homeowners won the struggle against newcomers; parents enrolling late or moving to Garden City now risk having to send their children to schools outside their neighborhood with no recourse (*Garden City Telegram* May 14, 1988).

Because of strong parental response to what was publicly phrased as a "neighborhood school" issue, the school board's current referendum proposes to enlarge two existing schools, including Florence Wilson, so that transfers will be unnecessary. Meanwhile the proportion of minority students at schools designated bilingual/ESL continues to rise. This concentration of minority students was a matter of concern to one interviewee, who noted that "friendships are made at the elementary level," but is outweighed in the minds of other administrators and staff by the convenience and efficiency of centralizing bilingual/ESL resources. It is a continuing dilemma which may lead to problems in the future as these students reach middle school.

Planning a Magnet School: High Aspirations, Anglo Resistance. The first principal of Victor Ornelas sought to create a magnet school which would draw in

students (particularly Anglos) because of its excellent programs and dedicated staff. Teachers during the first year of operation (1987-88) were nearly all self-selected, experienced personnel who enjoyed working with Southeast Asian and Hispanic students. As one staff member noted, the nature of the school population was evident from the planning stage:

Well, we knew from . . . the day the first shovelful of dirt was turned over, that this school would be a . . . very racially diverse school, that we would have a very . . . small percentage of what you might call "stable" families. . . . We knew we'd have a lot of mobility, we knew we would have, language, cultural . . . diversities. . . . It was a good way to find out about other cultures, and actually work with them, without travelling to the countries, more or less, and to watch the Americanization of some of these . . . children.

Both mobility and diversity have in fact been very high, presenting numerous challenges. According to one source, student turnover during the first month of 1988 alone totaled 25 percent and between 1988 and 1989 reached nearly 50 percent. Families continually move in and out of the district. At least four languages and several dialects were represented at Victor Ornelas in 1988: English, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Laotian. According to district figures, ethnic composition (using state-defined categories) in 1989 included 209 whites; 12 blacks; 204 Hispanics; 4 American Indians/Alaskan Natives; and 98 Asians/Pacific Islanders (mainly Vietnamese and Laotians), for a total of 527 children. Given this student population, administrators and staff have sought innovative methods to maintain student interest and high learning standards.

The school's first year was considered very successful by everyone involved. As one staff member noted,

we had a very sound, secure, first year over in this school. It was beautiful. We did neat things . . . Dr. ---- was a very good PR man with the public, and our teachers were also, and . . . it was great. We had beautiful children. . . . You know, we had a very loving atmosphere, it was very academic . . . it was one of my best years.

This individual also suggested that "through PR with this staff and within the community and within other teachers, I think we broke down a lot of the stigma and barriers that might not have been broken down." Attendance at parent-teacher conferences was high, and no vandalism occurred.

To improve reading skills, staff members at Victor Ornelas introduced an innovative program in 1988. This was achieved through an experienced first-grade teacher's initiative and the first principal's grant-writing efforts, which raised \$20,000 for computers. Writing to Read is a phonetically based, whole language approach to reading, which brings kindergartners and first graders into a computer lab on a daily basis. Children work at their own pace, writing and printing out stories in English,

assisted by a trained paraprofessional who is bilingual in English and Spanish. This program proved so successful that by 1989, the teacher who proposed it and the bilingual para were asked to introduce the program to four other Garden City schools.

Favorable publicity has eased some local fears about the student population. However, the founding principal's goal of making Victor Ornelas a magnet school has not been attained. Although absolute numbers of whites have doubled between 1987 and 1989, official September enrollments have averaged around 60 percent minority over the last three years, and enrollments have fluctuated as high as 78 percent.

Ethnic Relations At V.O. Ethnic identity is not as salient to younger children as older ones. It is not emphasized on a daily basis in the classroom, and children of different groups play together freely. Hispanic and Asian children may have American first names, so that a parent may hear "Jim's" name repeated by a child for weeks before learning that "Jim" is Laotian. One reason newcomer parents give American-born children English names is to increase their acceptability. All children are subjected to the same classroom routine with the exception of LEP children in pull-out programs. From observations and teachers' reports, few incidents of ethnic conflict occur at school. There have been verbal and physical confrontations between older students of different ethnic backgrounds while walking home to East Garden Village.

Attitudes of staff (largely Anglo) are generally positive toward the children they work with. If anything, Anglo teachers are apt to be biased in favor of Southeast Asian students: "I love working with these children. They're a very, very neat . . . cultural group . . . And I've found their parents to be very, very open and receptive to education for their children." A number of teachers voluntarily came to Victor Ornelas from other schools because they liked working with minority children and the school's first principal. Their attitudes are not necessarily shared by all district staff.

Teacher-para relations can probably be characterized as status-dominated; status as para or teacher may be more significant than ethnic membership. In October 1988, only 4 teachers out of 18 were fluent in both Spanish and English; two were Anglos and two Hispanic. No teacher was fluent in an Asian language. One paraprofessional and a cook spoke Spanish, while there were three Vietnamese-speaking paraprofessionals. Most teachers, therefore, are Anglos and monolingual English speakers. Paraprofessionals, particularly Southeast Asians, turn over frequently but have included Anglos, Hispanics, Vietnamese, and Laotians since fall 1987.

Teachers tend to socialize (on breaks, at lunch, at parties) with other teachers. To the extent that paras socialize with others at school, they tend to do so with those of the same linguistic group. But some SEA paras (who by definition of their roles must be bicultural) have developed very close friendships with Anglo paras or teachers

and interact with them outside the school. Since staff and administration were almost all female in 1988, socializing often meant participating in female-defined and -dominated events.

Relations between staff and parents are minimal but cordial. During the first year of operation in particular, teachers and administrators tried to contact parents for parent-teacher conferences and schedule them so that packinghouse workers could attend; as a result, parent turnout was high. According to one administrator, 78 percent of parents came for conferences during the second year. Administrators and teachers sometimes make home visits, accompanied by translators when necessary. In 1988 the school secretary was Vietnamese and together with the Vietnamese paras undertook most communication with that ethnic group. Paras (and the secretary in this case) act as cultural brokers for the school. While nearly all parents interviewed spoke positively of the school, few had received home visits. In the case of Southeast Asian parents, it is not clear how much they understand of the goals and procedures of American schools.

Staff and administrators were complimentary about the compliance of Southeast Asian parents with school requests, more so than in the case of Hispanics. On the other hand, there were complaints about Southeast Asian paraprofessionals continually seeking better job situations.

Acculturation and the Celebration of Diversity. One underlying purpose of elementary education at this school, as in most American schools, is acculturation of minority and new immigrant students. School district staff are mandated to introduce children to American school activities and procedures as quickly as possible--via kinder-prep classes for children not developmentally ready for kindergarten--and to teach reading, writing, and mathematical skills in English. Through the paraprofessionals and a few Spanish-speaking teachers, other languages may temporarily serve a "helping" role, but the goal is educational achievement in English and adaptation to American culture. Children not only learn the language but are initiated into the ceremonies and celebrations of Pledging Allegiance, Halloween, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Some of these occasions, such as Halloween in the case of Southeast Asians, have no parallels in the home culture and may be frightening at first to parents and children.

At the same time, cultural diversity is symbolically recognized to a greater extent at Victor Ornelas than most other Kansas schools. Children learn about Mexican and Vietnamese holidays as well as American ones, and they are encouraged to take pride in their cultural heritage as long as it does not conflict with the central goal of acculturation. For example, though the school attempts to include Spanish and

Vietnamese materials in its library, children are encouraged to make the shift to English as soon as possible.

I don't know whether I'm right or whether I'm wrong, but my philosophy is that the language of business in this country is English, and the quicker these children are exposed to English in print, the better off they're going to be.

Southeast Asian parents are praised for encouraging their children to learn English, Hispanic parents criticized (by one interviewee) for their loyalty to Spanish: "the Hispanic group, many of them . . . don't want to be taught in English, and don't want their children to speak English. They want to maintain Spanish entirely." Although the school emphasizes acculturation, the process carried out at Victor Ornelas is certainly much more humane than it was for many non-English-speaking children in the past. For example, no incidents have been reported of staff publicly embarrassing or punishing children for speaking a language other than English.

Accounts of the Tet program during spring 1988 provide an interesting example of how cultural diversity is celebrated. Several teachers organized the celebration of the Vietnamese Lunar New Year with encouragement from the principal. One ESL teacher and her husband cut a large tree, for which every child in the school made a paper blossom; a flowering tree symbolizes spring and is traditionally part of the Tet celebration in Vietnam. Some of the Southeast Asian parents prepared eggrolls, which were placed in the teachers' lounge. Fifth and sixth graders drew a map of Vietnam and made paper lanterns. When teachers asked for student volunteers to help organize Tet during their lunch hours, they were surprised by the response: "it was not just Southeast Asian kids. We had black kids and we had Spanish kids, and Anglo kids."

Because the holiday is Vietnamese, two Vietnamese children were asked to go to the microphone during the school program to explain the significance of Tet. However, in the older grades, any child who expressed interest was allowed to participate. A Vietnamese woman's traditional costume was pinned to a bulletin board in the hallway. "There were dragons all over the school because . . . every classroom teacher got into it, so we had dragons everywhere." On the day of the program, school cooks served "Chinese-type food,"--eggrolls, rice, fortune cookies--the principal and assistant principal helped serve it. The music teacher taught a group of older children a Vietnamese song, which they performed, and one of the Vietnamese paraprofessionals worked after school for a month with five or six Vietnamese first graders to teach them a fan dance.

It really turned out a lot nicer than . . . we had planned on. I mean, it . . . really was a neat, neat little program. It only lasted about a half hour to 45 minutes, but . . . I had explained to the children about how special it was for these children who had come to our country, that this was a very special holiday for them, like Christmas is for us, and that . . . we needed to help them enjoy it within their homes and at . . .

school . . . to let them know that it was very special, and we appreciated it.

Since it was V.O.'s first year and children had been brought in from other schools, the staff decided to keep the Vietnamese tradition of "lucky money" for Tet. Normally relatives give Vietnamese children bills, often sizeable amounts, but in this case each child received a penny in the customary red envelope and was told that this was something special for good luck in the new school. "I had lots of comments from little Anglo kids even, that they were going to take that home and that was going to be saved, you know." The Vietnamese Dragon Dancers also performed their usual spectacular dance with the huge dragon mask, apparently for the first time in an elementary school. All this was observed by news reporters and those parents who could take time from their work.

The 1988 Tet celebration was an example of a Southeast Asian concept taken up by Americans, "translated" to fit a different cultural setting, and transformed into a cooperative effort. Black, Anglo, and Hispanic students and staff participated, as well as Vietnamese, though Vietnamese took central roles as interpreters and performers. The Tet program symbolized, and apparently to a large degree reflected, school unity and sensitivity to a holiday of great cultural significance to recent Vietnamese arrivals.

The efforts of Victor Ornelas' staff overcame the fears of most Anglo parents whose children attended the school during its first year, and media supported the school's efforts to present a positive public image. However, resistance to school integration remains among some of Garden City's established residents.

How well Victor Ornelas will be administered in the future is also unclear. It has had three principals in as many years. The first principal provided excellent administration, supported by a staff of dedicated, experienced teachers, but left after a year. Subsequent principals have not had the experience or the background in working with diverse language and cultural groups. Several teachers have moved and the school district has hired a number of first-year people. The momentum created by the founding principal may, unfortunately, be in decline.

Relations At Garden City High School. Garden City High School, like all schools, holds tremendous potential for interaction among established residents and their new-arrival counterparts. However, institutional policies and high mobility discourage interaction, particularly among established-resident and immigrant-minority students. Two interrelated factors limit these relations: English-language competence and participation (or the lack thereof) in mainstream activities.

Many immigrant students are placed in the English as a Second Language program, a program characterized by its isolation from mainstream school life. Language,

then, is used to justify the displacement of many immigrant students from social and academic activities they might otherwise enjoy. The high school tries to provide LEP students with a crucial skill--competence in English. But other problems--including the personal stress many experience in coming to the United States--are ignored. The ESL program's isolation and ill-defined purpose have left most mainstream faculty and students unaware not only of the program's objectives, but also of how ESL students might be more actively involved in school life.

A lack of participation by immigrants in "established," mainstream activities, such as sports and clubs, also restricts intergroup relations. In one sense, immigrant students' lack of participation in sports and extracurricular activities is viewed as a sign of their unwillingness to assimilate into American life. For established residents, these activities form the "arenas" where they believe native-newcomer relations *must* take place. Exceptions do occur, of course. Friendships occasionally cross ethnic and native-newcomer barriers. And some teachers and administrators have become advocates for new immigrants (usually SEAs). But the school district has not developed an explicit policy to promote accord.

• Relations between oldtimers and newcomer Anglo students are more readily established since they all speak English and find themselves together in the classroom. Even here relations are hampered by high mobility among newcomers. This mobility also retards the development of relations between newcomer LEP students and established residents, but it is secondary to factors outlined above.

An examination of student mobility, including dropouts, at Garden City High School indicates that students come and go throughout the year. Of the approximately 300 students who were not enrolled throughout the entire 1988-89 school year, 20 percent were enrolled for one month or less; 18 percent from one to three months; 19 percent from three to five months; 22.5 percent stayed from five to seven months; and 20.5 percent completed seven or more months of the academic year. For these students, ethnicity made no significant difference in length of enrollment. The situation was aptly put by a teacher who said, "My grade book this year looked like a revolving door."

Relations between new-arrival and established-resident students in Garden City High School can best be described as limited. Limited interaction may be explained by: 1) the institutional placement of students based upon English proficiency; 2) narrowly defined parameters for preferred interaction among students, such as sports; and 3) the mobility of newcomers, regardless of ethnicity, at all educational levels.

Neighborhoods

Interethnic relations in neighborhoods were systematically examined by Benson who lived in two trailer parks and one lower middle-class area of single-family detached homes. East Garden Village is a large 120-acre park initially built to house IBP's second shift. It still houses many IBP workers. In May 1988 it contained 533 lots (465 developed trailer sites) and included Vietnamese, Laotian, Anglo, Hispanic, and black households, as well as those of mixed ethnic composition. Conflict between ethnic groups in the early 1980s, when the park was first settled, led the owner to locate Anglos, Southeast Asians, and Hispanics in different areas. Newcomers also request sites near relatives or members of their own ethnic group. Because of residents' mobility, however, ethnic makeup is diverse and constantly changing (Benson 1989:5).

The second trailer court is older, quieter, and much smaller. It was built in 1975, initially occupied by Hispanic and Anglo construction workers, and later attracted Vietnamese because of its convenient location on the road to Holcomb and IBP. In October 1988, its 63 households included Vietnamese, Hispanics, Anglos, and one ethnic Chinese (Benson 1989:6).

Relations between members of different ethnic groups in these trailer courts ranged from friendly interaction to peaceful coexistence to overt conflict. Most Southeast Asians restrict interactions to relatives and friends of the same ethnic group, often but not exclusively within the same neighborhood, and have little or no contact with Anglo or Hispanic neighbors. In the smaller court, several Anglo households lived isolated lives behind high fences, surrounded by guard dogs. Yet neighboring behavior and socializing between members of different groups, usually males, took place. Some residents watched each others' houses to prevent burglary, helped in emergencies, or drank and gambled together.

Knowledge of neighbors is limited among trailer park residents by many factors, including physical segregation within the park, linguistic differences, mobility, prejudice, and fear of strangers. Laotian and Vietnamese families are also sensitive about negative Anglo reactions to their customs and typically avoid possible conflict by withdrawing. Relatively peaceful interethnic relations appear to be maintained by three mechanisms: institutional supports for cooperative behavior (park management, work setting, and schools); bonds of common interest, particularly shared work experiences; and segregation at community and household levels (Benson 1989: 8-9).

By contrast with the trailer parks, which contained few people before 1982, the residential neighborhood Benson studied is home to many established residents as well as newcomers. During 1989 a three-block section contained established Mexican Americans, immigrant Mexicans, Nicaraguan and Vietnamese refugees, and established

Anglos and blacks. Relations between neighbors were peaceful, easygoing, and often long term. Some members of different ethnic groups had formed friendships through work or school. Blacks seemed well integrated and it was not unusual to find a black youth mowing a Hispanic neighbor's yard or a black man peering into a truck motor along with Anglo friends. Newcomers, particularly Vietnamese, were more isolated but not treated with overt hostility. In one case a Vietnamese man won his Anglo neighbor's gratitude by saving her house from burning.

Newcomers who "settle out," especially those with English skills and good paying jobs, may live in residential neighborhoods. But LEP newcomers usually depend on friends and relatives to find them housing, leading to clustering. For example, pockets of immigrant Hispanics are found not only in East Garden Village and other trailer parks, but in small houses and dilapidated apartments on the south side and in run-down residential motels on the outskirts of town. These microcosmic neighborhoods resemble, on the surface at least, *barrios*. But their appearance can be misleading. While their residents may be almost exclusively from Mexico, perhaps even the same state in Mexico, and may even be related, certain factors work against the reemergence of *barrios* in Garden City (cf. Hope 1988:129-130): their small size and lack of requisite services (stores, restaurants, bars); a preponderance of males, who are either single or have left their families at home; and transience. Campa's informants changed living quarters frequently to reduce rent, upgrade their accommodations, or move closer to work. And they may leave town on short notice, following unexpected loss of their packinghouse job.

In the affluent subdivisions that have sprung up in the sandhills across the Arkansas River to the south, or in the older, centrally located mixed neighborhoods, such as the one where the field station was located, neighboring is often quite limited. While some neighbors may develop warm and lasting relationships, it seems far more common for people to "keep their distance." People may speak or wave to neighbors across the street, and possibly even keep an eye on the house when they are out of town. But often they have never set foot in their house, or don't even remember their last name or where they work.

Social bonds among established residents are based to some degree on kinship and long-established friendships, but they are increasingly based on relationships born and nurtured at work or in common-interest groups (church, clubs). Less and less are they geographically bounded. And in a highly mobile community, often it is not worth the trouble to get acquainted with the family that moves in next door. For example, on one side of the field station was an Anglo couple with children (and an incredibly loud vehicle); on the other an older Mexican-American couple with grown children who

rented out their basement to another Hispanic family. The Anglo couple never spoke or even acknowledged us unless we spoke first. Neither did the Hispanics initiate interaction, except once when a son who was visiting his parents came over to bum a cigarette and ask for a ride.

Work

Packinghouses. Unlike schools, where we had unrestricted access to a rich body of information through direct observation, we were forced to learn about the nature of group relations in the workplace largely on brief forays into the plants and through interviews and conversations with workers. While we know much about relations on the job, the discussion to follow must be considered in light of our limited access. It should also be remembered that our information comes from line workers and line supervisors, often disgruntled ones. With the exception of limited information provided by Monfort and the IBP tour guides, neither packinghouses nor their management cooperated with us.

Contrary to the popular notion, one that we may well have fueled, not all packinghouse workers are newcomers. Many established residents, especially among the working class, have worked at either IBP or Monfort--some only briefly, others for years. The Slaughter Manager of Monfort, for example, was born and raised in Garden City. But the attraction of packinghouse wages are often offset by objections to the difficulty, danger, and distastefulness of the work, and the rigid regimen imposed by the "chain."

And, of course, IBP, I think, is very shrewdly utilizing these people [immigrants] because in the first place finding good old farm boys that want to work that hard isn't that easy, and secondly, because of this tax break--the tax law--they get so much an hour for each one of these persons that they are paying--what is it?--a year or so or two years. And so their bottom line is to squeeze everything out of the deal they can get (Stull interview with prominent established resident 6/21/89:14-15).

Whatever the motivations of the packers and local "farm boys," most of the workers do come from elsewhere. And a majority are Hispanics and Southeast Asians. Although current company records are unavailable, in early 1987 approximately 900 of IBP's 2,400 workers were Southeast Asian (Erickson 1988); the remainder were believed to be Hispanics and Anglos in roughly equal numbers.

Table 1 on the next page presents the gender and ethnicity of workers at the Monfort plant in Garden City for 1986-1988 (Bustos 1989). This table makes two important points. First, contrary to local stereotypes, all Monfort employees are not Hispanics, although Hispanics, most believed to be immigrants, make up the majority of workers. But their share of the workforce may be declining. This leads us to the

Table 1
Percent of Monfort Workers by Gender and Ethnicity, 1986-1988

	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian		Native American		N
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1986	26	6	2	<1	49	11	3	1	--	--	1,154
1987	24	6	3	<1	51	11	4	1	--	<1	1,094
1988	21	19	3	<1	43	13	1	<1	<1	<1	1,449

second, and more important, point. Increasing numbers of women now work with hooks and knives alongside men, skinning and trimming in Slaughter, boning and trimming in Fabrication. In 1986, one in five Monfort workers was a woman; in 1988 that figure jumped to one in three. Even more interesting, perhaps, is the changing ethnicity of female workers. While female workers have increased among both Hispanics and Anglos, they have risen dramatically among Anglos--from 6 percent in 1986 and 1987 to 19 percent in 1988.

Changing attitudes offer one explanation for this "demographic transition." As one meatpacking executive told Broadway:

When we started [in the 1960s], we had no women in the plant . . . because we didn't used to think that was fit work for women. That sounds bad, but hell, we couldn't anymore begin to staff our plants if we didn't have women, and we get quite a group. And the women in some of these particularly smaller places, I hope we can get them to stay longer because they probably aren't as mobile. I mean . . . [our] average employee [in another state] is a 24-year-old divorcee with two kids, and she needs the work (4/29/89:11).

There is another important reason why women are "manning" meatpacking "lines" and "chains" in increasing numbers--packers are facing a labor shortage. Lower pay, faster chain speeds, and high risk for serious injury, combine with "high" national employment and reduced demand for beef to threaten packers with labor shortages (Kay 1989:46,48). Native-born women, many with small children, often have less freedom and fewer job options--making them more stable--than their male counterparts.

The possibilities for intergroup interaction thus depend largely on where one works. Southeast Asians made up only 2 percent of Monfort's workers in 1988, down from 5 percent the previous year. The degree of interaction also depends on whether you work in Slaughter or Fabrication (called Processing at IBP). In the summer of 1989, approximately 82 percent of the "A" shift (days) line workers on the IBP killfloor

were Hispanic (most are Mexican immigrants), 12 percent Anglo, 2.5 percent black, and 1 percent Vietnamese--14 percent of the total were women. Supervisors were all male at the time, although until recently one line supervisor was a Vietnamese woman. The floor supervisor was Anglo; the general foreman Hispanic. The three lines (skinning, drop heads-gut table, and trim line-head table) were supervised by two Hispanics and one Anglo; their "leadmen" (assistants) included one Anglo, one Vietnamese, and one of unknown ethnicity. [Data are derived from repeated interviews with one worker.]

These figures support the general belief that Hispanics more often work in Slaughter; Vietnamese in Processing--and that Vietnamese are more commonly found on "B" shift (nights). On the other hand, they dispel the notion that Anglos dominate the ranks of supervisors. Indeed, they suggest that bilingualism offers an important path to upward mobility, one not readily open to most Anglo workers.

Although members of one ethnic group or nationality often work in close proximity, there is no evidence that this represents a conscious policy on the part of management. New hires are placed in jobs according to vacancies and prior experience. Company spokesmen say that training is a major investment; many workers say it consists mainly of watching the person you are replacing for a day or two, doing the work with increasing frequency--then you are on your own. [The workers say the company does not want to pay two people to do the job of one.] New hires have a 90 day probationary period, as do current employees who bid to a new job. There are seven different job classes at different pay scales. At six months workers receive an automatic raise, another after one year. Thereafter, they receive only infrequent cost-of-living increments unless they change jobs.

Once off probation, workers may bid on other jobs in the same plant as they become available (Slaughter workers cannot bid on jobs in Processing). People bid on a job for several reasons: to move from one shift to another; to move to a better paying job; to move to a less dangerous job; or out of boredom. Some workers prefer to remain in one job, others move around. Those who change jobs get to know more people and are more likely to develop cross-ethnic relationships. For line workers, and their supervisors, the work is hard. One Mexican immigrant called it "*esclavitud*"--slavery.

They make you hump for your \$7 or \$8. The first 90 days it's tough till you get in shape. I'm a supervisor and I'm not supposed to work hard, but I bet I run 10 miles a day in my job. It's no place to be if you don't like to work (Stull fieldnotes 8/7/88:7).

Communication must be quick and to the point; workers have little time for idle conversation--or even work-related discussion--when carcasses or boxes are whizzing by at 400 or more an hour. When communication does take place it is restricted to

workers at the same or nearby stations, or with supervisors (yellowhats) or their leadmen (bluehats).

Interaction with coworkers is a function of proximity. The boxing area has only a few widely scattered employees who monitor boxes as they roll along metal causeways being sealed, labeled, and sorted by computers and lasers. In contrast are line workers in Processing who work elbow to elbow and face to face wielding hook, knife, and steel. It is also a function of the job itself--how demanding it is and how many people do it. Once a job is mastered, especially if several workers share the task, there may be time for a bit of conversation and rest.

Interaction among workers is largely confined to those at the same or nearby work station. Workers are allowed two scheduled breaks a day--one of 15 minutes approximately 2.5 hours into their shift and 30 minutes for lunch after about 5.5 hours. Breaks, as well as starting and quitting times, are staggered down the line.

To the outsider, IBP's Slaughter lunchroom appears segregated by ethnicity and gender. Mexican immigrants occupy the northeast and southwest corners; Southeast Asians sit at a couple of tables in the middle of the room; an Anglo couple sits across from one another near the south wall. There are exceptions--an Anglo sitting with Hispanics here and there, an Asian and a Hispanic woman sitting at a center table. When only a few workers are on break, they quietly watch the color TV that runs continuously from atop its perch at the southeast corner. When the lunchroom is crowded, most pay little attention to it. Instead, they visit among themselves, often sharpening their knives or rubbing down their steels.

This clustering is only partly explained by workers' preferences to socialize with others of the same sex or ethnic group. Those from the same station also congregate together. For example, workers from the cooler always sit at a table in the northeast corner--the part of the lunchroom closest to their station. In Slaughter, 15 or 20 workers at a time go on break, in Processing many more. Who one sits by is thus a *combination of ethnic and personal bonds and work station proximity*. While those of the same ethnic group will sit with one another if they have the opportunity, ties developed on the line may take precedence.

Other Work Settings. The packinghouse is not the only place newcomers find work in Garden City, or the only workplace where newcomer and oldtimer come face to face. Long after barriers of segregation began to erode at the end of World War II, native Hispanics still speak with bitterness of subtle prejudice. One native Hispanic left in the mid-1960s to advance her career in a large city in another state. "[My] dad always told us, 'You'll never get anywhere in this town. You're going to have to leave.'

And it's true." Returning after 20 years, she reflects on her work experience as the only Hispanic professional in the local office of a national company.

As a person, I'm sure I'm not accepted to begin with [by the staff in Garden City]. I have to do some things that any other [employee] wouldn't to be accepted . . . I'm here to do the job and to make sure that the relationship [with the client] goes well . . . the "attitude" is still out there. Just prejudice, basically (Campa interview, 3/88).

For established residents, work provides a setting that may generate tales about new immigrants that, in their retelling, mark and even enhance perceived differences. Where established residents come in contact or conflict with new immigrant SEAs at work, public retellings often result. The following story, told at a breakfast meeting of a local service club, had cultural difference at its core.

A Vietnamese fellow comes in [the sporting goods store where my wife works], wants to buy an automatic .22 pistol. Well, OK, they all do that. They all carry one all the time, so she sells him one . . . So after a few days, this Vietnamese guy comes back in the store. Says to my wife, "Okay, I return now. I done with it!" So my wife says, "No, that's not how it's done." Like maybe he'd done with that pistol (Erickson fieldnotes 1987:5521).

The retelling makes the behavior understandable by referring to supposed patterns ("they all do that"), and plays on the difference, the "breakdown" (Agar 1987) between established resident and new immigrant ideas about purchasing behavior.

In the social services, contact between SEAs and established-resident social workers, program directors, and ESL teachers leads to intensive interaction. The process of learning about new immigrants' culture is often retold in public, highlighting differences and focusing on the issues of accommodation between traditions. For example, at a community college staff orientation on the city's ethnic groups, a college social service program worker emphasized language differences.

I took a Vietnamese language class, and it was the most difficult thing I have ever done. They speak differently. It actually makes your mouth hurt (Erickson fieldnotes 1989:6505).

In the retelling of personal (or second-hand) encounters with different values, behaviors, and languages, established residents define boundaries by describing how they have met and accommodated them, marking and emphasizing the perceived differences between groups.

Community

On Fulton Street, the major thoroughfare on Garden City's southside, the Cattleman's Cafe faces Thuy Hong Market and billiard hall, the Ly Bang clothing store, and Faith Christian Fellowship. A few blocks west, around the corner from Tom's

Tavern, is the Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association. Still further west on Fulton, El Zarape Cafe sits near the El Palenque Club. Pulling out of the Cattleman's parking lot and heading east leads past El Remedio (a general store catering to new immigrant Mexicans) and the adjacent El Imperio Azul Mexican restaurant, then the posh Grain Bin Supper Club and Wheat Lands Restaurant and Motel (owned by second-generation Anglos), to Cedar Pointe Shopping Center on the edge of town. There Pho Hoa Restaurant is sandwiched between a Vietnamese market and Eastview Health and Racquet Club.

At the dawning of the 1990s, Garden City finds itself a very different place than at the beginning of the last decade. Many Anglo and Hispanic oldtimers feel the quality of life in Garden City deteriorated during the 1980s. They bemoan the very real increase in crime and the decline in availability of health care; increased traffic; schools bursting at their seams; and what they see as a need to now lock their homes and cars. They admit that IBP brought "progress" to their community--new jobs and added income for local business--but they also blame IBP for the "urban problems" that now confront them. The most visible consequence of Garden City's growth is its increasing ethnic diversity.

Discrimination in Garden City is fairly typical of patterns found in American communities. It runs from open bigotry to subtle acts of thoughtless omission and commission. There are the usual racial and ethnic slurs, though ethnic labels themselves often serve as epithets. The degree of discrimination is inversely related to the group's position on the social ladder--and to the class and ethnic positions of individuals.

While interethnic discrimination is in many ways typical, Garden City seems different from many other places in that Anglos, blacks, and native Hispanics maintain frequent and overtly smooth relations. Newcomers often comment on this smoothness.

[I]t's no secret that in Texas the discrimination is out in the open and people . . . don't hide, they come right out and tell you stuff like that . . . we came down to Garden City and people around here were so nice and polite, you know, that it struck us kind of strange, you know, because we're not used to being treated that way to begin with.

People in Garden City are good people . . . [my] kids very rarely ever get into any kind of fights because of the racial problem. Not like in Lubbock, you know. In Lubbock, everyday, everyday, everyday (Campa interview with a Mexican American who has lived in Garden City for about 10 years, 5/88).

For most established residents, contact with Southeast Asians is infrequent and interaction superficial. Stereotypes--both positive and negative--abound. "They are hard

workers"; "their children are all very smart and well-behaved"; "unlike Mexicans parents, they encourage their children to learn English"; "they all carry guns."

Views of Garden City's growing ethnic diversity differ. Educators, clergy, service providers, and other professionals--many relative newcomers themselves--generally applaud Garden City's growing cosmopolitan flavor. They are proud of the community's response to Vietnamese immigration and the attention it has attracted, and they point to church and community festivals that celebrate ethnic diversity. Yet these professionals continue to talk of how new immigrants should "integrate" into "American culture," learn to speak English "understandably" and "quickly" (if not overnight). While they may live in a "salad bowl," the "melting pot" remains the dominant metaphor for relations with new immigrants.

And while they may "celebrate" the ethnic diversity in their midst, they often remain ignorant of it, as this statement from a Central American professional makes clear.

I think I do my best and really try within my [limits] . . . I would say [the local people's] lack of knowledge of Hispanic differences [is something] I don't try to make them feel bad [about] because they don't know . . . what kind of group I belong to. That's part of my culture. We are extremely polite as opposed to the American [people] who are, generally speaking, rude (Campa interview 3/89).

Relations among the working class are somewhat different. These men and women work side by side in the packinghouses and feedyards and thus have far more contact with members of other groups. While established residents may complain about the growing number of "wetbacks," and the government's special treatment of the "Vietnamese" [sic], they also come to know new immigrants as coworkers, neighbors, and drinking companions. Hostility may be seen in the unself-conscious use of racial slurs or perhaps an occasional shoving match. But in everyday dealings with each other, "getting along" is the watchword of the day.

Three factors seem important in explaining ethnic relations in Garden City. First, until recently it was a small town; it remains one in many of its attitudes and patterns of interaction. Anglos, blacks, and Hispanics have rubbed shoulders for 75-100 years, and they have worked out a "more or less satisfactory" relationship (the view is more satisfactory in the eyes of those at the top of the social ladder, of course). Oldtime residents of these three groups grew up together and know each other as human beings. Even new immigrants soon come to know one another as people--they have little choice, since the size and nature of the community often place them in close proximity at home, work, school, and in leisure activities. Personal relationships among and between these groups may serve to mitigate generic group prejudices.

Second, new immigrants come to Garden City to find work. Jobs, at least in meatpacking, are readily available, so new immigrants do not take them from established residents. Unemployment remains low and stable. Since newcomers find work or soon move on, they are not perceived as a "burden to the taxpayers." Americans value hard work and admire hard workers, regardless of their background. Indeed, the tribulations Southeast Asian refugees and immigrant Hispanics endured to get to Garden City, and their reputations as hard workers--the highest compliment one man pays another in Garden City--are sources of admiration, though grudging at times.

Garden City is a "cowtown" in the true sense of the word. Its livelihood and its identity revolve around the cattle industry. Those who work in mechanized agriculture, cow-calf production, cattle feeding, or beefpacking share a common identity and camaraderie that often transcend ethnic differences. Conversely, established residents often view packinghouse workers as undesirables, regardless of ethnic background. Thus, it is a person's work and not his status as newcomer, oldtimer, or member of a particular ethnic group, that often determines interpersonal relations.

Finally, the compassion and foresight of the Ministerial Alliance was instrumental in the posture the community adopted toward Southeast Asian refugees. Leaders of the alliance set an example for other clergy, their congregations, educators, and community leaders. Their guidance in policy formulation and implementation during the early 1980s was probably the most important ingredient in Garden City's early success in adjusting to rapid growth and expanding ethnic diversity. Although the alliance is no longer in the forefront of such efforts, it must be credited with beginning key institutions that serve the needs of new immigrants in Garden City today. And several of those who were most active during the early 1980s remain leaders in the community's attempts to bridge ethnic boundaries.

To encapsulate the nature of relations between established residents and new immigrants is a difficult, if not impossible, task. That they are complex and dynamic goes without saying. But if summarize we must, then we must say--"It depends." It depends on the setting, the groups involved, the class background and individual personalities of those who come face to face. Relations between new immigrants and established residents at times appear to be absent altogether; at other times fraught with bigotry, waiting to erupt in open conflict; still others show a warmth and generosity--a reaching out--that reflect the ideals of America at its best.

Garden City is a community trying to come to grips with a decade of rapid change--in its economy, its people, in its very self-image. The choices it has made have not all been the right ones, and it is not perfect by a long shot. But after two years of study, we have come full circle. We were drawn to Garden City because it appeared to

be successfully adjusting to rapid growth and increasing ethnic diversity. We have not changed our minds. Garden City is a community that has tried hard to accommodate its new immigrants--not all have been warmly welcomed, and their needs have not all been met. But it has tried, and it keeps on trying.

Garden City's Attitude

A new year has dawned--and along with it a new decade.

The 1980s brought dramatic changes to Finney County and Garden City. As the 1990s open, we can only speculate on the changes to come.

A look back, however, shows that Garden City grew in the 1980s because this community wanted to grow. Change just didn't happen; local residents by and large made it happen. That Garden City attitude set us apart from most Kansas communities. . . .

[A] test of our attitude is how well we continue to adapt to the presence of newcomers in our community. During the last decade, we welcomed many immigrants from Southeast Asia and Latin America to our part of the world.

But, as pointed out by a team of Ford Foundation anthropologists who lived in Garden City for two years, the welcome has been a passive one. There is little interaction among Anglos, Asians and Latinos.

On one hand, this lack of interaction may be viewed as a plus: Everyone keeps to themselves and there are no fights or disputes or race wars.

On the other hand, we should want more than a peaceful, segregated co-existence.

We should want to open the doors for international understanding within our own community. We should want to learn about the other cultures, languages and rich traditions of the peoples now living in our community.

As one member of the Ford Foundation team put it, we should want to celebrate Finney County's diversity, its cosmopolitan mix.

This can be done, easily.

Southwest Kansans are sincere, friendly, outgoing. We need only to share ourselves to change the state of international relations in Finney County from a passive, peaceful co-existence to an active, lively friendship (Editorial, *Garden City Telegram*, January 2, 1990).

This page was intentionally
left blank.

DISSEMINATION

The Garden City team took very seriously its mandate to develop a dissemination strategy involving direct linkages with the community. As stated in our proposal: "The project team is committed to developing and implementing an aggressive, varied, and ongoing dissemination effort designed to reach and benefit the entire community. Strategies . . . will be initiated early and continue throughout the course of the project" (p. 17). We have followed through on much we set out to do and undertaken activities not previously considered. Dissemination has fallen into two broad categories: sharing information about Garden City and our research with other communities and telling individuals and organizations in Garden City about what we have learned.

External Dissemination

Media. Almost as soon as the project was announced in January 1988, we began receiving what at times have seemed like endless requests to tell "what we have learned in Garden City." Garden City was, after all, an anomaly in the national study: it was the only nonmetropolitan community selected, and, more importantly, ethnic diversity in the "heartland" seems to be news. Team members continue to give telephone interviews with regional and national press about why Garden City was selected, "how people from different ethnic groups get along," and why. At times we have been pressed into giving guided tours and personal interviews with members of the media who came to see what was happening for themselves. Stories have run in newspapers throughout Kansas as well as in the *Kansas City Times* and the *Denver Post*. An AP wire service story appeared in such diverse locales as Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and the Carolinas. "Crossroads," a National Public Radio program that deals with ethnic issues, drew on our work for two stories. And a reporter and a photographer from *Life* spent most of the week of July 4, 1988 in Garden City. [The *Life* story consisted of two pictures and about one-third of a page of text, a far cry from the major story we, and the community, were led to expect. This brief and often erroneous article did little to help our image or that of the press in Garden City.] A representative set of newsclippings has been provided to Henry Santiestevan and to Louise Lamphere.

Academic and Professional Audiences. We have been active in making formal presentations, delivering professional papers, and publishing on various aspects

of our research. In Kansas, presentations were made to the 1988 Kansas Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services Adult Services Conference in Manhattan, to their 1989 Central Office Annual Training Seminar on Refugees, and to the 1990 Conference on Kansans of Color sponsored by the Kansas State Department of Education. One or more team members read papers at the following professional meetings: 1988 and 1989 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association; 1988 and 1989 annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology (the 1989 meeting was held jointly with the American Ethnological Society); the 1989 annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers; the 1989 annual meeting of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology; and the 1989 annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. Articles have appeared or are in press in *Geography*, *Heritage of the Great Plains*, *Journal of Cultural Geography*, *Plains Anthropologist*, *Practicing Anthropology*, *Kansas Geographer*, and *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. We have been invited to submit an expanded version of the 1989 Society for Applied Anthropology symposium to *Urban Anthropology*; these manuscripts will be prepared upon completion of this report. A bibliography of our papers, formal presentations, and publications appears in Appendix B.

Community Assistance to Lexington, Nebraska. Lexington, a community of about 7,000, lies in the Platte River Valley, in the center of Nebraska's cattle producing and feeding area. It is on Interstate 80 between Kearney and North Platte, about five hours north of Garden City. IBP, Inc. is scheduled to open a new beefpacking plant in Lexington in June 1990 (Kay 1989:48)--this will be the first new beefpacking plant built since the Finney County plant opened in December 1980. When running at full capacity (summer 1991) it will employ about 1,700 and slaughter 4,000 head a day.

Shortly after plans for the new IBP plant were announced, concern emerged in Lexington about the impact it would have on the community. A Community Impact Study Team (CIST) was formed, and members began sending representatives to other meatpacking towns. Erickson contacted the Lexington Chamber of Commerce and offered our services. A CIST representative followed up on Erickson's contact and spent a day in Garden City with Stull and Erickson in January 1989. Following this visit, Stull sent him a packet of newsclippings and our writings. These materials were provided to the rest of the CIST, and we were asked to come to Lexington. In April 1989, Broadway, Erickson, Stull, and Levita Rohlman of the Catholic Agency for Migration and Refugee Services (she was an integral member of the Ministerial Alliance and has worked with refugees in Garden City since the first families came) spent two days in Lexington. They did a bit of "windshield ethnography," visited with community leaders, and made two presentations. Along with Rev. Wayne Paulson of

North Platte, who was an active member of the Garden City Ministerial Alliance during the influx of SEAs, they spoke to ministers from throughout the county, the CIST, and other prominent members of the community. The presentations, and conversations during the visit, centered on what happened in Garden City and what Lexington could expect with the opening of the IBP plant. Statements by team members and the people accompanying them often contrasted with those of IBP representatives.

In May, Stull followed up the visit with a three-page letter on what Lexington could expect from the opening of the IBP plant. Erickson followed up with phone conversations and letters to local social service providers. Again their views were either in contrast with statements made by IBP or brought up issues that had not been previously considered (e.g., high mobility); the letters were circulated and widely discussed. In August, two stories based on interviews with Stull and Erickson appeared in the Lexington newspaper. Stories in other Nebraska newspapers followed. Subsequently, Grey discussed the probable need for ESL/bilingual education with school officials.

In the summer and fall of 1989, team members began discussions about an action research project in Lexington. Lourdes Gouveia, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, approached Stull about the possibility of cooperative research in Lexington. Gouveia received her Ph.D. from the University of Kansas. Because of her long-standing interest in rural industrialization in her home country of Venezuela, she had followed the Garden City project with interest. Gouveia and Erickson visited Lexington in October and met with an impact planning group, including members of CIST, the city manager, and representatives of regional colleges, to discuss a possible action research project. Those at the meeting were enthusiastic about our interest in their community and welcome the possibility of collaborative action research (Stull and Schensul 1987; Stull 1988) designed to mitigate the impact of the IBP plant.

Plans are underway to begin work in Lexington in the summer of 1990: Broadway received a grant from SUNY, Geneseo and has applied for a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies; Gouveia has received an award from the University of Nebraska at Omaha; and Stull has applied to the University of Kansas. Using these small grants as "seed money," members of our team will seek major funding to support a project in Lexington.

We feel an action research project in Lexington is important for several reasons. First, it offers the opportunity to observe firsthand the processes of rapid growth and rural industrialization that we had to reconstruct in Garden City. Being only one-third the size of Garden City prior to rapid growth, the resulting strains can be expected to be much more severe. And unlike Garden City, Lexington has no minority population, which may exacerbate difficulties accompanying an influx of minorities and new

immigrants. Second, study of Lexington offers a "natural experiment"--a chance for controlled comparison in a community that differs in important ways from Garden City. Third, the opening of the plant in Lexington will affect Garden City and the other communities in beefpacking's "Golden Triangle." Lexington will become a fourth leg on a "Golden Stool," pulling both cattle and workers away from the other communities (this process had begun in Garden City fully a year before the new plant's expected opening). But most importantly, action research in Lexington offers the opportunity to apply the lessons from Garden City's experience to help another community meet the challenges of rapid growth and rural industrialization.

Dissemination in Garden City

While our team is often called on to tell the outside world about Garden City, it is within Garden City itself that most dissemination has taken place. Much of our reporting to the community has come in informal, one-on-one interchanges. But the *Garden City Telegram* has often reported on our project or interpreted what we have said in one of its regular columns, "The Distaff Side." KANZ-FM (NPR) and KIUL-AM have also reported on our study, as has KSNG-TV. Formal dissemination activities are discussed below.

Presentations to Local Groups and Organizations. Over the course of the project, team members have been invited to address various community groups. In July 1989, Benson spoke to the staff of the Garden City Community College Comprehensive Learning Center on SEA student needs and interests. In May 1988, Campa discussed the confusion of nomenclature used to designate Latinos in a symposium sponsored by Ft. Hays State University, and he was the keynote speaker for the 1989 Community Fiesta. Stull summarized project findings for the 1988 and 1989 Leadership Kansas seminars (sponsored by the Kansas Chamber of Commerce, it is an educational program for potential and current community and business leaders selected from across the state), and, in 1989, for meetings of the Finney County Historical Society and the Rotary Club.

Repositories for Written Products. Copies of all professional papers and publications have been provided to the following repositories in Garden City: Finney County Public Library, Finney County Historical Society, Garden City Area Chamber of Commerce, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction of the Garden City School District, Office of the President of the Garden City Community College, and the United Methodist Mexican-American Ministries. Selected papers have been distributed to other organizations and private individuals. Our data and analyses have been used by several organizations and institutions in grant proposals and community descriptions.

Public Forums and Exhibit. On November 2 and 5, 1989 we presented portions of our findings in two public forums at the Finney County Public Library. In tandem a special exhibit, "Changing Faces," opened at the Finney County Museum. Using photographs and artifacts, "Changing Faces" illustrates interactions among and between Anglos, Hispanics, and Southeast Asians in Finney County. Special emphasis was given to each group's public rituals and to situations that promote interaction and accord. Most of the more than 30 color photographs were taken by team members, and label copy came primarily from (anonymous) transcribed interviews. The exhibit title and some artifact labels were provided in Spanish and Vietnamese. "Changing Faces" will remain on display through February 1990, when it will be converted to a semipermanent feature in the main exhibit hall.

About 100 persons attended each of the two public forums (in spite of stiff competition from a football playoff game at the community college and sold out performances of "Carousel"). The exhibit has attracted a large audience and positive reviews. An attractive trifold brochure containing photographs and a project summary is distributed to museum guests.

Funding for the forums and exhibit was provided to the Finney County Historical Society by a grant from the Kansas Committee for the Humanities and a donation from the Garden National Bank. The grant proposal was a joint effort by CRP team members and the staff of the historical society; it represents the kind of collaborative effort we hope will continue between researchers and the community.

Advisory Board. In our proposal we stated that "coordination and implementation of project dissemination will be based on the active involvement of a local advisory board" (p.18). Although we intended to form the board early in the project, we soon decided we did not know the community well enough to make wise selections. In the early fall of 1989 as research came to a close and dissemination efforts picked up, the idea of an advisory board once again surfaced. We wanted to find ways to influence local policy and develop action programs based on our research. Certain community members shared our interests (e.g., the director of the Finney County Historical Society and some faculty and administrators in USD 457).

In October 1989, Stull met with the Curriculum Council of USD 457 and proposed a broad outline for innovations in classroom instructional materials, teacher training, and the development of school activities to recognize and address the needs of minority and immigrant students. The suggestions were well received and the superintendent of schools later approved district involvement in such activities.

In November 1989, the team met with the assistant superintendent for instruction (our strongest supporter in the administration) to discuss strategies for continued

CRP involvement with the district. From this and previous discussions came approval to form an advisory committee with authority to make recommendations to the administration and school board and to follow through on the programs to be initiated. This committee is now being formed. It will have 8-10 members and include representatives from the three school levels, the three main ethnic groups, and certain civic groups (Ministerial Alliance, Historical Society). Stull, Grey, and Erickson will serve as ex officio members.

This advisory committee will begin meeting in February 1990. One immediate goal will be to explore possibilities for an accredited summer institute in multicultural education for Garden City teachers. Ways will be sought to develop and incorporate curriculum and activities that more closely reflect the diverse nature of Garden City. Discussions are already underway to develop a "Foxfire-type" oral history project among ESL/bilingual high school students.

Schools. In our proposal we said that "schools will be a primary outlet for dissemination," and this has been the case. Most notable has been the acceptance and partial implementation of Grey's "Suggestions for Program Improvements" discussed in the following chapter. Additional efforts in the schools have included: use of some CRP writings in social studies classes at the junior high level; guest lectures by Grey and Erickson in English and social studies classes; a summary of findings to social studies teachers by Stull; and a series of district-wide inservice programs for teachers conducted by Benson, Campa, and Stull in August 1989.

Continued Community Involvement

To varying degrees, members of our team plan to continue research, dissemination, and action activities in Garden City. Although work with the advisory board and the school district will occupy much of our time on return visits to Garden City, other areas of interest are emerging. For example, several team members have become interested in the very serious problems of health care delivery and teacher turnover. Benson will soon begin research on the impact of nontraditional immigrants on Kansas communities, including Garden City for comparative purposes. She will examine newcomer needs for housing, medical services, and education. The research is sponsored by the Kansas State University Agricultural Experiment Station. Stull and Erickson are helping the Finney County Historical Society develop an expanded traveling version of the "Changing Faces" exhibit. They are also considering a study of the cattle industry. In short, our team intends to continue its involvement in Garden City and to expand its realm of activity.

POLICY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our research has examined important social issues and the formulation and implementation of public policies. As part of our commitment to applied anthropology and the national project's mandate on local dissemination, we have also been active in developing policy recommendations. We have divided our recommendations into sections on schools and the community, but this is done for convenience only. The two arenas are closely related--change in one affects the other.

LANGUAGE POLICY NEEDS IN GARDEN CITY SCHOOLS

In studying relations between new immigrants and established residents in the schools, we paid special attention to the needs of Southeast Asians and Hispanics. We did so to narrow the information gap between groups and thereby benefit the district as a whole. Similarities between Southeast Asian, Hispanic, and Anglo students make our recommendations of value to all groups.

General issues in bilingual/ESL education are discussed first, since this highly visible arena is one where the district may directly influence accommodation and accord between LEP new immigrants and established residents. For the lower grades we consider the importance of outreach to and for parents and mention some of the barriers that limit newcomer participation in school programs. We also discuss changes the district is making following earlier CRP suggestions.

Bilingual Education

In 1972 and again in 1978 the Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) found USD 457 out of compliance with federal laws on bilingual education. A bilingual education plan for Limited English Proficient students was first proposed for the Garden City schools in 1978 in response to directives from HEW (Mangelsdorf 1980). A bilingual teacher at that time later described the resulting program as ". . . a dumping ground for at-risk Hispanic children" (Campa fieldnotes 5/12/88). The director of this program in the late 1970s said that although he wanted to "concentrate on implementing the program," his superiors wanted his energies spent only on "publicizing [it]." He said that local people then and now see bilingual

education as simply a scheme "to teach a foreign language," which connotes something "un-American." This detracts from the program's real purpose--to help LEP children make academic progress in their native language while learning English and to teach all students about ethnic sensitivity (Campa fieldnotes 3/14/89).

In May 1980, MACE (Mexican American Council on Education), a local parent organization, filed a class action suit in U.S. District Court in Wichita, charging the Garden City School District with deliberate neglect of the educational needs of Hispanic students (Mangelsdorf 1980). In November 1980, U.S. District Judge Patrick Kelly ruled for MACE and ordered negotiations that culminated in a 1981 agreement. This three-year consent decree "called for the district to actively seek bilingual personnel at all staff levels as well as to provide extra training for district bilingual teachers" (*Garden City Telegram* 1985). In addition to bilingual education for all students, English as a Second Language instruction is now provided for grades 7-12.

The directors from 1982 to 1988, immigrant Hispanic educators with doctorates, gave the bilingual program shape and direction. However, in the summer of 1988 it was combined with the English as a Second Language and Chapter I Migrant Education programs. There is widespread concern that this has weakened overall program effectiveness. As one Hispanic teacher put it:

the concern [for minority kids in Garden City public schools] is not genuine. It's superficial and it's only for reporting purposes. I don't feel like there's a responsibility or commitment upon the teaching staff to accept the reality of the future (Campa interview 3/89).

Another Hispanic educator adds:

. . . this district, this school, should reflect the culture of the kids who are attending . . . that would give the kids a sense of identity and that is lacking . . . we need to develop a multicultural curriculum [so] teachers [will] know more about the different cultures, [since] we don't sit beside a cactus with a big hat and take a nap after lunch and just eat beans (Campa interview 1989).

During inservice presentations by Campa on August 15 and 16, 1989, it appeared that bilingual teachers were unaware of program goals. This lack of focus could be remedied by full adoption of goals set during this inservice. Campa asked teachers from each elementary school to select a bilingual program goal and suggest classroom activities and realistic time frames for its achievement. Critiques and suggestions were then incorporated from the entire group. This exercise formed the basis for USD 457 Bilingual Program goals for the 1989-90 academic year. Such focused planning should occur more frequently and be more widely implemented.

Only 3 of the more than 30 faculty are bilingual in Spanish, and none speak a Southeast Asian language (a task left to paraprofessional aides). A past program

director says that out of nine elementary schools in town, "there are [only] two or three school principals that are terrific in working with language minority students."

Recent Changes

Research at Garden City High School culminated in a set of policy recommendations. On June 6, 1989, "A Summary of Research Results: Ethnic Relations at Garden City High School" (Grey 1989) was presented to USD 457 by Grey and Stull in a meeting with the superintendent of schools, assistant superintendent for instruction, assistant superintendent for personnel and staff, director of business affairs, and president of the board of education. Discussed in this brief report (11 pages) were: programs for immigrant minority students; factors influencing interaction among ethnic groups at GCHS; and the social and academic development of all minority students. Receiving particular attention was the high dropout rate among native Hispanic students.

In this meeting, Grey was invited to prepare a series of recommendations for the high school. On June 22, 1989 he submitted "Suggestions for Program Improvements: Garden City High School and the English as a Second Language Program" to the superintendent of schools. Thirteen specific suggestions, based on CRP research, were discussed in this 33-page document. On July 10, the board of education unanimously approved and agreed to take action on all 13 recommendations (Faddis 1989). Some of the suggestions have been implemented in their original form, others modified, and still others await action.

The high school soccer club was reestablished, but only one of the two promised coaching positions was funded. Transportation home after practice has not been provided, forcing many interested immigrant students who do not have cars to drop out. Funding for travel to games outside Garden City has not been allocated.

Some important steps have been taken to establish definitive goals and improve operation of the high school's ESL program. An ESL program coordinator position was created to oversee operations and to act as liaison between ESL students and teachers and the school administrators, mainstream teachers, and counselors. The head counselor and the ESL program coordinator (both Anglo females) formed an immigrant students concerns counseling group to provide a forum for immigrant students to talk of their concerns about life in and out of school. The group has proved successful and is regularly attended by both Southeast Asians and Hispanics.

An advisory committee is being organized by the CRP with the approval of the superintendent of schools. It will have the opportunity to help formulate and implement

policy throughout the district. This committee is discussed more fully in the preceding chapter.

Recommendation 1. Separate the Bilingual Program administratively from the ESL and Chapter I programs. Each of these programs is critical to the educational needs of linguistically different children. And each requires the attention of a full-time director. For bilingual education in particular, teachers and elementary school building administrators must thoroughly understand the program and the variety of children's educational and cultural needs. More minority and bilingual faculty are needed as role models to help minority children increase their self-esteem and motivation.

Whether administered separately or maintained as a single unit, the director(s) of the Bilingual, ESL, and/or Chapter I program(s) must have appropriate credentials. Directors should also have the support and confidence of the Garden City minority communities, who should be represented in the search committee. The director(s) should work closely with community organizations, parents, the board of education, faculty, and administrators.

Community Outreach

The receptivity of schools to the children of newcomers and established members of minority groups is largely based on community attitudes and perceptions. Special efforts should be made to educate all Garden City residents concerning a) the backgrounds of minority students and b) the rationale for the ESL, Bilingual, Writing to Read programs, and others geared to the needs of these students. Majority residents' fears surface when they are asked to make changes, such as in school boundaries. These fears should be publicly addressed. Although media coverage is good, not everyone is reached nor can concerns always be allayed in this way. There is no substitute for personal contact.

Personal contact can be increased through outreach activities. The district should consider reinstating the public relations officer position and expanding its role to embrace not only media communication but also school, home, and community outreach.

Recommendation 2. The district and the community should embark on a well-publicized and concerted outreach campaign. We recommend the following activities.

- a) Hold public forums with invited participation of both Anglos and minorities to discuss common issues and concerns.
- b) School faculty and administrators should make presentations to clubs, churches, and civic organizations on the ESL, Bilingual, and Chapter I programs, the backgrounds of SEA and Hispanic students, and how they are being educated.

- c) Specific invitations should be extended to community and business leaders to visit schools with high concentrations of minority students. All interested persons should be encouraged to visit these schools as well. Leadership Garden City might be a good group to start with. They could be asked to help implement some of these recommendations. "Children are the business of the community" is a possible slogan for such an effort. During fall 1989 the community took a step in this direction when a local firm "adopted" Victor Ornelas Elementary School and began sending employees out to read to the children.
- d) A program in which retired volunteers act as "honorary grandparents," visiting the schools to read to children or listen to them read, should be reestablished. The Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) of the Senior Center of Finney County has 300 persons enrolled (Nichols 1989)--it could expand to include this activity.
- e) Begin one-on-one tutoring for LEP students using retired volunteers and/or other students. Student tutors could be from the same school or receive course credit if enrolled in high school or community college. One function of a tutoring program would be to bring individuals of different ethnic groups together, providing a basis for friendship and better understanding. Older bilingual students could tutor Anglos in Spanish or other languages (preferably for course credit).
- f) Provide transportation for children interested in Recreation Commission events and the public library's summer reading program. At present many children cannot participate because their parents work and they lack transportation; they lose a valuable opportunity to gain self-esteem and make new friends. Transportation could be arranged through churches, businesses, the senior center, or the district for children to attend summer and after-school activities. A bookmobile should make reading materials available to children in outlying areas, such as the trailer courts. The "Learn and Earn" van, presently unused by Garden City Community College, could be put to this service.

Recommendation 3. All teachers and administrators should have regular in-service training on the needs and education of Hispanic and Southeast Asian children. Because of high staff turnover and shifts of responsibilities between schools, many teachers do not have adequate cross-cultural training. ESL and bilingual education should not be compartmentalized; all district personnel should be informed about the

goals and methods of these programs. This would improve communication and reduce potential conflict within and between schools and the public at large.

Recommendation 4. Acquire more bilingual materials (English/Southeast Asian languages; Spanish/English) as well as more library materials in languages other than English.

Recommendation 5. To retain good paraprofessionals, particularly bilingual ones, higher pay, better benefits, and the possibility of advancement are necessary. Bilingual paras should be used in ways that take advantage of their skills--translation and interpretation--and work directly with children of the same cultural background.

COMMUNITY NEEDS

New immigrants and established residents share many needs, yet each group has its own expectations, differing access to resources, and support mechanisms.

Communication among new immigrants is largely through "grapevines." Since most SEA or Hispanic immigrants are not proficient in English, interpersonal networks are especially important. For example, Mexican immigrants say they decided to come to Garden City after hearing about the availability of jobs from relatives or friends who came earlier (Campa fieldnotes 6-7/89). Regardless of where they come from or how they first heard of Garden City, all new immigrants face challenges in obtaining information about social services, medical assistance, job application procedures, and legal assistance. While such knowledge is vital for successful adjustment to a new community by anyone, native-born newcomers usually have greater awareness of services and how to obtain them than Southeast Asian or Hispanic immigrants. Refugees have the Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association and access to certain resources by virtue of their legal status. Other new immigrants (mainly Hispanics) often lack knowledge of and eligibility for many services, adversely affecting them throughout their stay in Garden City.

Housing

The most immediate need of new immigrants is housing. Upon arrival they frequently share living quarters with friends or relatives, until a steady income and other housing can be obtained. Even then immigrants may continue to live in cramped or substandard quarters in trailers or converted motels to save money, remain with friends and/or relatives, or because they must depend on roommates for transportation. IBP and Monfort, the primary employers of newcomers, do not assist most new

employees with relocation expenses, in finding housing, or with other initial costs (e.g., utility deposits).

"Overcrowding" among new immigrants, especially Southeast Asians, is commonly cited by Anglos as a sign of cultural difference. It often forms part of a constellation or pattern, a mark of the other's strangeness.

These people [SEAs], God, they're hard working as hell. The problem I have with them, the minute you move one of them into a housing apartment, they want three other families to live with them for the same amount of money, and, you know, they'd put 50 people in three rooms if you'd let them. I just have to fight them all the time, fight them all the time.

I, honest to God, I had one of my tenants call me one time, said, "You better come out here . . . the people upstairs just carried a pig into the apartment. . . . So I go up there. It's a two-bedroom apartment, man and his wife and two kids are supposed to be living in it. I said I reserve the right in my rental contract to go and make an inspection any time. I just barged right in. "What's going on?" Well, here on the stove are all these big old pots of hot water boiling . . . "Oh no, nothing going on." "Where's your wife?" "Well, she's in the bathroom." So I just opened the door. Of course, if she was sitting on the pot, of course, I'd really been in trouble. Sure enough, here in the bathtub was the biggest goddamned old hog. I bet that sucker weighed 500 pounds, and they were about to butcher that damn hog, pig in my apartment. Well, I didn't have it in my rental agreement that "thou shalt not butcher a pig in the apartment," but, you know, you just kind of half-way assume people know that, you know . . . I guess I can laugh about it now. It wasn't all that funny right at that particular time. . . . That's what you call cultural shock . . . (Stull interview with Anglo landlord, 6/21/89:20-21).

Newcomers living in trailer courts or old motels outside city boundaries are particularly disadvantaged. County laws are apparently lax and property owners cannot easily be forced to make improvements. Packs of dogs have plagued some trailer courts and attacked people, a problem now being addressed by the community, while mobile home fires have taken several lives in the past two years.

Recommendation 6. County and city officials should examine current zoning and housing safety laws; smoke detectors should be required for all rental property, including units too old to be covered by existing regulations. County law may need to be changed to force property owners to improve housing conditions, and newcomers (particularly non-English speakers) need better information on mobile home safety.

INS Policies and Services

Immigrants need a better understanding of U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) policies, and better access to its services. Immigrants must obtain or renew work permits by driving four hours to Wichita or seven to Kansas City. And

packinghouses do not consistently provide time off for such trips. Campa's informants say the INS issues work permits of differing lengths for no apparent reason (we hope to clarify this in an interview with the INS district director in Kansas City). Immigrants need help to interpret this and other federal policies and to help them negotiate the labyrinth of INS regulations. Their difficulties have been exacerbated by the closing of Garden City's INS office.

Local Social Services

Underutilization of social services stems in part from immigrants' lack of awareness. Either they are totally ignorant of available services, or they know about only a few of them--Emmaus House (for food and temporary shelter), United Methodist Western Kansas Mexican-American Ministries (health care for the indigent, food and clothing bank, translation and notary services, assistance with INS documentation), Salvation Army, the county health department. Even if they are aware of these agencies, barriers such as the lack of transportation, the absence of interpreters, or culturally inappropriate service delivery methods may limit or prevent usage. Since immigrants come to Garden City to work, if they lose or quit their job, they often move on.

Q: I guess what you're saying basically is that there aren't many jobs for [unskilled or semi-skilled workers] other than [beefpacking]?

A: Basically, yes. Once they leave [beefpacking] it's gonna be a one or two dollar dock in pay, especially if there is a language barrier. . . . The ones that we really see and deal with normally will relocate totally from the community (Stull interview with representative of the Kansas Division of Employment 8/14/87).

As a community, Garden City prepared for and then responded to certain needs created by rapid growth and ethnic in-migration. It expanded utility service and roads, built new schools and homes, increased law enforcement. The community is to be commended for its forethought and responsiveness in meeting these demands. But as a whole it has been less committed or systematic in serving many needs of the new immigrants themselves--language barriers, provision and coordination of basic social services. While many people and organizations have indeed offered such assistance, it has suffered from unevenness and lack of coordination. The community's attention in the early 1980s focused on the needs of SEAs but often ignored similar needs of Hispanic immigrants. Some agencies, originally created to serve migrant farmworkers, already served Hispanics, such as Mexican-American Ministries. Others arrived, like Harvest America, at the height of the ethnic in-migration. And some agencies, Emmaus House in particular, were created to meet the needs of new immigrants and transients,

regardless of ethnicity. These agencies reflect the concern and generosity of Garden Citians, and indeed Americans in general. But as with "points of light" throughout the nation, they are understaffed and poorly financed. Interagency coordination is also a well-recognized problem. There is no single point of client contact for access to social services in Garden City--they are atomized across federal, state, and local--public and private--agencies.

The immigrant newcomer may thus remain an "alien" visitor, working in a low-status and insecure job, ignorant of his or her rights and privileges, of those services that are available, yet contributing to the economy and well-being of the local community.

Recommendation 7. Nongovernmental agencies serving new immigrants should receive at least some public support. And the efforts of all agencies serving the community--governmental and nongovernmental alike--should be better integrated and coordinated to avoid duplication, facilitate access to services, and provide greater awareness of unmet needs of newcomers.

A Community Services Council already exists. Representatives from some governmental agencies (SRS and Garden City Community College) and many nongovernmental organizations meet each month to share information. This council should be expanded to include the active participation of all service providers. Its role in providing for the needs of the entire community should be strengthened, and it should take a proactive stance on coordination of service provision. In August 1989, the council began work on a referral guide to services for transients. Such activities, arising out of a recognition of the need to coordinate efforts of different agencies, could be aggressively pursued with minimal investment in time and money.

In limited instances, city and county funds are provided to nongovernmental organizations (e.g., Finney County Status Offender Program). Such support should be increased and expanded to include organizations that provide important services to new immigrants. Funds might be raised by taxes levied on IBP and Monfort, an increase in the sales tax, or a reallocation of existing funds.

Recommendation 8. To optimize community responsiveness, we recommend creation of a central referral office staffed by persons with both Spanish and Vietnamese language skills. Staff should serve much as intake workers, aware of all community resources and able to review client needs and make appropriate referrals. Such an office, a natural extension of the Community Services Council, would buffer the impact of new arrivals on individual agencies and reduce service duplication, thereby improving service delivery. Initial funds for such an organization should probably be sought from outside sources to reduce financial competition among existing

agencies. External support should be phased out over several years as the community gradually assumes funding responsibility. This model was successful in launching the Finney County Status Offender Program (Powell 1989).

Case managers and service providers need to understand and act on the community's cultural and linguistic diversity. Outreach to clients, service planning, and followup must take this diversity into account. Although some agencies have added bilingual staff (almost always Spanish speakers), few agencies have explored the differences in client needs new immigrants bring with them.

Recommendation 9. A central referral organization should seek funds for training and assessment to be shared by all agencies in the community.

Recommendation 10. Develop and expand cooperative relationships with IBP, Monfort, and other major employers to generate financial and in-kind assistance in meeting community needs. Both IBP and the community have avoided developing strong ties. During his first few weeks in town, one IBP manager said he had been reluctant to transfer to the Finney County plant because the community did not welcome IBP employees. Plant managers, supervisors, and line workers are community members who must be incorporated into community planning and action.

IBP and Monfort are the largest employers in Finney County and are largely responsible for the influx of new immigrants. Although most of their workers are new immigrants, the packinghouses do little to provide for employees' special needs. Nor have they been particularly concerned about demands their employees make on Garden City. They do encourage employees to contribute to United Way, sponsor softball teams, hold annual employee picnics, take out ads in athletic and community events programs. Their executives may serve on local boards, such as the MAA, from time to time. But they could do so much more to assist both their workers and the community. For example, they might provide formalized multilingual information boards in or near locker rooms, offer ESL instruction at their plants, allow employees time off with pay to attend parent-teacher conferences, and uniformly allow travel in connection with INS regulations.

Recommendation 11. All governmental and nongovernmental agencies in Garden City should hire more multilingual staff at all levels. Stringent agency regulations, low wages, geographic location, and recruitment practices presently keep their numbers low. Bilingual staff are often either absent or employed only at clerical or support levels. Lacking the ability to communicate effectively with LEP clients, agencies and their administrators are severely hampered in providing quality services.

Recommendation 12. The Adult Learning Center should expand its outreach services, classes, and schedules. Better salaries are needed to attract more qualified

teachers and paraprofessional aides. Class schedules should continue to try to accommodate packinghouse workers on both the "A" and "B" shifts. ESL classes should provide instruction on basic survival skills, access to community resources and social services, occupational terminology, and legal rights and responsibilities. Many do not attend classes because they lack transportation. This problem is aggravated during cold weather, especially since new immigrants are often unprepared for Kansas winters. Transportation should be systematically provided to all in need.

Mass Communication

Support from the local news media has been a key to Garden City's acceptance of new immigrants. It should continue and broaden its efforts. Local public radio, for example, should expand bilingual programming. It presently offers one Spanish-language news and music program, "Sabadito," on Saturday evenings. Hispanics point out that for many Saturday night is their "one night out"; airing this program at a different time would reach a wider audience. Local cable offers a national Spanish-language network channel. Southeast Asian audiences are served only by a weekly news program on local cable TV. Aside from occasional advertisements in Spanish, the newspaper does not reach non-English speakers.

Recommendation 13. Expand the use of local and regional media to reach non-English speakers. Service institutions, including city and state government, should learn of and use existing media to communicate with language-minority immigrants. Hispanics and Southeast Asians regularly read several regional magazines and newspapers. These publications should be put to use by established institutions. Local radio and television are constrained by their audience composition--changes in programming are very difficult. But for public broadcasting, continued outreach to Hispanics and Southeast Asians is needed to build interest in locally produced, possibly bilingual programs.

Day Care

Day care is a serious problems for Garden City as a whole.

Recommendation 14. Improve community access to day care. It is a problem for the families of packinghouse workers because shift hours do not fit those normally maintained by community day care services. For immigrant Hispanics and Southeast Asian refugees, conventional day care is also culturally inappropriate. As a result, most newcomers look for day care through individual social networks, and the children of workers may receive substandard care in health, nutrition, and personal safety. This might be improved if the packing plants set up day care facilities near work, staffed

with trained care givers. These employers have shown no interest, however, although IBP has said it will offer day care for workers in its Lexington, Nebraska plant. Alternately, persons enrolled in KANWORK (a job training program administered by SRS) could be employed in existing day care centers willing to alter their hours of operation.

Health Care

Inadequate health care is of course a national problem, not unique to Garden City. But in Finney County many newcomers, particularly women and children, receive inadequate medical care. Packinghouse workers do not receive health insurance until they have worked four to six months, depending on their employer. Because pregnancy is a "preexisting condition," it is underreported by women workers, who consequently may receive little or no prenatal care. Local physicians provide free prenatal care for only a few patients per month; other pregnant women do without a doctor's supervision until they walk into the emergency room to deliver.

In 1987, Finney County had the second highest birth rate in Kansas (24.9 per 1,000). Yet it was the only county in the state with less than 50 percent (49.9) of women receiving adequate prenatal care (the state average is 84.9 percent). It ranked third in the state in the number of women receiving inadequate care, and 25 percent of women giving birth in St. Catherine Hospital (Finney County's only hospital) received no prenatal care whatsoever (Hope 1989a).

From the physicians' point of view, high malpractice insurance rates and high-risk patients make obstetrical practice unattractive. In August 1989, three of Garden City's seven doctors who deliver babies (including the only one who accepts medical cards) announced that they would retire or end obstetrical practice (Hope 1989b). Unless insurance laws are changed, this promises to be a continuing dilemma. Patients and doctors are caught in a Catch-22; doctors are reluctant to serve high-risk patients (those without medical coverage or prenatal care), but lack of medical coverage means that women will not receive prenatal care and be at greater risk when they deliver.

To provide health services for those unable to pay, the United Methodist Mexican-American Ministries opened a clinic in November 1987. The clinic averages about 500 patient visits per month, approximately 65 of which are for prenatal care. The clinic is supported by a primary grant from the United Methodist Health Ministries Fund and small grants from such organizations as United Way and March of Dimes (Schwab 1989:4,14).

Family planning and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases have received even less attention from public authorities than prenatal care, although deaths from

AIDS have been reported in Garden City (Neufeld 1989). The Finney County Health Department is unable to keep up with the demand for these services, some of which are duplicated by the United Methodist clinic. Family planning is related to obstetrical practice. Together with treatment of STDs, birth control information should be easily available, out of community self-interest if nothing else, just as low-cost immunizations are made available.

Although needs for prenatal and obstetrical care have received considerable public attention, no satisfactory resolution has been reached. Finney County commissioners agreed to consider a county health clinic in August 1989 but have not budgeted money for one.

Recommendation 15. Create a county health clinic. Local providers, perhaps through the Community Services Council, should seek Medically Underserved Area status for Finney County. They should work with the county to establish a health clinic to provide prenatal services, expanded family planning services, and education screening for sexually transmitted disease (STD) and Human Immunosuppression Virus (AIDS/HIV).

• Finney County would benefit from model approaches to health education for Spanish and Vietnamese speakers. By identifying important "gateways"--such as new worker training groups in packinghouses--multilingual health information could be disseminated to high-risk groups.

No dentist in town will work on adults' teeth without payment, while only one is said to perform such work on children. The county health clinic should provide dental services for low-income and uninsured clients.

CONCLUSIONS

Some of our recommendations are specific, others more general. But overall, they draw attention to the need for information and concerted action to help newcomers to Garden City, regardless of native language or national origin. A spirit of welcome is so much a part of the heritage of the United States in general and Garden City in particular. It must be extended in new ways if immigrants are to receive equal access to available services.

Oldtimers say "there is something special about the Garden," and they are right. People in Garden City have worked hard to provide for newcomers and oldtimers alike. The community has much to be proud of. But equal access to community services is not yet available for everyone in Garden City. The community must build on its achievements as it strives to improve the quality of life of all its citizens.

Garden City offers a view of the future of rural and small-town America. In the 1980s it experienced the industrialization and increased ethnic and cultural diversity that many predict for the coming century. It has faced immense challenges, and it has met them head on. The people of Garden City--both newcomers and oldtimers--have seen themselves as sharing a special place, a special attitude that sets them apart. They have set for themselves a course--one not always easily followed--toward a more pluralistic and tolerant America. If similar communities around the country follow Garden City's example--and many are watching it closely--there is indeed hope that we may someday reach that goal.

APPENDIX A

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: ETHNICITY

In our report we discuss structural changes in the American economy that spawned Garden City's growth and ethnic in-migration in the 1980s, placing them within a context drawn from theoretical and empirical works on migration. In light of our work, it is useful to examine the literature on ethnicity and its relevance to Garden City.

The concept of ethnicity is relatively new to anthropology, if not sociology. Barth (1969) was one of the first anthropologists to raise what has been called the subjective-objective issue in ethnicity theory, namely differences in categorization between group members and nonmembers (Cohen 1978:380-381). Since names for ethnic groups are often inaccurately imposed by outsiders, Barth chose to see ethnicity "as a subjective process of group identification" (Cohen 1978:383). For example, "Southeast Asian" is imposed by the federal government and social scientists on members of many different sociocultural groups who may, from their own perspectives, have little or nothing in common. Terms such as "Lao," "Vietnamese," and "Hmong" are more meaningful for newcomers from Southeast Asia. In the same way, "Mexican American" and "Mexicano" are salient, respectively, to established Hispanic residents of Garden City and new immigrants from Mexico who may be lumped together by Anglos as "Mexicans," and confused with Hispanics of other nationalities. In one of the best anthropological discussions of ethnicity, Cohen (1978:385) points out that the "location and reasons for the maintenance of a we/they dichotomization becomes the crucial goal of research and theorizing"; that is, how and why are boundaries maintained? This process of boundary maintenance is clearly central to the issue of "becoming American" as discussed earlier.

Cohen argues that the process of assigning individuals to groups is both subjective and objective, a procedure carried out by the person in question as well as by others. According to his definition, ethnicity refers to "a set of descent-based cultural identifiers used to assign persons to groupings that expand and contract in inverse relation to the scale of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the membership" (1978:387). For example, someone who accepts the label "Southeast Asian" when dealing with

Anglos may prefer a more specific identity ("Vietnamese") when interacting with a member of another cultural group from that geographical area.

Furthermore, subjective and objective perspectives may not agree. Those who appear phenotypically more Anglo than Asian or Hispanic, who speak only English, and who "pass" for Anglo in certain situations may consider themselves Vietnamese or Chicano rather than American. Unlike Barth (1969), Cohen (1978:387-388) and subsequent researchers argue that boundaries are not necessarily stable and enduring, that individuals can claim multiple identities, and that ethnicity is therefore fundamentally situational. Further adding to the complexity of the concept, recent studies of ethnicity (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Di Leonardo 1984; Haines 1989) emphasize the diversity of intraethnic experiences rather than assuming a single behavioral norm for a particular ethnic group.

Theorists have applied several models of sociocultural change to ethnic groups in American society. In their analysis of Chicano ethnicity, for example, Keefe and Padilla (1987) discuss three models: acculturation-assimilation, internal colonialism, and cultural pluralism. A recent examination of ethnicity and American social theory (Postiglione 1983) distinguishes five models: Anglo-conformity, the melting pot (assimilation), cultural pluralism, emerging culture, and impact-integration.

As applied to American society, the acculturation-assimilation model, often phrased as "Americanization" or "Anglo conformity," hypothesizes that immigrant or minority groups will, over time, acculturate to resemble the dominant majority group (Keefe and Padilla 1987:13-15; Postiglione 1983:14-18). Different authors present various models of acculturation to describe this process; the most sophisticated, adopted by Keefe and Padilla, postulates that each aspect of culture change must be measured independently. According to this view, newcomers are highly selective and may create entirely new cultural and social patterns. In the case of Chicanos, for example, they argue that while linguistic acculturation is fairly rapid, barriers to economic mobility after the second generation and the persisting importance of extended families help maintain a distinctive ethnic identity.

Acculturation is emphasized by many authors as a prerequisite for assimilation--"the social, economic, and political integration of an immigrant or ethnic minority group member into mainstream society" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:18). Various authors have noted that distinct social, economic, and political aspects of assimilation must be distinguished and that acculturation does not ensure assimilation. Secondary relations (for example, at work and at school) occur first between ethnic minorities and majority-group members, while primary relations (intermarriage and friendship) may never be

achieved for most non-Europeans (Keefe and Padilla 1987:18-19). This view of assimilation applies well in Garden City.

The assimilationist assumption that new immigrants and minorities rapidly blend into an American "melting pot," a product of the 1920s' experience with immigration, is rejected by most contemporary researchers, although it remains current in popular ideology. Some theorists have applied an internal colonialism model which assumes exploitation of minorities by a dominant group; however, this fails to consider socioeconomic mobility, exploitation by minority-group elites themselves, and the phenomenon of "passing" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:20-21).

A third model, cultural pluralism, refers to the maintenance of cultural diversity within a single political system. Cohen notes that since virtually all contemporary societies are multiethnic, the notion of pluralism may be superfluous (1978:399); others reject this model as static and failing to acknowledge the potential for intergroup violence. In spite of these problems, some still feel that cultural pluralism best represents contemporary American society.

The "emerging culture" model suggests that both newcomers and American culture are constantly changing in response to each other--"each group moves towards the others in some respects" (Postiglione 1983:19). Newcomers learn the language of the dominant majority and conform to its laws, while the majority must deal with them in economic and political, if not social, terms. Contributors to this view include Glazer and Moynihan (1970) and Michael Novak (1972).

The last model considered by Postiglione, impact-integration, is an elaboration of the emerging-culture approach developed by Femminella (1973). This model argues that accommodation rather than assimilation of subordinate groups takes place. It focuses on conflict resolution, a process by which both ethnic groups and society are changed (Postiglione 1983:164-172).

Recent studies of American ethnicity generally agree that immigrant acculturation, and some degree of assimilation, take place over time; that the wider society accommodates newcomers to some extent; and that newcomers or members of minority groups do not necessarily want total assimilation. Anglos are not so much a cultural model to emulate as simply "the most successful American ethnic group with whom one must deal" (Postiglione 1983:172). A number of researchers (Cohen 1978; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Postiglione 1983) view ethnicity not merely as a product of discrimination, but as a quality valued positively (in some form) by group members. A "critical pluralism" (Postiglione 1983:204-205) recognizes assimilative, pluralistic, and integrative currents in American life and postulates that conflict resolution leads to eventual change in the entire society.

Many discussions of ethnicity, in fact, focus on issues of conflict and competition for resources (Barth 1969; Blake 1981). Banton (1983), for example, argues that individual competition tends to dissolve group boundaries, while group competition reinforces them. The smaller the minority group, the more likely members will be seen as individuals and the smaller the likelihood of conflict. This generalization seems to apply to blacks in Garden City, at least those with longstanding community ties. As group size increases, or economic conditions worsen, more resentment is likely to develop against a minority. Ethnic relations are therefore bound up in complex questions of hierarchy, stratification, and pursuit of economic and political interests (Epstein 1978; Nelson and Tienda 1985).

Although social scientists discuss ethnicity almost entirely in terms of group competition, Cohen argues that ethnic differences are not based simply on power relations between groups--they can be relatively egalitarian and pluralistic. From this point of view, minority-majority relations constitute a special case of ethnicity in stratified societies (Cohen 1978:392). Others such as Keyes (1981) and Keefe and Padilla (1987) also argue that ethnic distinctions are not merely a product of discrimination in the wider society. Cohen makes the important point that ethnicity can be of such positive value to group members that threatened loss of identity can lead to movements to revive cultural uniqueness (Cohen 1978:394). The insistence of Vietnamese Catholics on Mass in their own language, as well as Vietnamese language classes for children at the Garden City Buddhist temple, demonstrate the concern of some refugees about loss of cultural identity.

The degree to which identity becomes an issue varies widely, as does the success of mobilization along ethnic lines. Cohen notes that a "critical threshold" of concern must be reached on the part of group members, and trusted leaders must be available to act for the entire group. "Other outside ethnic groups defined by leaders and the people must be seen as competitors for scarce resources and rewards so that their own recognized, and now salient, ethnic status is seen as a real factor in the denial or achievement of desirable goals" (Cohen 1978:397). Lack of organization and leadership, as well as cross-cutting interethnic ties through work and marriage, have mitigated against mobilization of native Hispanics in Garden City.

Public perceptions, which may be directed, used, and modified by politicians, news media, and other agents, play a crucial role in determining how competition is defined. For example, churches, schools, and news media in Garden City seem to have dealt effectively with initial fears that Southeast Asians were "taking jobs away from Americans." Yet many Anglos and Hispanics still resent what they perceive as unfair government benefits accorded Southeast Asian refugees.

To the extent that newcomers gain access to privileged positions in the community, ethnic group boundaries will be relatively "soft" (Banton 1983). Following Mexican-American veterans' assertion of rights after World War II, and the legal changes brought about by federal legislation in the 1960s, Anglo ethnic boundaries in Garden City became notably "softer." Overt segregation is no longer practiced, and records indicate increasing marriages between Anglos and Mexican Americans. Although the Anglo majority clearly retains power, Mexican Americans and Southeast Asians are actively sought as committee members for various church, school, or community groups. These changes do not, of course, necessarily mean the groups these people represent have the same access as Anglos to societal resources, or that they are as content with existing group relations.

The effects of political and economic factors on relations between immigrants and established residents in American society, particularly as they vary in specific contexts, have been noted by a number of researchers (Bach 1986; Finnan 1988; Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Stepick 1985; Haines 1989). Their work contradicts earlier assimilationist perspectives which assumed similar experiences for successive waves of immigrants. The nature of local labor markets, institutional discrimination, media response to newcomers, and the presence of established ethnic groups all affect immigrant adaptation (Bach 1986:147; Portes and Stepick 1985; Haines 1989). And they have certainly shaped ethnic relations in Garden City.

These themes--accommodation, immigrant adaptation, the continuing importance of ethnic identity, competition, and conflict--have all arisen during the course of our fieldwork. The America of 1990 is not the America of 1950, and though none of the Garden City team would argue that discrimination and institutional barriers to minorities have disappeared, neither would we argue that major economic, political, and social changes have not taken place at both national and local levels. Even so, we continue to differ on the nature and extent of change. Our disagreements reflect, in microcosm, different perspectives on the nature of American society--among social scientists, and among members of the different ethnic groups in Garden City and beyond.

This page was intentionally
left blank.

APPENDIX B
PAPERS, PRESENTATIONS, AND PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
GARDEN CITY CHANGING RELATIONS PROJECT TEAM

Benson, Janet E.

- 1988 Refugees, Employment, and Upward Mobility. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November, Phoenix, AZ.
- 1989 Good Neighbors: Ethnic Relations in Garden City Trailer Courts. Paper presented at the joint annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Ethnological Society, April 7, Santa Fe, NM.
- 1989 Households, Migration, and Community Context. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 15-19, Washington, DC.

Broadway, Michael J.

- 1987 Indochinese Refugee Settlement Patterns in Garden City, Kansas. Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science 90(3-4):127-137.
- 1987 The Origins and Determinants of Indochinese Secondary In-Migration to S.W. Kansas. Heritage of the Great Plains 20(2):19-29.
- 1987 The Social Adjustment of Adult Male Vietnamese Refugees in Garden City, 1985-1986. Report to the Kansas Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services, Garden City. 35 pp.
- 1988 The Effects of Rapid Industrialization upon a High Plains Community in the 1980s. MS submitted to the Great Plains Quarterly.
- 1988 Some Social and Economic Consequences of IBP's Decision to Locate in Holcomb, Kansas. Figures from presentation for R. Bach site visit, 1988. 20 figures.
- 1989 Settlement and Mobility among Newcomers to a High Plains Boomtown in the 1980s. Journal of Cultural Geography. In press.
- 1989 Newcomers' Settlement, Mobility and Impact Upon Finney County, Kansas. A report to the Ford Foundation Changing Relations Project. July 20. 15 pp.

Broadway, Michael J., and Terry Ward

- n.d. Recent Changes in the Structure and Location of the U.S. Meatpacking Industry. Geography. In Press. 6 pp.

- Campa, Arthur
- 1989 Accommodation or Resistance: Immigrant and Established Hispanics in Garden City, Kansas. Paper presented at the joint annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Ethnological Society, April 5, Santa Fe, NM.
 - 1989 Latino Newcomers: Accommodation and Resistance in Garden City, Kansas. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, December 3-5, Miami, FL.
- Erickson, Ken C.
- 1988 Vietnamese Household Organization in Garden City, Kansas: Southeast Asians in a Packing House Town. *Plains Anthropologist* 33(119):27-36.
 - 1989 Refugee Adjustment and Household Dynamics in Southwest Kansas. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, April 5-9, Santa Fe, NM.
 - 1989 Changing Relations in a Social Service Agency. Paper presented at the joint annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Ethnological Society, April 7, Santa Fe, NM.
 - 1989 Remarks on Refugee and Minority Issues for the Kansas State Mental Health Plan. July 31, Dodge City, KS.
 - 1989 The Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Association (MAA). Report to the Garden City Changing Relations Project. August 15. 14 pp.
 - 1989 Microcomputers and Managed Anthropological Teamwork (MAT). *Practicing Anthropology* 11(4):14-15.
- Erickson, Ken C., and Donald D. Stull
- 1988 Changing Ethnic Relations in a High Plains Boomtown. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, April 22, Tampa, FL.
 - 1989 Bovine Anthropology: "Pulling Count" in the Packinghouse. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 16, Washington, DC.
- Grey, Mark A.
- 1988 Ethnic Relations and School/Community Interaction at Garden City High School. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November, Phoenix, AZ.
 - 1989 A Summary of Research Results: Ethnic Relations at Garden City High School. June 6, 11 pp.
 - 1989 Suggestions for Program Improvements: Garden City High School and the English as a Second Language Program. June 22. 33 pp.
 - 1989 The High School as an Arena of Changing Ethnic Relations: Garden City, Kansas. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, April 7, Santa Fe, NM.
 - 1989 Rite, Ritual and Immigrant-Resident Relations in Garden City, Kansas High School. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November, Washington, DC.

Stull, Donald D.

- 1988 Changing Relations: Newcomers and Established Residents in U.S. Communities. Presentation to Leadership Kansas, July 21, Garden City, KS.
- 1988 Anglo Responses to Rapid Community Growth and Ethnic Immigration. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 17, Phoenix, AZ.
- 1989 "The Garden": A Historical and Visual Overview of Garden City, Kansas. Paper presented at the joint annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Ethnological Society, April 7, Santa Fe, NM.

This page was intentionally
left blank.

REFERENCES*

- Adams, B.N.
1968 Kinship in an Urban Setting. Chicago: Markham.
- Agar, M.H.
1980 The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography. New York: Academic Press.
1987 Speaking of Ethnography. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Albrecht, S.L.
1982 Commentary. Pacific Sociological Review 25:297-306.
- Bach, R.L.
1986 Immigration: Issues of Ethnicity, Class, and Public Policy in the United States. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 485:139-152.
- Banton, M.
1983 Racial and Ethnic Competition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Barth, F., ed.
1969 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Bell, B. N., and M.D. Boat
1957 Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations. American Journal of Sociology 62:391-398.
- Benson, J.E.
1989 Good Neighbors: Ethnic Relations in Garden City Trailer Courts. Paper presented at the joint annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Ethnological Society, April 7, Santa Fe, NM.
- Blake, C.F.
1981 Ethnic Groups and Social Change in a Chinese Market Town. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Blanchard, L.H.
1989 Conquest of Southwest Kansas. Garden City, KS: Finney County Historical Society.
- Broadway, M.J.
1985 The Characteristics of Southeast Asian Refugees Residing in Garden City, Kansas. The Kansas Geographer 19:5-18.
1987a The Origins and Determinants of Indochinese Secondary Immigration to S.W. Kansas. Heritage of the Great Plains 20(2):19-29.

- 1987b Indochinese Refugee Settlement Patterns in Garden City, Kansas. *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* 90(3-4):127-137.
- 1989 Settlement and Mobility among Newcomers to a High Plains Boomtown in the 1980s. *Journal of Cultural Geography*. In press.
- Bustos, T.
1989 Personal Communication. Changing Relations Project files.
- Carnoy, M., and M. Castells
1984 After the Crisis? *World Policy Journal*, Spring:495-516.
- Chapelle, J.K.
1989 Refugee Children in College: Factors Influencing Migration Decisions of Southeast Asian Refugee Families in Liberal, Kansas. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, April 9, Santa Fe, NM.
- Chavez, L.
1988 Settlers and Sojourners: The Case of Mexicans in the U.S. *Human Organization* 47:95-108.
- Clark, W.A.V.
1986 *Human Migration*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Cohen, R.
1978 Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology. In *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*, Volume 7. B.J. Siegel, A.R. Beals, and S.A. Tyler, eds. Pp. 379-403. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.
- Cornelius, W.A., and R.V. Kemper, eds.
1978 *Metropolitan Latin America: The Challenge and Response*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Crockett, E.D.
1985 Data on feedyards and packing plants in Kansas District 6 and their demands on the road system. Changing Relations Project files.
- Di Leonardo, M.
1984 *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dos Santos, T.
1970 The Structure of Dependence. *American Economic Association, Papers and Proceedings* 60:231-236.
- Epstein, A.L.
1978 *Ethos and Identity: Three Studies of Ethnicity*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Erickson, K.C.
1988 Vietnamese Household Organization in Garden City, Kansas: Southeast Asians in a Packing House Town. *Plains Anthropologist* 33(119):27-36.
- Faddis, K.
1989 Facility Boss to Leave Early. *Garden City Telegram*, July 12.

- Femminella, F.X.
 1973 The Immigrant and the Melting Pot. *In Perspectives on Urban America*. M. Urofsky, ed. New York: Doubleday.
- Finnan, C.R.
 1988 Effects of Southeast Asian Refugees on Schools and School Districts. *In School and Society: Learning Content Through Culture*. H.T. Trueba and C. Delgado-Gaitan, eds. Pp. 119-135. New York: Praeger.
- Fisher, R.
 1981 Garden City Plant Seeks Housing but Town Rejects Mobile Homes. *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*, October 23.
- Foster, G.
 1963 The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village. *American Anthropologist* 63:1173-1193.
- Freiburg, K.
 1979 Iowa Firm Plans Huge Beef Plant. *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*, September 5.
- Fund, M., and E.W. Clement
 1982 Distribution of Land and Water Ownership in Southwest Kansas. Whiting, KS: Kansas Rural Center.
- Garden City Telegram
 1985 Lawsuit Stirred Waters. *Garden City Telegram*, October 31.
 1988 The Board's Job. Editorial, May 14.
 1990 Garden City's Attitude. Editorial, January 2.
- Garden City Planning Department
 1988 Garden City Community Information Profile Report. Garden City, KS.
 1989 Garden City Community Information Profile Report. Garden City, KS.
- Gilmore, J.S., and M.K. Duff
 1975 Boomtown Growth Management: A Case Study of Rock Springs-Green River, Wyoming. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Glazer, N., and D.P. Moynihan
 1970 Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Greider, T., and R.S. Krannich
 1985 Neighboring Patterns, Social Support, and Rapid Growth: A Comparison Analysis from Three Western Communities. *Sociological Perspectives* 28:51-70.
- Grey, Mark A.
 1989 A summary of Research Results: Ethnic Relations at Garden City High School. Report submitted to Garden City School District, USD 457. June 6, Changing Relations Project files.
- Haines, D.W.
 1982 Southeast Asian Refugees in the United States: The Interaction of Kinship and Public Policy. *Anthropological Quarterly* 55:170-181.

- 1989 Introduction. *In* Refugees as Immigrants: Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese in America. D.W. Haines, ed. Pp. 1-23. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Hamilton, F.E.I.
1984 Industrial Restructuring: An International Problem. *Geoforum* 15:349-364.
- Haren, C.L., and R.W. Halling
1979 Industrial Development in Non-Metropolitan America: A Locational Perspective. *In* Nonmetropolitan Industrialization. R.E. Lonsdale and H.L. Seyler, eds. New York: Wiley.
- Hope, D.
1989a Many Mothers Lack Prenatal Care. *Garden City Telegram*, August 26.
1989b What's a Mother to Do? *Garden City Telegram*, August 26.
1989c School Enrollment Still Climbing. *Garden City Telegram*, October 2.
- Hope, H.
1988 *Garden City: Dreams in a Kansas Town*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Jurgens, D.
• 1989 Local Immigration Office to Close. *Garden City Telegram*, November 22.
- Kale, S.R., and R.E. Lonsdale
1979 Factors Encouraging and Discouraging Plant Location in Nonmetropolitan Areas. *In* Nonmetropolitan Industrialization. R.E. Lonsdale and H.L. Seyler, eds. New York: Wiley.
- Kansas Bureau of Investigation, Statistical Analysis Center
1980, 1986 *Crime in Kansas: Uniform Crime Report*. Topeka.
- Kansas Department of Human Resources, Bureau of Economic Analysis
1988 *Personal Income for Counties and Metropolitan Areas*. Topeka.
- Kansas Department of Human Resources, Research and Analysis Section
1988 *Finney County, Kansas Labor Force History, January 1979-June 1988*. Topeka.
- Kansas Department of Health and Environment
1980, 1986 *Annual Summary of Vital Statistics, Kansas*. Topeka.
- Kansas Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services
1980, 1986 *Monthly Reports of Suspected Child Abuse/Neglect Cases*. Topeka.
- Kansas State Board of Education
1980, 1986 *Headcount Enrollment, Kansas Public Schools*. Topeka, KS.
- Kay, S.
1989 Packers Play Musical Chairs. *Beef Today*, September:46-51.
- Keefe, S.E., and A.M. Padilla
1987 *Chicano Ethnicity*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

- Keyes, C.F.
 1981 The Dialectic of Ethnic Change. *In* Ethnic Change. C.F. Keyes, ed. Pp. 3-20. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Knox, P.L.
 1988 The Economic Organization of U.S. Space. *In* The United States: A Contemporary Human Geography. P.L. Knox et.al., eds. Harlow, England: Longman.
- Laudert, S.B.
 1988 Information on feedlot capacity, annual feed needs for fed cattle, and 1987 Finney County production. Personal communication to Mary Warren, Finney County Museum. Changing Relations Project files.
- Lee, E.
 1966 A Theory of Migration. *Demography* 3:47-57.
- Lewis, G.J.
 1982 Human Migration: A Geographical Perspective. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- MacDonald, L.J., and J. MacDonald
 1964 Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 42:82-97.
- Malamud, G.W.
 1984 Boomtown Communities. New York: Von Nostrand Reinhold.
- Mangelsdorf, M.
 1980 Suit Charges Neglect of Hispanic Students. *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*, May 22.
- Mares, F.
 1986 Southeast Asians Flock to Garden City. *Kansas City Times*, May 24.
- Marshall, A.
 1973 The Import of Labor. Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press.
- Marston, W.G., and T.L. Van Valey
 1979 The Role of Residential Segregation in the Assimilation Process. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 441:13-23.
- McKeown, R.L., and A. Lantz
 1977 Rapid Growth and the Impact on Quality of Life in Rural Communities: A Case Study. Glenwood Springs: Colorado West Regional Mental Health Center.
- Nelson, C., and M. Tienda
 1985 The Structure of Hispanic Ethnicity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 8:49-74.
- Neufeld, J.
 1988 Indian Hills Parents Are on the Warpath. *Garden City Telegram*, January 29.
 1989 AIDS Death Leaves Bitter Memories. *Garden City Telegram*, December 6.

- Nichols, N.
 1989 Many Local Groups Depend on Senior Volunteers. Garden City Telegram, November 8.
- Novak, M.
 1972 The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics. New York: Macmillan.
- Office of Refugee Settlement
 1989 Report to Congress: Refugee Resettlement Program. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Family Support Administration.
- Oppenheimer, R.
 1985 Acculturation or Assimilation: Mexican Immigrants in Kansas, 1900 to World War II. *Western Historical Quarterly* 16:429-448.
- Park, R.E.
 1952 Human Communities. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Piore, M.J.
 1979a Birds of Passage. New York: Cambridge University Press.
 1979b International Migration and the Dual Labor Market. *Migration Today* 7:7-12.
- Portes, A., and R.L. Bach
 • 1985 Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, A., and A. Stepick
 1985 Unwelcome Immigrants: The Labor Market Experiences of 1980 (Mariel) Cuban and Haitian Refugees in South Florida. *American Sociological Review* 50:493-514.
- Post, R.J.
 1988 Parents' Opinions Know No Boundaries. Garden City Telegram, February 2.
- Postiglione, G.A.
 1983 Ethnicity and American Social Theory. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Powell, J.
 1989 Interview with D. Stull. June 23. Changing Relations Project files.
- Ravenstein, E.G.
 1885 The Laws of Migration. *Journal, Statistical Society* 48:167-235.
- Rex, J.
 1968 The Sociology of a Zone in Transition. *In* Readings in Urban Sociology. R.E. Pahl, ed. Pp. 211-231. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Roseman, C.C.
 1971 Channelization of Migration Flows from the Rural South to the Industrial Midwest. *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers* 3:140-146.

- Schwab, P.
1989 Interview with D. Stull. May 26. Changing Relations Project files.
- Skaggs, J.M.
1986 Prime Cut: Livestock Raising and Meatpacking in the United States, 1607-1983. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Smith, A.
1971 The Wealth of Nations, Vol. 1. New York: Dent Dutton.
- Spindler, G.D., and L. Spindler
1983 Anthropologists View American Culture. Annual Reviews in Anthropology 12:49-78.
- Stanback, T.M., Jr., and T.J. Noyelle
1982 Cities in Transition. Totowa, NJ: Allenheld, Osmen.
- Stull, D.D.
1988 Collaboration and Social Change. High Plains Applied Anthropologist 8(1):33-50.
- Stull, D.D., and J.J. Schensul, eds.
1987 Collaborative Research and Social Change: Applied Anthropology in Action. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census
1980, 1986 County Business Patterns, Kansas. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics
1988 Occupational Injuries and Illnesses in the United States by Industry. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- USD 457
1987 Enrollment by School, Race and Sex.
- Webb, T.
1986 No. 1 in Beef: Kansas Plants Lead Country in Production. Wichita Eagle-Beacon, January 25.
- Wirth, L.
1938 Urbanism as a Way of Life. American Journal of Sociology 44:1-24.
- Wood, A.
1988 The Beefpacking Industry: A Study of Three Communities in Southwestern Kansas: Dodge City, Liberal and Garden City, Kansas. Final Report to the Department of Migrant Education. Flagstaff, AZ: Wood Associates.
- Yu, E.S.H., and W.T. Liu
1986 Methodological Problems and Policy Implications in Vietnamese Refugee Research. International Migration Review 20:483-501.

*Interviews and fieldnotes cited in the text are not listed here. They are all contained in the Changing Relations Project files.