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Integrating Indiana's Latino Newcomers: A Study of State and Community Responses to the New Immigration

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Executive Summary

Despite decades of research on the "new immigration," we know little about how states and communities where Latino immigrants have recently settled respond to the arrival of these newcomers. Most research still highlights the experiences and problems of immigrant newcomers themselves; we have learned relatively little about the culture and institutions of long established residents in host states and communities.

Based on a 2-year qualitative study, this report illuminates how state and community organizations in Indiana responded to the sudden arrival of significant numbers of Latino immigrant newcomers, from 1995-2005. After exploring important state-level processes and developments, we present our research findings from two Indiana communities. The research allows us to present Latino newcomer integration as a learning process for both long established residents and newcomers alike. Communities with diversifying populations evolve through such learning. Therefore, we have focused our attention on the social contexts in Indiana host communities which shape such learning processes. We conceptualize the development of policies and practices toward immigrants as part of an *educational ecology*—a web of complex, cross-cutting activities and contexts through which individuals and organizations attempt to "teach" newcomers about living in Indiana, even as they "learn" to adapt to newcomers' needs.

In the late 1990s, both focal communities in our study initiated proactive responses to the arrival of newcomer Latinos. In the absence of direction or assistance from the state, each community drew on local institutions and cultural traditions in developing their responses. Long-standing female residents of Latin origin, or with deep life experience in Latin America, took the lead in mobilizing resources. In one community, corporate and philanthropic elites determined the direction and tenor of the community response, which emphasized self-sufficiency; in the other community, decentralized networks and fractious university groups combined to provide useful, yet sporadic services, and ultimately a sense of advocacy burnout. In both communities, debates over immigration and community membership vexed efforts at newcomer integration. And in both communities, efforts at cooperation and collaboration between the school corporations and other community organizations were sometimes compromised by poor structures of communication.

In sum, our findings indicate a need to reassess the environment for institutional development on behalf of newcomer integration. Regional developments for newcomer integration have varying organizational infrastructures, as well as varying forms of cultural expression. We have identified a number of *inconsistencies* in the efforts to institutionalize newcomer integration, just as we have identified *contradictions* in the cultural debates about such integration. Such findings make us skeptical that well-intended efforts at integrating Latino immigrant newcomers will persist over time; rather, our evidence suggests that current forms of community response, in the absence of state support, may further marginalize Latino newcomers and their children in coming years. We conclude our report with recommendations for communities interested in preventing such outcomes, including: a) increased collaboration among community leadership and local businesses to make more long-term investment in social services for newcomers; b) increased involvement of city government on a long-term basis; c) the development of regular community forums for cross-cultural sharing and learning; d) expanded conceptions of community membership, along with broadly shared responsibility for educating and integrating Latino newcomers; and e) increased collaboration between state agencies, schools, and community organizations in fostering newcomer education.

I. Introduction

It has by now become commonplace to note the tremendous growth of Indiana's Latin-origin immigrant population. By most accounts and indicators, the flow of immigrant newcomers to the state of Indiana increased dramatically toward the last five years of the last millennium. Unlike other states such as North Carolina and Georgia, which experienced growth rates in their Latino populations of over 300% over the decade of the 1990s, Indiana registered a 117% increase for that decade—significant, but only around the median for the nation as a whole. It is when we look at the available figures for 1996-2006, however, that we see how the growth of the Latino immigrant population in Indiana became more dramatic (see below).

By the mid-1990s, reports across the state of Indiana, both published (e.g., Gannon et al, 1996; United Way of Central Indiana, 2000) and anecdotal, also indicated significant challenges in meeting the needs of this new population, and in preparing established Hoosier residents for receiving them. Schools could not meet their new students' educational needs, hospitals could not adequately diagnose or treat new patients, law enforcement and the courts found themselves short of critical interpreting services, and so on. There was also ample evidence of what we would call cultural conflict—misunderstanding, discrimination, in some cases outright violence.

It was in this context that we set out to study the way that Indiana's existing population and existing institutions have responded to the arrival of these new Latino immigrants. Most research on "the new immigration" has documented the struggles, experiences, and contributions of the immigrants themselves. We were tempted to do so as well. The principal researcher, Levinson, has conducted research in Mexico for nearly 20 years, and is fluent in Spanish. He wanted to know why Latino immigrants had come to Indiana and how they were faring. However, he soon realized that most of those concerned about Latino immigrants work with them directly. On the other hand, very few have studied the nature of existing community cultures and institutions, and how these affect the quality of the immigrants' experience.[1] When several graduate students, not Spanish-proficient but otherwise talented and knowledgeable about Indiana, joined the project, its fate was sealed. With very limited funding, the project's focus would be on the efforts of long-standing Hoosier residents to understand and integrate this new population.[2]

From the very outset, this study also had a focus on education. It was clear that schools were critical community institutions for responding to the arrival of Latino newcomers. It was clear, also,

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[1] For exceptions that illuminate community dynamics, see recent studies (Gozdziak and Martin, 2005; Millard and Chapa, 2005; Wortham, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002; Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2005). In the book by Gozdziak and Martin, particularly helpful community studies include those by Bailey (North Carolina), Fennelly (Minnesota), Bump (Shenandoah Valley, Virginia), and Schoenholtz (Arkansas); in the book by Zúñiga and Hernández-León, particularly helpful studies include those by Gouveia et al. (Nebraska), Grey and Woodrick (Iowa), Dunn et al. (Delaware and Maryland), and Rich and Miranda (Lexington, Kentucky).

[2] The principal researcher has led a growing group of student researchers in the collection of data for this project. From the summer of 2003 through the summer of 2004, Levinson's primary research assistant, funded through the Spencer Discipline-Based Scholarship in Education (DBSE) program at Indiana University, was a doctoral student from the IU Department of Sociology, Judson Everitt. Then, in the spring of 2004, as part of their hands-on learning in the course, "Latino Education Across the Americas," an unusually dedicated group of students conducted research for the project. Finally, in the fall of 2004, Levinson taught an advanced graduate seminar on ethnographic research methods, and, to his delight, 3 more doctoral students, including Linda Johnson, signed on. Formal data collection ended with the summer of 2005, and data analysis has been ongoing since that time. With small grants from the DBSE program and the IU School of Education, but mainly through fortitude and personal commitment, Judson Everitt, Linda Johnson, and Alicia Ebbitt have done a lion's share of the documentation, analysis, and write-up.

that *secondary* schools were especially important, and potentially problematic. Because of their size and subject specialization, secondary schools were less likely to provide an environment for newcomers' successful social and academic engagement. Moreover, because they served students embarking on a critical life-stage transition—namely, to full-time work or post-secondary education—secondary schools could make or break the difference.

Yet we also wished to highlight the broader educational practices that comprise the relationship between established residents and Latino newcomers. We conceptualized the development of policies and practices toward immigrants in schools as part of an *educational ecology* that includes state declarations and policies for immigrants; media representations and discourses about immigrants; community organizations, policies, and practices that deal with immigrant issues; school corporation policies; and individual school policies and practices. We wanted to understand the relationships between various state and community agencies that had as part of their mission the "education" of immigrant newcomers; this eventually included entities as diverse as the Indiana Department of Workforce Development, various churches, various hospitals, local non-profits, universities, and the Department of Motor Vehicles, among others. In short, the educational ecology for immigrant integration consists of a web of complex, cross-cutting activities through which individuals and organizations attempt to "teach" newcomers about living in Indiana, even as they "learn" to adapt to newcomers' needs.

In this report, we focus our observations and conclusions on community-level educational ecologies for immigrant integration, with some reference to state-level processes that may or may not impact local ecologies. Data from schools and school corporations are still under analysis, and a separate forthcoming report and series of articles will focus on this formal dimension of education. The key questions framing much of the research reported here include the following:

1. What seems to be Indiana's cultural and institutional climate for the integration of Indiana's immigrant newcomers? What are existing policies and guidelines in the state of Indiana for educating immigrant and language minority youth? What state actors and offices are charged with different aspects of educating newcomers, and how do they view their work?
2. How have 2 local Indiana communities and school corporations with significant historical and demographic differences responded to the arrival of newcomers? What specific policies and practices have been developed by local government, civic, religious, or business groups?

To answer these questions, we designed a multi-site project focusing on state political and policy figures, local community actors and agencies serving newcomers, and school personnel of local secondary schools serving newcomer students. Using qualitative methods,[3] we compared two local regions of roughly the same population, but with significantly different demographic and

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[3] Interviews have been our primary research method. State political and policy figures have been recruited on the basis of their involvement with legislation or policy regarding immigrants in Indiana. We have also recruited local community figures who provide services to immigrant newcomers, and we have recruited school administrators and teachers at both the corporation offices and several secondary schools in each of the two local communities.

Observations inform and supplement the interviews. At the community and school level, we have observed activities or events that deal directly or indirectly with the integration of newcomer students. We have gathered detailed fieldnotes from school board meetings, PTA meetings, community forums, and the activities of several community centers. We have also observed key interactional spaces within the high schools and junior high schools in each community, such as central offices, counselors' offices, hallways, and classrooms.

Finally, document analysis provides another important source of data. We have continued to collect and analyze local and statewide reports (mostly print media like newspapers) on immigrant newcomers to gain a sense of the regional climates for their integration. We look for patterns in language and identification of Latino newcomers, and we highlight the ways that newcomers, and their education, are portrayed to and by the public. We have also collected and analyzed existing laws, policy documents, and political debates relevant to newcomer education.

institutional profiles (one a service-based town with a large university, the other a manufacturing town), in order to capture variation in cultures, institutions, and policy responses.[4] It is also worth noting that each of these focal communities claim to be anomalies in the Hoosier heartland, placing a much higher value on cultural diversity than is typical. Studying such communities enables us to highlight "best practices," even as it also suggests the depth of the challenges faced in other communities where the historical commitment to diversity is weaker.

In this report, after exploring some important state-level processes, we present our key findings across the two communities. In the late 1990s, both communities initiated proactive responses to the arrival of newcomer Latinos. Long-standing female residents of Latin origin, or with deep life experience in Latin America, took the lead in mobilizing resources. In the absence of direction or assistance from the state, each community drew on local institutions and cultural traditions in developing their responses. In one community, corporate and philanthropic elites determined the direction and tenor of the community response; organizations and resources that were developed for integration were subject to limiting criteria of "self-sufficiency." In the other community, decentralized networks and fractious university groups combined to provide highly empathetic, but sporadic services; advocacy burnout, and a pervasive "multicultural complacency," combined to limit the deeper institutionalization of newcomer integration efforts. In both communities, ambiguous and contradictory notions of community membership vexed efforts at newcomer integration. And in both communities, fledgling efforts at cooperation and collaboration between the school corporations and other community organizations were compromised by poor structures of communication.

Finally, a note about our approach to research and analysis: This study has followed the protocols of interpretive ethnographic research in the fields of anthropology and sociology. The study is informed by theoretical perspectives on institutions, cultures, and communities, but we have eliminated most formal references to the literature in order to create a more accessible document (references and theoretical discussion are available by request at brlevins@indiana.edu). Like any study, ours is infused with values. We have endeavored to bracket our values procedurally in the early analysis of data, but it would be disingenuous to claim the kind of full "objectivity" that some social scientists claim. Our objectivity is achieved through the engagement and balanced presentation of *perspectives* in the data, rather than through a presumably value-free analytic stance (such a stance, we assert, is impossible to attain). Our values from the start have included 1) a strong appreciation for the social and cultural *resources* that immigrant newcomers bring to a community; 2) a strong emphasis on the *rights* that such immigrants should have to pursue an economic livelihood and request social services, if needed; and 3) a commitment to the goal of social and cultural *integration*.

[4] The way we worked in the 2 communities deserves some mention. Through initial contacts, we used a "snowball" technique to identify important community organizations and actors. Eventually, we conducted some 108 audio-recorded interviews across the 2 communities and the state, with each interview lasting an average of 45 minutes. In many cases, we had follow-up communication with interviewees, either informally, or through formally sharing an interview transcript and inviting feedback or modification. For reasons of confidentiality, we have chosen to use pseudonyms for both the communities and the people we interviewed. In some cases, we have altered the reporting of certain details to make identification even more difficult. Undoubtedly, our analysis would be richer, and in some ways "truer," if we could include many specific details from these town's histories and cultures. Yet we felt anonymity was important in order to foster genuine participation and honest responses amongst our participants, without fear of negative repercussions. We wish to express our hearty appreciation to all those who participated in the study; we hope that the results and findings discussed here will be of some recompense for their typically gracious and generous cooperation.

Newcomers, it would seem, are here to stay. They bring many tangible benefits to the state of Indiana and the communities where they reside, so how can we work with the situation at hand? This is the pragmatic question that drives much of our analysis. Along with the concept of educational ecology, the concept of integration is central to our study. Contrary to strong notions of assimilation, on the one hand, or outright rejection, we advocate integration. Assimilation represents a *kind* of social acceptance, but it connotes a one-way process, in which the immigrant newcomer must shed most prior loyalties and cultural values in order to become "American." Rejection, on the other hand, is a phenomenon rooted in prejudice, xenophobia, or racism; it results in strong marginalization or, in some cases, legal prosecution and deportation. We propose a pragmatic concept of integration for full community membership. We choose the term integration to indicate our hope for a reciprocal, respectful process of *mutual learning and adaptation* between newcomers and established residents. Integration for us denotes a two-way process which requires some engagement and some change in the host community as well as amongst recent immigrants. We do not suggest that such mutual adaptation must be entirely "equal"—that, for instance, established residents must learn Spanish at the same rate, and in the same numbers, as newcomers learn English. Rather, we suggest that the larger burden of adaptation should still fall on the newcomer, even as we insist on the moral imperative for established residents to reciprocate through a practice of openness to what newcomers may bring.

II. The View across the State

Population, Economy, and Work

A recent report by the Sagamore Institute (2006) summarizes the available demographic data for Mexican-origin immigrants, and emphasizes this population's recent growth in Indiana. Because the vast majority of Latino newcomers are Mexican in origin, we quote the report at some length:

> The size of Indiana's Mexican population ranks right in the middle of the surrounding states. Michigan's Mexican population is a bit larger, while Illinois's is considerably larger. On the other hand, the number of Mexicans in Indiana is more than twice the number in Ohio and more than four times the size of Kentucky's.…The growth of the Mexican population in Indiana has been greater than in most of its Midwestern neighbors. Indiana's Mexican population increased by more than 60,000 between 2000 and 2004, a larger increase than all neighbors except Illinois. In relative terms, the growth of Indiana's Mexican population has been extremely fast, at a rate of 29 percent. This is higher than all the Border States and all Indiana's neighbors except Kentucky.

In addition to Mexicans, immigrants from Central American countries like Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras appear to make up the next largest contingent of Latino newcomers. While Mexicans are most likely to have immigrated for economic reasons, Central Americans are perhaps equally likely to have come to the U.S. to avoid political persecution and the ravages of civil war. It is important to note that many of these newcomers have not migrated directly to Indiana from their countries of origin. Although articles have documented networks and hiring practices that bring Latinos directly to Indiana (AP, New Routes, 2000; AP, Pipeline, 2001), we estimate that at least half of Indiana's Latino newcomers had settled initially in the Southwest (e.g., California, Texas), larger urban areas (e.g., Chicago), or the "chicken trail" of the South/Southeast (employment in poultry processing, in states like North Carolina and Arkansas), before making their way to Indiana. Their primary reasons for coming here are clearly economic (Indiana's economic boom of the late 1990s,

combined with the contraction of labor markets in other major urban areas) and social (fleeing urban gang violence, insecurity, and racism).

The profile of this newcomer population is similarly varied. On the one hand, many newcomers do represent recent, first-generation immigrants to the U.S. The prevalence of such recent immigrants is indicated by the huge growth in Hispanic, especially language minority students, in Indiana schools over the last ten years. In fact, while the overall enrollment of Hispanic students in state schools doubled from 1998 through 2005, the percentage of those Hispanic students who tested as Limited English Proficient (LEP) nearly *quadrupled* over the same period (West, 2006, p. 120). We can also point to a 2002 report that indicated a 100% increase in the percentage of Indiana's Hispanic households headed by adults who speak little, if any, English (Callahan, 2002), as well as data that suggest more than half of Indiana's Mexican population is 24 years of age or younger (West, 2006, p. 117). Even with this youthful first-generation profile, there is also ample evidence of second-generation mobility and educational aspiration. Many of our new Hoosiers are Latino children born in the U.S., and many of their parents may have been born here as well. As such, they likely have developed stronger commitments to local economic and educational institutions[5] (e.g., Wall, 2004).

As most by now can testify, the settlement of the newcomer population across Indiana has been quite dispersed. To be sure, the largest cities like Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, and South Bend have continued to receive the highest numbers. Marion County (the Indianapolis metropolitan area), for instance, documented nearly a 500% increase in the Latino population between 1990 and 2005, from 8,450 to 50,789 (West, 2006, p. 116; see also Center for Urban Policy and the Environment, 2006). But what really stands out is the tremendous growth of the population in key regions and counties of the state that previously had little to no experience with Latino cultures. Small towns like Logansport, Huntingburg, Frankfort, and Ligonier—ranging from the far north to the far south of the state—experienced explosive growth rates through the late 1990s. The sudden arrival of newcomers in such towns was often driven by single industries importing large labor pools—especially agriculture and meat and poultry processing, but also light industry like timbering, furniture making, and printing. Other small and medium-sized cities across the state—e.g., Lafayette,

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[5] A few words here about terminology and the challenges of gathering statistical data on Indiana's newcomer Latinos: We use the terms Latino and Hispanic more or less interchangeably. We prefer the term Latino because it indicates a certain identification with a Latin American origin—and it includes, potentially, Portuguese speakers from Brazil as well as Spanish speakers from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and beyond. The term Hispanic, meanwhile, is originally a census category that may include anyone with a Spanish-derived surname, including those who emigrated directly from Spain itself, or even the Philippines. In addition, we use the Spanish masculine term Latino over the more gender-inclusive terms Latino/a, or Latin@, mainly for reasons of space and legibility.

We use the term "Latino newcomer" to describe those of Latin American origin, usually Spanish speaking, who have arrived in Indiana some time in the last 15 years. The vast majority of these newcomers are poor or working-class—though many of them may be highly educated professionals as well. The collection of reliable information about our Latino newcomer population is made extremely complicated by the variety of identifiers and indicators used to report population trends. For instance, the recent Sagamore Institute report provides extremely useful and relevant figures on Indiana's *Mexican-origin* population. Since Mexicans likely comprise over 70% of Indiana's new Latino population, we can use such figures as a reasonable proxy for understanding broader Latino trends, but only with some caution. Similarly, the State Department of Education tracks overall numbers for *Hispanic* enrollment (which only imperfectly overlaps with those we call Latinos), as well as numbers of "language minority" and "limited English proficiency" (LEP) students. Of LEP students statewide, some 81% speak Spanish as their native language, and could thus be considered Latinos under our definition. Thus, LEP student growth in a school district is a reasonable indicator of Latino—especially Mexican—growth. However, there is no reason why a particular school or school corporation might not have an unusually large growth in an Asian or Eastern European population accounting for much of the LEP student growth.

Columbus, Carmel, Shelbyville, Warsaw—saw similar changes in their demographic landscapes. The kinds of employment attracting Latino newcomers to regions like these include construction, landscaping, retail distribution centers, and hotel and restaurant work.

As difficult as it is to single out any region of the state as a concentrator of newcomer Latinos, it can also be a challenge to clearly locate the preponderance of a Latino population *within* any single region. Even in the same town or region, Latino residential patterns are more dispersed than has been the case in traditional urban gateways like Chicago and San Francisco. For instance, while Indianapolis residents may refer to "Little Mexico" along West Washington St., this area of the city is actually only one of several concentrations of new Latinos—in contrast to the Pilsen-Little Village area of Chicago, or the Mission District of San Francisco, where a preponderance of Latinos may live. The reasons for the dispersal of residential locations in Indiana communities are complex, and include segmented housing markets and decentralized employment opportunities. We may, indeed, celebrate the relative *geographic* integration of Indiana's Latino newcomers. However, we must also recognize the challenges that such residential patterns present. Rather than being able to concentrate resources—say ESL classes, or community health clinics—in particular neighborhoods, we may have to mobilize and decentralize those resources as well. As we shall show, communities throughout Indiana have struggled with such issues of resource allocation and provision.

<u>Local Cultural Trends and Perceptions</u>

Before the events of 2006 (see Epilogue), it was easy to characterize Indiana's efforts at Latino newcomer integration as well-meaning, even if haphazard and not terribly well informed. A broad ethos of "Hoosier hospitality" seemed to govern the reception of immigrant newcomers. Ironically, such hospitality may have been extended to Latinos precisely because of the relatively positive perception of them vis-à-vis long-denigrated Black populations. The dynamics of racism clearly entered the picture. As one state legislator put it, "You've gotta remember that they still lynched Blacks in this state in the '50s…It's a very closed state, very slow to change…" Some evidence from our research suggests that Latinos may receive better treatment than Blacks within this longstanding racial hierarchy. Other evidence, however, suggests that Latinos are just as easily vilified in racial terms as Blacks, in some cases becoming "the new Blacks" at the bottom of the chain.[6] In certain economic sectors, relatively well paid workers have reacted vehemently to the growing presence of new Latino workers, whom they accuse of "stealing our jobs" and driving down wages. Regardless of whether such perceptions are accurate, undoubtedly they have been fostered by business practices that rely upon cheap immigrant labor to maintain or increase profitability.

Over the ten-year period of this study, we see a statewide cultural climate for newcomer integration that varies according to specific period and region. While state business leaders and politicians have generally welcomed the growth of the Latino population, they have not set a strong tone or agenda of immigrant integration. Meanwhile, local community responses have been ambivalent at best. The events that transpired in Frankfort, Indiana from 1998 to the present, while rather dramatic, put into high relief the kinds of accommodations and tensions, the ups and downs, that have occurred across Indiana. Latinos had been settling permanently in Frankfort in ever greater numbers from the late 1970s onward, especially as migrant agricultural work proved less attractive than year-round work. Relations were generally harmonious—if not especially close—between

[6] This quote occurred several times in our data, and in some cases the phrasing takes on decidedly racist tones, as in "the new n------s."

Frankfort's Latino newcomers and long-time residents. Yet after the murder of a local Anglo resident by a Latino newcomer in 1998—the result of a nightclub dispute that may have had racial overtones—anti-immigrant sentiment spiked. The mayor of Frankfort made a public call for the Immigration and Naturalization Service to come and "round up all the illegals," and there were reports of renewed Ku Klux Klan activity. Then, after federal mediators intervened to help draft a "letter of understanding" between Latino leaders and city government, outwardly civil relations once again prevailed until the more recent immigration debates of 2006 (Thomas, 2006).

As we will see throughout this report, ongoing debates about the meaning and viability of integrating Latino newcomers have occurred amongst long-time Hoosier residents. A survey of local newspapers indicates that pro-immigrant organizations and individuals have been active in advocating for rights and resources, even as anti-immigrant sentiment runs high. While employment rates were soaring, an ethos of "Hoosier hospitality" seemed to prevail. But since the turn of the century, and the accompanying economic downturn, Indiana's historic resistance to incorporating ethnic "others" has come to the fore. Varieties of social, educational, and economic discrimination have become prevalent.

But we can also point to certain institutional and cultural developments that indicate a growing acceptance of the Latino community as part of the permanent social and economic fabric of the state. The Latino community has organized itself to procure rights and services, and in most cases existing institutions have obliged. In August of 2002, for instance, it was reported that two of the largest banks in Indiana would begin accepting identification cards from the Mexican consulate as sufficient for opening savings and checking accounts (AP, August 20, 2002). Meanwhile, in March of 2003, Indianapolis, the state capital, aired its first-ever Spanish television newscast, and in May of that same year, it was reported that Indiana teams would participate for the first time in the "Copa Mexico" soccer tournament organized for Mexican nationals in the U.S. (AP, May 31, 2003). Business may drive most of these developments, but churches, too, have opened their doors to the new Latinos. The Catholic Church has responded to its natural constituency, since most Latino newcomers profess the Catholic faith. Mass is increasingly offered in Spanish, church workers have undertaken more training in Spanish and Latin American culture, and Catholic Charities have contributed to increased mental health and other social services in Spanish. Yet Protestant and Evangelical churches have also recruited new Latino members, and been active in grassroots advocacy for increased Latino social services.

Perhaps most important for the purposes of this report, we note the development of local community frameworks and organizations that have emerged for the explicit purpose of Latino empowerment and community integration. In some cases, city governments have appointed special liaisons or organizers for the Latino or broader immigrant community. Even in Frankfort, where the Frankfort Minority Coalition emerged to protest discriminatory city and police actions back in 1998, the city eventually created an office of Hispanic Community Services. In other cases, leadership has emerged from within the social service or non-profit sector. One can thus see a blossoming of local advocacy and service centers, designed not only to garner support and to educate established residents about the strengths and needs of new Latinos, but also to educate Latinos about life in Indiana. By 2001 and 2002, organizations across the state included Su Casa (Columbus), Inter-Cultural Services of Hamilton County (Noblesville), El Centro Hispano and La Plaza (Indianapolis), United Hispanic-Americans, and the Benito Juárez Cultural Center (Fort Wayne), People Respecting Individuality and Diversity in Everyone-PRIDE (Martinsville), and El Centro Latino Comunal (Bloomington). This list is by no means exhaustive; it is also not permanent. Unlike institutions of government, education, health, and so forth, these Latino advocacy and service centers must constantly justify their activities and search for ongoing funding. They are especially vulnerable to political trends and economic downturns.

State Trends and Developments

Formal education

With regard to integrating Latino newcomers, Indiana does indeed appear at a crossroads. Nowhere has this been more evident to us than in our research on schools and school policy.

Our first efforts to identify the relevant state figures and policies for educating Latino newcomers were quite telling. We contacted numerous offices within the state Department of Education, as well as legislators and educators who had been involved in some way with efforts to respond to the increased cultural diversity in the state. Almost without exception, their initial response was: "Have you talked to the folks in the Division of Language Minority and Migrant Programs (LMMP)?" Indeed, we discovered dynamics at the state level which we would soon find replicated in schools and school corporations across the state. In school after school, we received similar responses when asking about Latino students: "Oh, those are Ms. So-and So's kids," with Ms. So-and-So being the local ESL teacher, almost always a woman. Latino newcomers are thus defined almost entirely by their speaking of Spanish and their need to learn English, and the people who are therefore charged with the greatest responsibility for their education, to whom they symbolically "belong," are the language acquisition specialists. Because of this, state education officers, school administrators, and school teachers may collude in denying ownership and responsibility: newcomer Latino students are "their" (ESL teachers, LMMP employees) kids, not "ours." The lack of coherence and coordination at the state level thus mirrors, perhaps even fosters, similar dynamics at the local level. Meanwhile, the many problems faced by immigrant students are reduced to the linguistic dimension.

For their part, the employees of the Division of LMMP of the State Department of Education have been remarkably proactive in their efforts to improve educational services for newcomer Latinos. Their educational consultants make numerous trips to local schools and school corporations to provide professional development and orientation, and they maintain a highly informative and useful website. Because schools have occasionally tried to deny enrollment and services to newcomers, the State Attendance Officer has often collaborated with the LMMP to assure compliance with federal and state laws on compulsory school attendance. Within the DoE, the Office of World Languages and Cultures provides assistance of a different sort to newcomers; this office provides technical assistance for helping the development of dual-immersion language schools, as well as "heritage language" instruction. Through agreements with the Spanish government, they have also sought to increase the number of native Spanish-speaking teachers in the schools. While admirable, all of these efforts are circumscribed by limits inherent to the missions of their respective offices. No office can focus exclusively on "immigrant newcomers," or on "Latinos," so the specific needs of this group go unmet.

In reflecting upon the recent immigration trends in Indiana, the state's Superintendent for Public Instruction commented to us, "Indiana has been kind of provincial, or kind of Hoosier, all over. We do have a lot of people who speak different languages and who come from different countries but in the past it's largely been concentrated in cities." The Superintendent views the sudden influx of Latinos into all kinds of communities as an "opportunity" and a "challenge." From her perspective, one of the positive things that has come out of this influx of newcomers is that schools all over the state are sharing their experiences with each other. Another positive outcome has been diversity. As she put it, "It adds some texture, color, and enrichment to our communities because they've been kind of 'Everybody the same.' If we had someone come up from Kentucky

and you say, 'Well, he talks funny and whatever,' that for some of our communities has been as different as it has gotten."

Clearly, there is an awareness of the importance of integrating newcomers into Indiana schools. Yet despite the positive "sharing" of best practices for educating newcomers that may be occurring across the state, we are struck by the absence of more thoroughgoing, integrated education policy initiatives at the state level. There are an abundance of different programs for multicultural education, global education, character and citizenship education, service learning, school retention and workforce development, anti-bullying and nonviolent conflict resolution, and so forth. Yet none of these programs are very well articulated to one another, and certainly none of them appear to have addressed their resources specifically to the challenge of newcomer integration. Perhaps because of the lack of state leadership on the matter, we still see a rather mixed picture at the local level across the state. Instances of racial and ethnic discrimination are common; so, too, are instances of benign neglect. By October of 2004, for instance, it was still acceptable for teachers and administrators at one school in Hammond to ridicule and punish Spanish-speaking children for speaking Spanish in class (Clarke, 2004). This has been accompanied by numerous reports of children being similarly punished for speaking Spanish on or near school grounds, even during non-academic activities. In a different vein, we note sadly that opportunities have been missed to build on the strengths and resources that Latino newcomers bring to schools. In May of 2003, for instance, the Anderson Community School corporation announced its plans to eliminate the Spanish portion of a cultural enrichment program from its middle schools in the fall, despite the growing Latino population in the area.

Other state-level institutions and policy initiatives

Through important legislation and the founding of key organizations, the state of Indiana has made important strides in Latino newcomer integration. Many of these have been in the areas of commerce, workforce development, and trade, with health and law enforcement following close behind.

Perhaps the most significant institutional development has been the creation of the Indiana Commission on Hispanic/Latino Affairs (ICHLA). The Commission began its life as a kind of executive task force decreed by Governor O'Bannon in late 2000. The early work of the Commission eventuated in its first major report, issued March 11, 2002, "Latinos in Indiana: Characteristics, Challenges, and Recommendations for Action." This report, the result of investigative work by several sub-committees on health, education, employment, and the like, was arguably the first statewide effort at Latino policy research and advocacy.[7] Around this time, the Commission was codified in law, and the first meeting of the legislative Commission on Hispanic/Latino Affairs was held on September 5, 2002. Modeled on the already existing Commission on the Status of Black Males, and Commission on the Status of Women, the ICHLA sought firmer institutional grounding for its policy and advocacy work. State legislators join with prominent citizens to carry forth the work of the Commission. Then, shortly after his election in 2004, Governor Mitch Daniels appointed the first-ever Senior Advisor for Latino Affairs, and this advisor, Juana O. Watson, became an active contributor to the Commission as well. By November, 2002, the Mexican government had opened a new Consulate in Indianapolis, and the new consular representative became a welcome member of ICHLA discussions and activities as well.

[7] A number of reports have attempted to account for demographic changes at the state level (e.g., Aponte, 1999, 2003), or have made thorough studies of regional conditions for Latinos (e.g., United Way Central Indiana, 2000; Gannon et al., 1996).

Several non-profit and quasi-governmental organizations have also become significant factors in Latino policy and advocacy. Since the arrival of significant numbers of Latino newcomers, The Indiana Civil Rights Commission (ICRC) has taken an active role in monitoring instances of discrimination in the workplace, housing, criminal justice, and education. Through the Indiana Consortium of State and Local Human Rights Agencies, discriminatory trends have been monitored, shared, and addressed. The Indiana Latino Institute was created in 2003, with a primary mission of tobacco and alcohol cessation in the Latino community. Since then, the Institute's work has expanded to other areas of health care, community development, and leadership, and includes a new education initiative. Although its work by no means focuses exclusively on Latino newcomers, The International Center of Indianapolis has increased its visibility in facilitating community responses to the new immigration. Starting as a coordinator of services for foreign visitors to central Indiana, the Center has evolved into a force for positive immigrant integration across the state. Finally, a much more recent organization is the Indiana State Hispanic/Latino Association (ISHLA), a lobbying and advocacy organization that hopes to press for positive change through legislative channels.

One of the few areas in which the state has been most pro-active specifically in regard to the growing Latino presence is through economic and workforce development. Perhaps the biggest and most immediate issue here has been the availability of information and services in English for Spanish-speaking workers. After quite a bit of lobbying across the state, a number of regional initiatives sought to make such services available in Spanish, while also bolstering programs for teaching adults English as a Second Language. The innovative workplace program, English Works, gained traction around this time. As the first report of the ICHLA (2002, p. 46) noted,

> These initiatives are consistent with the U.S. Department of Labor's Civil Rights Center (CRC) guidance memorandum on the steps necessary to ensure equal access to services for persons with limited English speaking proficiency. The guidance applies to programs that provide federal financial assistance. The objective is to give LEP [Limited English Proficient] persons meaningful access to government-funded services. In response to the directive, the Department of Workforce Development has now finalized and adopted a policy for equal access to services for persons with Limited English Proficiency (LEP). This covers the Workforce Investment Act, Wagner-Peyser, and Unemployment Insurance programs.

More recently, in 2002, a State Hispanic Chamber of Commerce was formed. The Statewide Chamber will be a strong resource for employers in Indiana. Another active player more recently has been the Purdue University extension service, which in 2004 paired with the Mexican Consulate's Plaza Comunitaria adult education program. Purdue extension has also partnered with community colleges and local agribusinesses to establish Latino education centers in Indianapolis and the counties of Daviess (Washington), Clinton (Frankfort), and Noble (Albion).

Finally, it is not coincidental that growing funding and growing enrollment for the workforce-oriented statewide Ivy Tech Community College led to the first-ever public agreement by a state institution of higher education to grant in-state tuition and enrollment to students without evidence of legal residency. Other colleges and universities have failed to follow strict suit, though they have in many cases indeed relaxed the requirements for enrollment and in-state tuition.

III. Organizational Dynamics and the Challenges to Long-Term Immigrant Integration

The two communities that comprised the focus of our study, which we call Barrytown and Morningside, both experienced a large influx of Latino newcomers in the last ten years. Both communities also engaged in what many would consider proactive responses to newcomer influx. Yet their strategies for newcomer integration differed from each other due in large part to the specific organizations available to them to address their changing populations. Each community has a key organization operating within it which is a defining feature of community identity. For Barrytown, it is a large corporation; for Morningside, it is a large university. Each of these organizations has impacted community response to newcomer influx in ways distinct from each other. However, both communities' processes for addressing newcomer influx may ultimately lead to similar outcomes. In each case, we argue that the initial actions taken for newcomer integration may unintentionally limit the long-term sustainability of integrative effort, thereby further marginalizing their newcomer populations.

Corporate Philanthropy & Self-Sufficiency: The Case of Barrytown

Activating Organizational Resources: The Corporate Shadow

The community of Barrytown engaged in what many consider a proactive response to the large influx of Latino newcomers, which occurred mainly between 1998 and 2000. A group of key individuals in Barrytown made use of their organizational resources and leadership positions in the community to provide a range of services to newcomer Latinos. Their goals included incorporating these newcomers into the Barrytown community – especially as contributors to the local workforce – so as to both improve the quality of life for newcomers and enhance the overall community's social and economic well-being. Key to meeting both goals was addressing the socioeconomic problems newcomer populations faced when settling and/or migrating into host communities. Covering a range of institutions – including local industry, governance, healthcare, and schools – key community figures in Barrytown put to use their organizational resources in the attempt to facilitate newcomer integration. As such, we see in Barrytown processes through which local leaders can shape the educational ecologies for newcomer integration into local communities.

One of the first individuals in Barrytown to address the influx of newcomer Latinos was a Mexican-born Latina, Belinda, who was a long-term resident of the community. Belinda founded a local non-profit community center specifically for Latinos (to which we refer as "the Latino Center"), and used her ties to community leadership to both fund the Latino Center and raise awareness among Barrytown leaders of newcomer needs. She describes her initial efforts to activate local organizational resources for the Latino Center—for instance, by approaching the director of a local philanthropic foundation:

> So what I did is, I got [the Director of Legacy Fund] and all of these community leaders, the big movers and shakers that are always on the news, and I knew them from my church and from the community in general. Because I knew the **people,**[8] that's why they helped me to start [the Latino Center]. You just cannot start a center without knowing who's the leaders, the movers and shakers. You cannot. And I knew the mayor. So when I saw this big influx, as I said, my first instinct was, 'We have to educate them.' (Belinda, Founder of the Barrytown Latino Center).

[8] Boldfaced terms in interview quotes indicate speaker's verbal emphasis.

Through her informal ties to the "movers and shakers" in Barrytown, she was able to gain essential support for the Latino Center through which she tried to "educate" newcomers for community membership. She was successful in establishing the Barrytown Latino Center, which provided social services to Latinos, including employment services, document translations, access to health services, information-sharing through Spanish-language newsletters, recreational activities, and adult English classes.

As the founder of the Latino Center, Belinda networked with community leaders through her informal ties (e.g. members of her church) to access a wide range of support. Leaders of local industry and their associated philanthropic foundations were key among this support; it is through these organizations that the Latino Center, among other community service agencies, has been funded. A large manufacturing company (to which we refer as "Davis Inc.") has been the cornerstone of the economic landscape in Barrytown, and its corporate leadership has often overlapped with political and social leadership in the community. Davis Inc. has a philanthropic foundation ("the Davis Foundation"); in addition, the founding family of a regional bank established a charitable foundation which serves Barrytown ("the Morris Foundation"), and a third philanthropy, the Barrytown Community Foundation ("the Legacy Fund"), was founded with the help of Davis Inc. leadership. Together these 3 organizations comprise the community's philanthropic infrastructure, which in turn funds many social and cultural initiatives. Moreover, Davis Inc. execs have commonly served on the boards of each of these foundations. Each of these three philanthropic foundations provided funding for the Latino Center, and Belinda accessed her networks with leaders of these agencies to initiate the Barrytown response to newcomer arrival.

While Belinda played a large role initiating community response to newcomer arrival, the corporate and community leadership went beyond merely supporting the Latino Center in response to the influx. The president of the Davis Foundation also used her ties to Barrytown leaders to organize a wide range of community responses:

> I mean Davis's reach in Barrytown is pretty broad; it's within the social safety welfare net, it's within economic development issues, it's within the city government, the community foundation __ I mean it's kind of all over.[9] So my own personal, (activities) where I sit on the board of the Barrytown Regional Hospital, [and] I sit on the community foundation board, which is called the Legacy Fund (President of the Davis Foundation).

The "reach" of Davis Inc.'s influence in Barrytown is substantial, and community leaders such as its foundation's president embody this reach. Such individuals are instrumental in multiple aspects of community leadership, and the president of the Davis Foundation activated these networks for multi-faceted community response to newcomer arrival. According to the director of the Barrytown Human Rights Office, it was based largely on the advice of the Davis Foundation's President that the mayor organized community business, governance, and philanthropy to address issues of newcomer arrival:

> The mayor sent out a letter to every business in town that was a member of the chamber asking them to support the Latino Center. The Latino Center was supported by the neighborhood assistant center here in the community. It was supported by area churches, area businesses, the mayor, the county commissioners. It hit the ground running; it really had the support of the leaders and people like [President of Davis Foundation] and people like [Director of Morris Foundation], [Legacy Fund Director] over at Legacy Fund. Because the community purse strings were controlled by people who

[9] A double-underscore in interview quotes signifies the speakers' self-interruption.

> had the foresight to really think about this, long-term I think the community response was great (Director of the Barrytown Human Rights Office).

The community response in Barrytown thus depended upon the networking of people who controlled the "community purse strings." The people in control of these purse strings had strong ties to Davis Inc. and other local businesses, and their "foresight" resulted in a variety of services for newcomers in the community. The Legacy Fund, Morris Foundation, Davis Foundation, and Mayor's Office contributed to the following: funding for a "Community Education Coalition" to provide resources for enhancing academic achievement for diverse school populations; support of a "Healthy Neighbors Program," which provides translations and increased access to healthcare for newcomer Latinos, among other special-needs populations; an after-school program for Latino youth which focused on English instruction and academic tutoring; a full-time position in the police department for a Spanish-speaking "cultural liaison" to facilitate police relations with the Latino population; a new "cultural awareness committee" to advise the Mayor's Office regarding issues of diversity; a program to provide used computers to special-needs populations at reduced cost; and a program through both the Latino Center and Barrytown Parks and Recreation Services which established a competitive soccer-league for Latinos in the community.

We see, then, that the community leadership in Barrytown actively networked to provide services and resources to newcomer populations across a range of community institutions. As the mayor explains:

> We just try to make the community better and let people know that we have different cultures and we're blessed by having these different cultures. So, **that's how** we got to what we are today I guess, is working with people and using it as an opportunity versus a **problem** (Barrytown Mayor).

The Barrytown leadership views their actions as serving the overall community through efforts at newcomer integration; they see the newcomer influx is an "opportunity" for community enhancement. As with any community, however, Barrytown is both enabled and constrained by the larger social institutions which set certain conditions for community life. While the Barrytown leadership made use of local organizational resources to foster newcomer integration, they also remain constrained by wider laws, policies, and social trends which set limits on the degree to which newcomers can gain equal access to community membership. Moreover, the central role of corporate sponsorship and philanthropic support in the Barrytown response has foregrounded strategies for newcomer integration which emphasize short-term goals and newcomer "self-sufficiency." These local strategies in the context of broader institutional forces have important implications for newcomer integration in Barrytown.

Limits to Corporate Philanthropy

The central role of corporate sponsorship and philanthropic support in Barrytown resembles what Hamann (2003) refers to as "corporate paternalism" in his study of community responses to Latino newcomer influx in northern Georgia. Advocates and service agencies in Barrytown are dependent upon "community purse strings" for doing the work of integration, and such purse strings are controlled by a small network of corporate and political leaders. While such people in Barrytown have been proactive in making resources available for newcomer integration efforts, the rules of corporate sponsorship and philanthropic agencies constrain these processes of support in patterned ways. Specifically, they emphasize short-term funding goals as well as self-sufficiency on the part of service organizations and newcomers alike.

The Legacy Fund has been instrumental in providing funding support to several organizations serving newcomer needs in Barrytown. The woman who directs the Legacy Fund describes its role in these efforts, specifically in its relationship to the Latino Center:

> We certainly supported the Latino Center, and when they came to us with a pretty ambitious request about three years ago, we and the other principal funders met collectively to talk about how could we best help the Latino Center, and did what I call a little tough love. Exactly what were they trying to accomplish and for what reason? And they couldn't be all things to all the people. They identified something that they could deliver on and off. [We] invited to resubmit a proposal that lined-up more where we all as funders, (saw it?) So we gave a three year grant, to help them. One of the issues for us as a foundation, is that our policy is we do not provide operating support. We fund pilot programs, seed money, capacity building, one time-things. You don't pick up the payroll year after year (Director of Legacy Fund).

We see here several elements of what we might call corporate paternalism at work. In this case, the "funders" force the Latino Center to narrow its scope of service in exchange for the necessary funding to carry out its mission. Second, "as a foundation," the Legacy Fund is similar to other philanthropic organizations in that their "policy is we do not provide operating support." Rules such as these emphasize short-term involvement with their beneficiaries; they provide "one-time things" and "do not pick-up the payroll year after year." Moreover, it emphasizes eventual self-sufficiency among beneficiaries such as the Latino Center if they are to survive over a prolonged period of time.

The priority of self-sufficiency is common among the leadership and advocates in Barrytown; the community leadership emphasizes it, and service agencies understand they must achieve it. The woman hired to direct the Latino Center in 2001[10] describes the terms under which they were funded; the benefactors included the Legacy Fund, the Davis Foundation, and the Morris Foundation:

> And then we went and approached all the funders and they were all leery because of the history of the Latino Center not being able to function on its own. And they gave us three three-year grants. So they each gave us a grant for $45,000.00— no $35,000.00 each. $35,000.00 each. So we got $20,000.00 each the first year which was last year. This year we get $10,000.00 each and then next year we get $5,000.00 each so they want us to become self-sufficient in three years (Director of the Latino Center).

The philanthropic organizations prioritized self-sufficiency, and made it a condition of their support for the Latino Center. In addition, they incorporated this priority in the terms of their support, gradually reducing the amount of financing over time so that the Center can work towards self-sufficiency. The Legacy Fund and other philanthropic benefactors in Barrytown apply the same conditions to the other programs they support as well. For instance, the Legacy Fund supported the "Community Education Coalition" to facilitate resources for "learners of all ages," under the condition that the Coalition develop fund-raising strategies to make itself self-sufficient.

Similar to their priorities for service agencies, many key actors in Barrytown emphasize self-sufficiency for newcomers as well. Most of the community actors interviewed cited the need for newcomers to learn English as a key step for integration, in no small part so that they can more fully

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[10] This actor is not the same individual as the founder of the Latino Center. She is an Anglo woman who is not a long-term resident of Barrytown, and took over administration of the Latino Center in 2001. The founder of the Latino Center took on a more peripheral role with the agency at this time, and became less involved with its daily operations.

function within the host community. In addition, several community leaders explained the relationship between newcomer self-sufficiency and organizational service provision. The director of the "Healthy Neighbors Program" is a long-term resident Latina who plays multiple volunteer roles in serving Latino newcomers; she also serves on the board of the Legacy Fund. She characterizes the need for newcomer self-sufficiency in the community:

> Healthy Communities Council [is] to improve access to primary care for the Spanish-speaking population and to provide them whatever it needs and put in place whatever is needed, to make sure that they have access to health education; that they promote their own self-care and that they're integrated into our system in the community… I participate in **many** community processes that involve seamless services. You know, all the social and health and human service agencies because there's only so many of us, and this community will grow **tired** if we **always** help. And so education is very important to promote self-sufficiency.

From this perspective, through education (especially health education) newcomers can become more self-sufficient members of the community. While the goal is to improve the quality of life for newcomers, self-sufficiency is also imperative for the host community's acceptance of newcomers. The notion that the "community will grow tired if we always help" resonates with the priorities of community leaders, who emphasize the need for service agencies to become self-sufficient. There seems to be a consistent assumption that the provision of services for newcomer populations cannot be perpetually sustained. Rather, processes of newcomer integration must produce self-sufficient community members within a finite amount of time. Newcomer integration in Barrytown thus appears to rest heavily on a definition of community membership which emphasizes self-sufficient contributors to the overall community. These meanings are shaped in part by the rules for which local organizations and community leaders are able to provide services and resources to newcomers. Corporate philanthropy has concrete benefits for Barrytown, but they come with a short-term imperative and an expectation of self-sufficiency. Later in this report, we discuss how the ethic of self-sufficiency can have deleterious consequences for newcomer integration efforts.

Multicultural Complacency & the Role(s) of Key Individuals: The Case of Morningside

A History of Diversity: The University Shadow

Key actors within the community of Morningside also responded with proactive strategies for integrating their newcomer populations. However, due in large part to a different organizational landscape within their community, Morningside's educational ecology for newcomer integration differed by comparison with Barrytown. Chiefly, while the leadership of key organizations in Barrytown (corporations and their philanthropic agencies plus local government officials) took an active role in addressing newcomer influx, integrative efforts in Morningside fell largely to key actors dispersed across a range of institutions, advocacy groups, and social service agencies. Integrative efforts in Morningside had a much less centralized character than those of Barrytown. This decentralized nature of Morningside's response to newcomer influx both overburdens many individual advocates (leading to what we call "advocacy burnout") and results in the termination of certain services when important actors either change positions or leave the community. More importantly, it rendered newcomer integration contingent on the roles key individuals were to play, thereby limiting systematic institutionalization of integrative services. We see, then, in Morningside limits to long-term integrative efforts as we do in Barrytown. While organizational conditions in Barrytown set short-term goals of self-sufficiency for newcomers and their service providers, organizational conditions in Morningside render integrative efforts dependent upon key individuals

to provide ongoing service. Not coincidentally, the vast majority of such individuals are women; at one point, we even ventured to contrast the "corporate paternalism" of Barrytown with the "grassroots maternalism" of Morningside. In either case, processes of newcomer integration are neither tightly coordinated nor highly institutionalized in Morningside, leading us to question their long-term viability.

The presence of a large university indirectly contributes to the dependence on key individuals we see in Morningside. Unlike the key organizations in Barrytown, the leadership of the university per se has had little direct involvement in addressing the needs of newcomers within the local community. However, because it has drawn a large international population to Morningside, many people view it as a community which is open and welcoming to ethnic diversity. To be sure, Morningside is more ethnically diverse than many Indiana communities, but the newcomer Latino population that has arrived since 1995—mostly poor and minimally schooled—brings an unfamiliar social profile. This point is captured by a former multicultural program officer within the Morningside school corporation, who discussed some of the problems she faced in schools with growing Latino student populations:

> I discovered very early that we have an attitude here in Morningside public schools, and that attitude is, 'We've been international for decades, because we're near a university,' and so what I was really looking at was a class issue, and not an ethnic so much, or a cultural issue.

To regard Latino newcomers as another ethnic group in Morningside is fairly commonplace, and resonates with an overall ethos of acceptance for cultural difference in the community, tied to its history with international populations. However, a focus on ethnic tolerance glosses important socioeconomic conditions affecting newcomers' arrival and community membership. For advocates working with newcomer populations, they came to see quickly that what they were "really looking at was a class issue," yet common perception is that the key difference is a cultural one. With regard to schooling:

> Yes, we have been international for all those years but we have been dealing with graduate students' kids, professors' kids, visiting lecturers' kids, maybe some businesspeople but I don't think so, I think it's mostly an academic community that has been coming here, all drawn by the university. And, so, we were **spoiled** in the sense that these were kids who were easy to teach, generally speaking, lots of academic support at home, money for tutors, extracurriculars, cars to drive them to all the things they had to go to, highly participatory PTOs, all of it (Multicultural Program Officer).

Ethnic and cultural difference alone does not thus account for the range of barriers to community integration that newcomer populations experience. This phenomenon was also echoed by a key figure in the Department of Community and Family Resources for the City of Morningside:

> I feel that that's the biggest need in the community [services for Latino newcomers], not as much other immigrants because they have the university resources, you know, like the Korean and the Middle Eastern immigrants, they're usually linked to the university… (Program Assistant in Dept. of Community and Family Resources).

People in Morningside, especially personnel in their public schools, are admirably tolerant of ethnic difference. But, according to key actors who work directly with newcomers, it is precisely the tolerance of ethnic difference that draws attention away from socioeconomic difference, and this creates concrete difficulties for newcomer populations. In other words, a history of cultural

diversity contributes to a type of complacency with regard to the particular class-based needs of Latino newcomers.

Dependence on Individual Advocates

The "multicultural complacency" in Morningside provides a context in which newcomer outreach and service provision has emerged largely through loosely-connected individuals. The commonly-held notion that Morningside is a culturally welcoming and tolerant community has likely limited the urgency and commitment with which community leadership has approached Latino newcomer integration. It has not emerged as a high priority on the agenda of Morningside's "movers and shakers" in the way it did in Barrytown. To be sure, there have been a number of committed and concerned long-term residents who have driven integrative efforts for Latino newcomers. Such residents have leveraged organizational change. After concerted effort and complaints, the local school district created an outreach position primarily to work with Latino students and their families; a social service agency akin to Barrytown's Latino Center found a place under United Way ministries; and the city government created a Latino outreach position through a special projects assistant within its Department of Community and Family Resources. Moreover, several informants in our study described various forms of support and "outreach" activities among the faith community, volunteer networks geared specifically to Latino newcomers, Parks and Recreation Services, local law enforcement, and the local Chamber of Commerce. Yet despite these networks and newly-formed positions, newcomer advocates have not had at their disposal either the centralized leadership or philanthropic support we see in Barrytown. Moreover, these individuals are dispersed across volunteer networks, service agencies, and local institutions in a manner which limits the coordination of their efforts. Consequently, newcomer integration has become contingent on the loosely-connected individuals who have actively pursued it as a personal and community goal.

Two important barriers to long-term integrative effort emerge under the organizational conditions we see in Morningside. First, committed advocates get overburdened with requests for service, as the following statement from an active volunteer shows:

> I had a list of interpreters and I would just go down the list and when nobody could do it, it would fall to me and we did housing kinds of things. Finding people houses, places to live that, the place was like a clearinghouse you know for__So it was, it was a mishmash of things. It was anything anybody needed and it also__people found out where I lived and so people would show up at ten o'clock at night and need something. And I just had a hard time saying 'You know what, I can't do this now.' Because some of it was important. And I know I wasn't the only one. All of us [volunteers/advocates] had that kind of thing happen where people would just show up. You know, that was when they got off work so they brought something for you to translate or they didn't understand something they got from the school and what did this mean and could you call tomorrow and make me an appointment? That kind of thing.

Individuals who provided services to newcomers, especially translation, quickly were imposed upon by both newcomers seeking help and host organizations seeking translation services. Due to their commitment and concern for newcomer populations, individuals like the one quoted above went to great lengths to be generous with their time. However, the growing need for service across the community proved to be overwhelming for many. Again, demands from newcomers, combined with little initiative from host organizations to hire in-house interpreters, compounded the problems volunteers faced:

> It was almost like that other person [interpreter] was a crutch for them [newcomers]. And the community people were the same way but they didn't do anything to rectify the situation by hiring an

> interpreter. The hospital still doesn't have an interpreter… People would call and we would say 'Yes, I know an interpreter.' They would say 'Can't you do it?' 'No.' And Melissa was doing it for free and then she said 'You know what?' We all said 'You've got to quit doing that.' So there was a wrap around situation and they called and wanted an interpreter and I said '[name] does it for twenty dollars an hour.' And she's gone from interpreting for us at school when I could not do it and we pay her because she's__that's what needs to happen.

Systematizing the provision of translation service through paid positions is either absent or slow to occur in Morningside, and this leads to overburdening the individuals who volunteer such services. Indeed, becoming a "crutch" for both newcomers and host agencies has led many volunteers to withhold their services in certain instances, either because they are unable to provide so much of their own time or because they are attempting to influence host agencies to provide more ongoing resources for translation.

Dependence on volunteers and newcomer advocates renders vulnerable both the longevity and consistency of integrative services within the community. Our field notes from an interview with one key actor indicate the lack of coordination – and, at times, absence – of integrative services among host organizations in Morningside:

> [The interviewee] says that often when she first contacts an agency or an organization, the response is that they don't have anybody working on or with Latino issues, and that they have no idea where to begin.

For many host agencies in Morningside, "Latino issues" are simply not a component of their operations, nor would they know how to pursue the goal of incorporating them into their organizational functioning. Moreover, we also see that when organizations do have people working to address newcomer needs within their organizational framework, again, it is largely dependent on one individual to maintain such activities. In the absence of such individuals to continually coordinate newcomer services within their organization, the services often cease. Our field notes captured more from the same individual:

> [The interviewee] gives the example of the hospital, which applied for a renewable grant to provide psychotherapy in Spanish for 6 months. And because of a miscommunication the grant only lasted 3 months, and wasn't renewed. Why? Because there wasn't a person there who kept insisting, 'This is very important, this is very important.'

So even when services are put in place or resources made available, as in the case of the hospital, there are few policies in place to ensure their renewal and persistence. Compounding this problem in Morningside is the "multicultural complacency" discussed above:

> A lot of people pay lip service to Hispanic needs. You know, 'They're very important. People are important to us. They're important to the community. Their needs are important.' But they're not willing to put their money where their mouth is. They're not willing to put the resources where they're needed. We see this in the health care industry especially, also in law enforcement. They rely on volunteers for translating.

As such, integrative services for Latinos are not systematically interwoven into the functioning of host organizations, and therefore are much less likely to persist over time in any institutionalized way.[11]

Though shaped by a different organizational landscape, we see similar constraints to long-term integrative effort in Morningside that we see in Barrytown. While the relatively central leadership and coordinated philanthropy in Barrytown foster short-term goals and expectations of self-sufficiency, the complacency for diversity and decentralized advocacy in Morningside foster haphazard and temporary service provision for newcomers. In each case, long-term, institutionalized processes for newcomer integration are unlikely to emerge. Two distinct communities, then, appear to have two key characteristics in common regarding their educational ecologies for newcomer integration: a) both have networks of people who have worked hard to address newcomer needs and enhance their respective communities; and b) the strategies and processes through which these hosts have worked to integrate newcomers have been constrained in ways that limit their persistence and effectiveness over time.

IV. Educating for Citizenship?: Ambiguity in Community and Civic Culture

In the previous section, we focused our analysis on the organizational conditions and policy mechanisms for newcomer integration. In this section, we focus on the complex interplay of values and beliefs that shape host responses to newcomers. Organizational activities and cultural beliefs are necessarily intertwined, and we will show ample evidence of this. Yet, we have found it useful to separate these dimensions for the purpose of this presentation.

What we call *civic culture* consists of what people know and say about their community, and their participation in it. It is a field of conflicting, but mutually intelligible meanings, values, and beliefs that characterize the public discourse of a city, town, or region. Local civic culture is constantly produced and reproduced through policy declarations and public debate, household practices, and private conversations. The process by which civic culture has been produced in Barrytown and Morningside, and by which Latino newcomers have been incorporated into the warp and woof of these Hoosier communities, is a complex story. If one views integration as a term signifying mutual adaptation and full inclusion into the life of the community, then two important dimensions, or aspects, of full inclusion begin to emerge. These two dimensions – identity and voice – are salient characteristics of full inclusion into the community. Taylor (1992) refers to this process of full inclusion in a multi-cultural setting as enacting the "virtue of recognition."

Taylor notes that recognition, i.e., the active acknowledgment of identity and voice, necessitates moving beyond merely permitting another social group to survive; it means recognizing the worth of the culture. Hence, recognition as a virtue may be observable in explicit behaviors that acknowledge worthiness. For instance, in reflecting upon the views of some local citizens who held him responsible for "bringing the Mexicans to town," the mayor of Barrytown mused,

> Where there's work there will be people. And these are people. They're not animals. They're people. And they want a job and they want what we want, a better quality of life . . . [We need to] get the Mexican population more involved because they're part of the community.

[11] Services to address newcomer needs also often cease when key advocates experience a change in their own lives such as a career change or a move to another community. See the epilogue for specific examples of this phenomenon in Morningside.

Meanwhile, the Director of the Morningside Department of Parks and Recreation, representing the community mainstream, expressed a more limited view of recognition:

> I think the will in Morningside to meet these challenges [the integration of large numbers of Latino immigrants] is good and probably superior when compared to other places. The majority of community members would like to welcome them. I think there's some lack of knowledge about how to do that effectively, [and] on the practical level, we need some work.

The Director went on to identify two development components that Morningside must put in place in order to fully welcome the newcomers. First, he said, more community resources need to be made available to the newcomers, e.g., recreation, transportation, and English classes geared toward workplace needs. Second, the city needs a mechanism to assist long-term residents who want to help incorporate the newcomers into Morningside.

Here we see leaders in both communities articulating a sense of inclusive membership. The question for such leaders is not *whether* to include Latino newcomers, but *how* to include them—in limited fashion, as workers, or more fully, as citizens with voice? It is important to note that the civic leadership of both Barrytown and Morningside consider the cities to be anomalies in the heartland. Both cities were often described as valuing diversity; unique; welcoming of people from other cultures; and for the most part, friendly. Barrytown has a long history of corporate giving and community engagement by visionary leaders. Across several generations, these people wove together manufacturing and banking interests to forge a powerful, stable economic engine that has attracted a somewhat culturally diverse population. Many of these visionary leaders were, and are, native Hoosiers. Moreover, this notion of Barrytown being atypical of Indiana has been cultivated by the local leadership. For example, one prominent civic leader stated that Barrytown is "atypical of most mid-western communities because it thinks progressively, and there are people who work on the vision of the community and improve the quality of life." In Morningside, the presence of the university has been, and remains, a significant factor in the perceptions of inclusiveness of the residents and their positive valuation of diversity. The influence of the university is especially apparent in the ways that people describe the city as a place to live. For example, many people told us that diversity is a "cultural given" in this community. As one person said, "Morningside is so diverse, I think the community feels it needs to react to every population." A local service provider who works with at-risk teenagers linked cultural diversity in Morningside to civic safety. According to her, "[It] is a good place to be diverse because most people are pretty well accepted here [and] if [you] wanna move into this community, you'd be accepted. I think that it's a lot easier to transition here than maybe in a smaller, rural-type community." The acceptance and inclusion of different people into the larger community mirrors the efforts of the university, which has for many years sought to expand the cultural and ethnic diversity of the faculty and the student body.

Barrytown: Factories and Foundations

The quality of life in Barrytown differs significantly from the surrounding county, which is mostly rural. One critical factor in the development of Barrytown's character has been its success in attracting Japanese manufacturers, as well as professionals from Taiwan, China, India, and Brazil who work in various plants. The community has a substantial resource base that is garnered from these major corporations. This resource base is complemented by locally based philanthropic agencies.

The leadership of these companies and agencies, along with elected civic leaders, plays a central role in constructing a public dialogue about the positive value of diversity. These leaders variously describe the community as being "progressive," "caring," "always reaching out," and a place that is "sensitive to all cultures." The leaders apparently value creating a climate of inclusion in the city. Moreover, they are pragmatists who believe that inclusion and diversity are key elements in the continued economic well being of Barrytown. As a member of the City Council noted, "From a workforce standpoint, they [Latinos] are very much needed and appreciated."

This network of corporate, agency, and community leaders has developed and articulated a public vision of a civic culture that is "appropriate" to Barrytown and its economic future. From their perspective, "appropriate" includes incorporating people from other cultures into the rhythms of daily life. This network also controls the purse strings that fund local self-help groups and agencies that are working to include the Latino newcomers into the life of the community. According to the members of this network, diversity is good for local life. They also believe that diversity is a constitutive element in the mix of ingredients needed to attract other businesses to Barrytown. One city official who grew up in Barrytown commented that although he never fully understood these cultural differences, the differences were really visible to the eye:

> Barrytown is a little bit unique . . . and because of the large companies, it was not unusual to see East Indians downtown. You didn't necessarily see them in school. We had a few more Blacks, but we had Asians. I had Korean friends when I was little. I can't say that we understood their cultures or embraced their cultures, or knew them closely, but it was not unusual to walk down the street and see an East Indian with a turban on his head, or somebody from Korea, or China, or Japan. In Barrytown, you could look at a Chinese or Japanese and tell the difference, whereas in many southern Indiana towns, they just knew they were 'oriental.' It wasn't such a big thing to see a foreign face in this town. And because of that, I think when the Mexicans, or Hispanics, or Latinos started really arriving in larger numbers in the 90s, they weren't greeted like they were unusual.

Although the arrival of Latinos may not have seemed unusual, the newest immigrants tend to differ significantly from their predecessors. The earlier newcomers were highly skilled, professionally trained Indians, Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese expatriates who typically worked in Barrytown for several years and then returned home. A staff officer for the Human Rights Commission noted that the Latino population "is coming from the countryside," and "they might not even read their own language, much less English." Many of the Latino newcomers are factory workers. Others are employed as day laborers in construction and lawn care. And yet others fill entry level positions in the hospitality industry and service sector. The assessment of the Human Rights Commission staff officer is, "The Latinos are here. The jobs are here. They're not going anywhere and we need to respond to this appropriately."

Morningside: University City and Cultural Oasis

Morningside is a university city, and because of the influence of the university, it is rich in human resources. For example, the city is well known as a generative environment for cultural activities. Numerous festivals, museums, and sports activities beckon visitors to the city. These influences also draw many students who study at the university. The university does have a small population of Latinos, and there are Latino professors who teach at the school. However, life on the campus does not always translate easily into the ongoing life and concerns of the larger community. A recent graduate of the university, a Latina who now lives in the city and works with the Latino

immigrants, spoke about her experience of being welcomed on campus but not always in the larger community. From her perspective, tolerance of diversity does not extend far beyond the boundaries of the campus and borders of the city. According to her:

> It's a different perspective, looking at Latino pride on campus and students. When you go out to the community and you go to the restaurants and you meet the people, and you talk to the advocates of those people, you start to see that there are a lot of problems here [and] having the tolerance for diversity in the community [is] because the campus is very diverse… But the tolerance outside the community, it starts to get a little sketchy and a little difficult… When you get to the outskirts a little bit, I think that's when the tolerance level starts to go down. You know, it's their community. They've been here for a long time.

Thus, while the more transient and cosmopolitan university city may embrace, or at least "tolerate," diversity, the surrounding community, which has deeper roots in the area, may not.

Morningside lost its industrial base in the 1990s as many factories migrated to southern climes or relocated overseas. A substantial portion of the local economy now relies upon the university, and the entertainment industry that has developed in relation to campus life. The new Latino immigrants have filled the need for low-paid, intensive laborers in restaurants, service workers in hotels, and day laborers. According to one city employee, Morningside is "really saturated at this point. The jobs that are available to [Latinos] have pretty much been taken, and consequently, they are moving to other communities, Barrytown being one of them." Some of the Latino workers in Morningside participate in the English Works for Indiana program, for which the director of the Adult Basic Education program provides oversight. She has worked with four businesses, two of which have a workforce that is totally Latino. From her perspective:

> There is no one size fits all with the Latino community. They're as varied as any group I've ever worked with. But if I had to pick a characteristic that stood out, I would say it was their hard work ethic and the determination to make a better life for their children. That's not too much different from the American dream, and I think they grab hold of the American dream very fiercely.

The Morningside community leadership is much more decentralized than Barrytown. Whereas Barrytown tends to embrace a corporate, planned approach to dealing with community issues, Morningside has been described as a "network community" that is rich in resources, but filled with little niches. Several people talked about the challenge of creating and accessing these networks for information and services. Discovering what is available is a challenge for some long-term residents; they say it is even more of a challenge for Spanish speakers, who must deal with language and cultural differences. Yet once a long-term resident has secured access to an informal network, then she or he can count upon being asked to provide help as well as receive aid.

For example, one day some women gathered for lunch. Many of them were university women, and others were from the community. They began talking about how they helped someone in the community as an interpreter. As the women talked, "It occurred to us that we could organize ourselves in some capacity, and we started to meet, and we started brainstorming and contacting other people." From this luncheon gathering, a loosely-linked coalition of women gave birth to several grassroots organizations whose missions were service, education, and advocacy for the Latino newcomers. Before deciding how to structure themselves, the women spent about six months doing research. They contacted different centers working with Latino immigrants, and looked at different models in Indiana and other states. Finally, they chose to organize themselves by creating a volunteer and decentralized network.

The women felt that the decision to go this route reflected the structure of the community. As one of the founding members of the network noted, "We thought for Morningside, because it is such a service community and everybody's so involved, that we needed to have folks at different places." Later, she reflected upon this strategy, and commented on how it has turned out to be both asset and liability: "In some kind of ways, it actually works against us that we have such a network, such a great support system in Morningside. People want to give funding for particular projects where they can see people being helped, not for some sort of base expense."

Although both cities prize diversity and profess to welcome the stranger, undercurrents of resistance and intolerance float fairly close to the surface. The director of the Head Start Program in Morningside noted that

> redneck prejudice does exist, just below the surface in some places . . . that sort of true blue Americana, love it or leave it . . . that, 'speak English or get out of my face,' kind of thing.

The mayor of Barrytown also noted that there are pockets of resistance to the Latino newcomers, and he believes that some of this resistance comes from not understanding other cultures. We believe that some of this resistance may also be related to unstated moral imperatives, that is, deeply held beliefs and expectations about the "right thing to do." Such moral imperatives are projected into the community; and acted out by different groups of people.

Cultural Conflict and Exploitation

Unstated moral imperatives may be a factor in not understanding others; they also may be a more active source of cultural confusion and conflict. We see these imperatives as notions about "what counts" in being a good citizen of Barrytown and Morningside. They constitute underlying assumptions of the civic culture. Such unstated moral imperatives also shape the lives of both the members of the host community and the Latino newcomers. They include such injunctions as: "Work hard," "Be self-sufficient," "Get an education at all costs." One particularly significant unstated moral imperative is to follow rules and regulations, and "not break the law." This notion may significantly shape the perceptions of some of the members of the receiving, or host community, about the newly arrived Spanish speakers.

For instance, a letter to the editor in the Barrytown newspaper, about the "joys of diversity," urged members of the receiving community to remember that the newcomers are human beings who have issues and problems, too. This letter drew an immediate response from another long-time resident, who made the point that "we welcome law-abiding people." For this respondent, race and nationality were not *explicitly* the issue; rather, what is important is to follow the law.[12] She wrote, "Being 'illegal' is not about what race a person is – it is about breaking the law. Most of us are law-abiding citizens, and it saddens us to see that hundreds of people in this area are getting by with breaking the law." From her perspective, being undocumented is the antithesis of following the rules and regulations, and to be undocumented is a willful act of breaking the law.

In addition to such unstated moral imperatives, civic culture also turns on relations of authority, and what are perceived as legitimate responses to such authority. In communities like Barrytown and Morningside, long-standing residents – especially property and business owners – exercise a great deal of authority. Meanwhile, police officers and other government workers exercise

[12] Though we cannot substantiate it for this case, some recent scholarship in critical race theory suggests that talk about illegal status often serves as a palatable substitute for talk about race (e.g. Delgado and Stefancic, 2001).

authority by virtue of the office they hold. These types of authority differentials are key components of a civic culture. They also have strong social class overtones. Those with greater authority, and greater economic power, may express more willingness to integrate newcomers. However, as we pointed out earlier, such expressive gestures may hinge on the economic benefits that newcomers provide to this segment of the community.

As the trickle of immigrants became a strong flow, the mayor of Barrytown recognized the need for cultural translators who could build an interpretive bridge between these unstated expectations and actual behavior. He explained that the city needed "somebody to be that link with not only the Police Department but with the Hispanics, because some of them are confused. They don't know all the laws. So we wanted to make sure that our people understood the cultures and that our person was there to help." In contrast with the newspaper letter-writer quoted earlier, the mayor refers to law in the context of everyday Barrytown life, not residence status. Of course, not everyone in Barrytown thinks such a "bridge" should be built. Even though many established members of the community believe that Barrytown can "adapt itself to almost any problem," some long-term residents believe the newcomers present a major problem. These residents believe that the resolution to this problem of having so many immigrants is to find the "proper fit," and this means fully incorporating the newcomers into the life of Barrytown. Yet one community member had this to say about how this "proper fit" would work:

> The only problem I see is I think they should be required to take an English course so the community can communicate with them properly. Otherwise, they can adapt to our method of living, and it's good for them.

In other words, the solution is not building a bridge of understanding between two cultures; rather, the resolution of difference and confusion will occur if "they" learn English and if "they" learn to live like long-time residents of Barrytown.

In Barrytown, many challenges constellate around workforce issues. A local mental health care provider discussed what she perceives to be a lot of anger and anxiety at play in the receiving community. She believes the anger and anxiety have arisen largely because of the Latino workers:

> I think it's been very threatening for a lot of factory workers because the population has come to work, and they will work long hours. They will work two shifts. They work hard. They don't ask questions. They don't complain. And it really puts U.S. workers in a position of being displaced. And I think that it has created some tension, because it pressures them to work harder. I think that's how capitalism works. You keep the current workforce unstable by bringing in this other workforce. I think there's anger. There's some racism, and they mistreat Mexicans, and say things to them. But the other thing is that the factories are so delighted with the population that they like to encourage them to stay because they work so hard. Right now, if they were all to leave, the factories and restaurants would close, because they work in all the kitchens and they're working in all our factories.

Even the well-intentioned, however, are subject to the construction of numerous cultural stereotypes. Moreover, these stereotypes lead to confusion that is based on misinformation. A letter to the editor of the Barrytown newspaper illustrates how such confusion can lead to animosity toward newcomers among long-standing residents:

> ... And if I am not mistaken, [illegal immigrants] do not pay any taxes, so there are a few more hundred dollars in their paycheck per month, a privilege that most of [us] do not have. That does not seem quite fair, now does it?

Indeed "mistaken" that newcomers do not pay taxes, this long-term resident perceived that newcomers are illegally accruing privileges which "law-abiding citizens" do not have. Confusion regarding newcomers' status vis-à-vis the law and economy can lead to resentment of newcomers. Newcomer advocates are all too aware of such perceptions. For example, a local medical provider, a Latina who has lived in Barrytown for over twenty years, noted that stereotypes are very ingrained within the community. She believes that it is a major challenge to get some long-term residents of the host community to open their minds, and change their attitudes:

> There's lot of misunderstandings, and assumptions are very strong. Many people in our community have never traveled anywhere outside of the state or the United States. Therefore, they have very little exposure to people of other nationalities, other ethnic backgrounds, other cultures. And so, there's a lot of stereotypes that have been built by the media, by the movies. And it's been very difficult at times to break those stereotypes…There's a lot of misunderstandings and misgivings about what the Spanish speaking are like, are about, or are here for. And there's also limited knowledge of many people here in this community about other countries. It really has been challenging because they lump everyone into one category. They assume everyone is Mexican, when really, that is not the reality. And so the challenge has been an opening up, helping people to be more open minded, and more aware.

In Morningside, one example of this cultural confusion can be found in a situation that had a very adverse effect upon some of the Latino newcomers. A local housing company was checking Social Security numbers of people applying for rental housing, and turning in people who did not have a valid number. After discovering what was happening, a local church worker circulated flyers to warn immigrants away from renting apartments from this company. The church worker took offense at the company's practice:

> Perhaps the company feels it's their duty, post 9/11, to turn in 'illegals' or people who they think are illegal, and just cause life to be a bit more difficult for them – when in fact it's not their role to do that. But they believe it's somehow their civic duty. Part of that is rooted in ignorance and part of it in bias. It doesn't matter if you're here legally, illegally, American, or not. Housing in Morningside is outrageously expensive. Just meeting the monthly rental demands is very, very difficult, and so you'll find frequently two families, ten to twelve people living together, fifteen, and sometimes even up to twenty, because that's the only way they can really afford to live here because it's so expensive.

The church worker found fault with the company turning in people who do not possess valid papers. At the same time, he attributed part of the ongoing conflict over housing to the companies that demand, and get, high rents in a university oriented market. He believes these companies have a captive population that they freely exploit for their own purposes.

Although many long-term residents of Barrytown and Morningside embody inclusive citizenship practices and reach out to the Spanish speakers, some residents have exploited the immigrants. Others have intimidated the newcomers. In both cities, there is an unstated moral imperative about what constitutes an acceptable household. Having fifteen people living in one household is not acceptable. And yet, in Barrytown, as one city official told us, "There are some local landlords that know there's gonna be fifteen or twenty people living in one house, and they take advantage because they pay case by case, and they'll be charging each one of them to live there." Similar experiences have occurred in Morningside. A police officer recounted this situation:

> A landlord was often times an owner of a restaurant in town, and the landlord would lease out a house or apartment. And they would hire these people straight from Mexico to come live – allow them to live in their home or residence that they would lease out to them – and then they would also work for them. So you'd go to an apartment or a residence, and there would be four, five, six, eight, twelve, nothing but Hispanic males living there in a two or three bedroom apartment.

In addition to the problems associated with exploitation by landlords, some newcomers have experienced problems with employers. These problems seem to be exacerbated if the newcomers are undocumented. A church worker in Morningside occasionally heard of "problems of sort of an indentured servitude to people here." He also spoke about even more disturbing cases of domestic violence. According to him, many times the abused women are reluctant to report the perpetrators because, "If the women married a U.S. citizen, many times the men will hold that sponsorship over them, the citizenship over them as a threat; and they're basically stuck having to stay with a person in the hopes of eventually receiving citizenship and being able to leave them later."

Another area of difficulty is the realm of driving and obtaining drivers' licenses. This process is fraught with conflict and confusion. A member of the School Board in Barrytown considers safe and legal driving to be a key concept that Latino newcomers must master in order to be good citizens. Even though there are cultural differences in how the newcomers and long-term residents of Barrytown practice driving, he insisted that the newcomers must understand that "without a valid driver's license, you're not insured, and what little you have, you won't have, because we'll have to put you in confinement." This is an essential lesson for newcomers, who must master the rules of the road, so to speak, or face serious consequences.

However, even if a newcomer wanted to "follow the rules," it may prove difficult, if not impossible, to do so. For example, the Latino Center in Barrytown was providing IDs to its clients. For quite some time, these IDs had been accepted by the Bureau of Motor Vehicles. Yet at one point, state troopers were stationed in the local BMV office. When the staff at the Latino Center discovered this, they called the Human Rights Commission for help. After a phone call was made by the Human Rights staff officer, "the next day the state trooper's gone and they're never back." This staff officer at the Human Rights Commission commented that this practice was "intimidating Latinos and they weren't wanting to stay or go through the process, and they even had some of their drivers' licenses, or registrations, seized by the state police." In this case, immigrants' willingness to "follow the rules" did not in fact bring forth a helpful response from the receiving community.

Some long-term residents have expressed very strong feelings about their desire to attach substantial consequences to the actions of newcomers when they do not follow the "rules of the road." In a letter to the editor, one person suggested the appropriate response to driving violations would be deportation:

> I am greatly concerned when non-citizens threaten to break the law if they don't get their way. Our government is finally taking steps to protect Americans by making long overdue changes to the BMV . . . If a non-citizen drives without a license they should be deported and banned from citizenship. Also the rising numbers of non-American drunken drivers should also be deported. These are not law-abiding people and should not be here. We need to fix our immigration laws so Americans' safety comes first. Americans are not any better than any other group, but we should come first here at home.

The author of the letter, of course, did not offer an appropriate and corresponding solution to the issue of *long-term residents* of Barrytown who drive without a license, or who are arrested for drunken driving. Apparently, such a double standard would be acceptable.

In Morningside, the newcomers have also had problems at the Bureau of Motor Vehicles. In addition to the language difference, there is a problem with newcomers understanding all the documents that they are required to present in order to get a license. A board member of a local group that serves the Latino community in Morningside noted the importance of having a driver's license – it is such a basic form of identification in the United States, but it is also a significant asset to have in a university community. Because there is not adequate public transportation in Morningside, if Spanish speakers do not have drivers' licenses, then they must live close to their places of employment in the restaurants. Since numerous restaurants are located near the campus, many of the newcomers live in heavily student populated neighborhoods. Usually the cost of rental housing is much higher in these neighborhoods than housing in the outlying areas of town. In Morningside, not having a driver's license is a severe economic liability.

The Ambiguity of Citizenship

In our everyday talk, citizenship is conventionally reckoned in legal terms, with reference to the nation-state. When we ask, "Are you an American citizen?", we wonder whether a person holds a United States passport, or can otherwise move freely in and out of the U.S. In this sense, most Latino newcomers to Barrytown and Morningside are not U.S. citizens. Some have gained legal or permanent residency, while others have no legal status. Yet more recently, scholars have explored other meanings and usages of citizenship (Shafir, 1998). Certainly in the communities we studied, citizenship also has a more generic meaning, referring to a sense of membership, civic belonging, and social contribution. To be a "good citizen" typically means adhering to local norms of civic behavior, regardless of legal status. Yet for some members of these communities, as we have seen, ambiguous residency or legal status may prohibit some newcomers from being perceived as "citizens" in any sense of the term.

As the community leadership in these cities became more aware of the influx of Latinos, multiple issues started to surface. Over time, interactions between the newcomers and the receiving community have become more complex. A Mexican-born Latina, who is a long-term resident of Barrytown, reflected on how the receiving community and the newcomers were beginning to affect and shape one another:

> When the Spanish speaking population came, what it contributed to Barrytown is a forced awareness. And the awareness leads to understanding, and the understanding leads to acknowledgment, and the acknowledgment leads to acceptance, and the acceptance then leads to integration. So, that is why I say forced awareness means that we did have to take a good look at that population.

This is a rather hopeful version of the potential integration story. Albeit "forced," the awareness of a new population led this community to take steps toward integration. A local health provider, this woman serves as one of several cultural liaisons in Barrytown. She interprets the newcomers and their lives to the long-term residents in the city. She also translates Spanish to English, and helps to interpret the host community's rules of responsible citizenship to the Latino newcomers. In this process of forming new citizens, her assessment is that the changing landscape and newcomers need to be viewed as "an opportunity, not a problem." From her perspective, it has been important for

the community "to pull in all the resources it had – financial, human, and material resources – to address the challenge, not just to watch it happen."

Because the sheer numbers of newcomers demanded a solution, Barrytown developed an extensive network of programs, advocates, and interpreters to assist in the formation and incorporation of the new citizens. From the perspective of this health care provider and the mayor of the city, citizenship is viewed as a matter of community membership. For these two leaders, being a member of the community is characterized by having a job and participating in the ongoing life of Barrytown. Citizenship is not dependent upon legal documentation. The mayor also used the language of "opportunity, not a problem," to frame the reality of the influx of Latino newcomers. He has been very active in creating a climate of inclusion and structuring inclusion into the social, civic, and political landscape. Said the mayor, "We tried to accept them [Latinos] as citizens [and] as a working element; they fill needs in the community for jobs." During an interview with a local reporter, the mayor also commented, "They're taking the jobs nobody wants. Some are holding down two or three jobs. They're very hard workers."

One mechanism the mayor of Barrytown has used to promote the image of an inclusive vision of the city is a "cultural awareness committee." It is a committee that he instituted. By virtue of his office, the mayor makes several appointments to the committee. He believes that the purpose of this committee is:

> to make the community better and let people know that we have different cultures and we're blessed by having these different cultures; so that's how we got to where we are today, I guess – is working with people and using it as an opportunity, versus a problem.

Several of the community leaders in Morningside also spoke of the importance of encouraging the newcomers, and being alert to cultural differences. Summarizing the sentiment of many, one said, "Latinos are different in that they plan on becoming citizens eventually and staying here, whereas many people from other lands come and go." These leaders believe that encouraging the newcomers includes offering them the chance to create a home, rather than simply living in the community as workers. They also see education as a key element in making this transition from worker to homeowner, from short term guest to long term participant in the life of the community. One board member of a Morningside advocacy group for Latino newcomers, himself a recent immigrant, described the need for thinking beyond the social categories of guilt and blame, and insider and outsider. He framed the current cultural and civic challenge in this manner:

> It has to work both ways. I take no sides here, so somebody can always say, 'They're undocumented, they're illegal.' And I say, 'Well, yeah.' But he goes, 'We can't keep them in starvation.' You know, it kind of keeps going on and on inside, and you never really find who's guilty, and I really don't care who's guilty because of the situation, because of the resolve. You see, I am a newcomer to you, but I am a Morningsidian to a guy who just came from Mexico City six months ago. So what are they? Who are us? It's so difficult to define. We're us, we're us. We need to work together to make the lives of everybody in our community better – everybody.

Many people we interviewed in Barrytown and Morningside are persuaded that one way to make the lives of everybody better is to equip all residents with the skills needed to be self-sufficient. This key element, self-sufficiency, is multivalent in the lives of newcomers, as well as in the lives of long-term residents. From the perspective of the receiving community, a person needs to be able to take care of his or her affairs; in addition to taking care of one's affairs, a mark of being a "good citizen" is being self-sufficient. However, this notion of self-sufficiency can be a double-edged

sword for the immigrants. On the one hand, Spanish speakers are viewed as hard working, a characteristic that is much admired by many Hoosiers. On the other hand, some members of the community believe that the Latinos have "taken our jobs."

Regrettably, some of the Spanish speakers have experienced workplace discrimination. We were told that some of them work at jobs in which "they do not get paid equally as other ones would, that is, people with Social Security numbers." Many of them work two, or more, jobs. Even though they are "hard workers" and economically self-sufficient, they may not be socially self-sufficient. Numerous community leaders spoke of the need to help Latino parents resolve life stressors, and not become "dependent" upon them for calling the doctor, or calling the school, or talking to teachers. While it seems that the newcomers can be self-sufficient in terms of maintaining a stable position in the workforce, the fear of discovery of being undocumented, and the lack of transportation may compromise their ability to navigate other dimensions of daily living.

Cultural Debates on Assimilation and Integration

Members of the nexus of local leaders in Barrytown were concerned about the need to shape the city in ways that would promote the integration of the immigrants into the civic life of the community. A member of the City Council discussed some of these concerns, and how they arose at a meeting of the Rotary Club. According to the Council member, "We have people talk at Rotary about 'How do we make them feel welcome?' Well, the real question is, 'Are they welcomed?', not whether or not we make them feel welcome." This subtle shift of language from "feeling welcome" to "being welcomed" seems to place the onus of integration on long-term residents, not the newcomers.

This notion of "being welcomed" has opened up a wide-ranging conversation and internal debate in Barrytown and Morningside. One aspect of the dialogue concerns how the receiving community can become more thoughtful and informed citizens. Another aspect of the discussion is to find ways in which the receiving community can act in concrete, helpful ways to integrate the new immigrants into the community. From this standpoint, integration and the achievement of local citizenship are viewed as interdependent processes, and the communities must assume a leadership stance to implement these processes. For example, the president of the local School Board in Barrytown described this approach as "always reaching out so that virtually no one is left out, and seeing how to gather everyone at the same level and help one another."

This approach to integration and citizenship is similar to, and reflective of, Charles Taylor's notion of the virtue of recognition. In Barrytown and Morningside, the conceptualization of citizenship is largely viewed as participation at the local level, not the possession of legal documents that legitimate one's presence in the community. Participation is conceived as being much more than a member of the workforce; it also includes social, educational, and religious involvement. This desire to integrate the newcomers is one expression of the virtue of recognition. Moreover, this desire to integrate and allow for mutual adaptation appears to be rooted in a valuation of, and recognition of, the Spanish speakers – first of all as human beings, and then as culturally specific people who may have a salutary effect upon the life of the host community. Local civic leaders understand that this process of mutual adaptation will change not only the immigrants, but also Hoosiers in the receiving communities.

While it is true that this approach to integration and citizenship is not a unified response of all long-term residents of both communities, it is a consistent response of the civic leadership. Almost without exception, these leaders – the mayors and other officials in city government, school officials, teachers, health workers, police officers, social workers, community service providers, and

individuals from the religious community – expressed a desire that the newcomers become a part of the community while, at the same time, they find a way to preserve their cultural heritage. One concern that surfaced many times in our interviews was whether fuller cultural assimilation is a more desirable goal than social integration. In other words, does acquiring a sense of full membership in the community require the adoption of a whole new set of "American" values, i.e., going beyond the minimal accommodation to civic rules and norms?

Residents of the receiving communities are not unified about the degree of assimilation that may be appropriate to the newcomers. Some individuals believe that fuller integration into Barrytown and Morningside might erase the distinctive cultural characteristics of the Spanish speakers – that integration will, in fact, become assimilation. This homogenization, or full assimilation, is viewed as being undesirable because it would mean the diminishment of the cultural integrity of the newcomers. The prospect of assimilation will undoubtedly bring its own set of concerns related to daily life in newcomer households. A religious leader in Morningside, thinking well beyond the debate about the integration of the new arrivals, sees trouble lurking in the not-so-distant future:

> One of the things that I see being ignored many times in Hispanic services and ministry by the churches, social organizations, is a focus on the first generation immigrants and their children, and subsequent generations get lost, and they're largely blind to the concerns of the children as they are growing up. Children grow up with stigmas, being ashamed of their own culture, ashamed of their families, because what they see in the dominant culture, they wanna be and they know that they're not. They're ashamed that their parents don't speak English, or they speak with an accent. They're ashamed of the poverty that they live in. They're ashamed of many things, and the result is they end up rejecting it.

For the most part, however, civic leaders are much more focused upon how to teach the newcomers about living in a new society. These leaders believe it is critically important that they find ways to impart the requisite skills to the newcomers so that they can meet the challenges of daily life in Barrytown and Morningside. These challenges include learning English; accessing transportation, health care services, and recreational opportunities; opening bank accounts and establishing lines of credit so that they may purchase vehicles and houses; learning the "rules of the game" for school attendance, dating practices, and driving; encouraging parents to help their children aspire to getting a college education; understanding how to participate socially and interact with other newcomers, as well as members of the receiving community; learning how to trust social service providers, including teachers and police officers; and establishing friendships and a social network so that the newcomers have a sense of being at home, and belonging to the community.

<u>Summary</u>

We anticipate that public debates about whether or not Latino newcomers should be integrated into these local communities will continue. We also anticipate that various volunteers and paid professionals will continue their efforts to integrate the Spanish speakers into these two heartland communities. Although the identity and voice of the newcomers is acknowledged by the civic leadership of Barrytown and Morningside, and even though there is a desire to recognize the worth of Latino cultures, the future of the relationship between the long-term residents and the newcomers remains complex and cloudy.

We have yet to see if the Spanish speaking newcomers will be able to move beyond survival to flourishing as human beings in a new cultural home. Regardless of how welcoming Barrytown and Morningside may be, over work, depression, post-traumatic stress from traveling to Indiana, and the fear of deportation remain the daily reality of many Latinos. Even though many long-term residents in Barrytown and Morningside may welcome the newcomers, whether or not the latter "feel welcomed" is a different issue. Finally, whether or not these new immigrants will be integrated into the warp and woof of daily life in the heartland is a story yet to be written.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

We began this report by noting the importance of schools as a place for educating immigrants. Schools are key institutions, to be sure, but as we've shown here, a broad range of community organizations, including churches, hospitals, social service agencies, youth clubs, and law enforcement agencies, also take on the task of shaping behavior and exchanging knowledge about how immigrants become members of a community. We refer to the complex interplay of agencies as the "educational ecology" of a region, and we see the development of educational ecologies as crucially shaping not only the conditions for current integration, but also for effective long-term integration of second-generation immigrants in communities and schools. Here we summarize some of our findings about the educational ecology for newcomer integration at both the level of the state, and the two communities that formed the focus of our research.

As the structure of this report suggests, we have organized our thinking about the challenges and opportunities brought by Indiana's new Latino population into two broad categories: organizational development, and cultural representation. Although there is a close and necessary relationship between these elements, we find it useful to consider them separately. In broad brushstrokes, our findings indicate a need to reassess the expectations for institutional development in favor of newcomer integration. We have identified a number of *inconsistencies* and unreasonable expectations in the efforts to institutionalize newcomer integration, just as we have identified *contradictions* in the cultural discourse about such integration. Following the metaphor we have established, such inconsistencies and contradictions compromise the viability and sustainability of ecologies for newcomer integration. We turn now to briefly discuss broader structural barriers to newcomer integration, before returning to present our recommendations and best practices.

Structural Barriers to Newcomer Integration

While community leaders have activated local organizational resources in attempts to integrate newcomer Latinos, many of them remain acutely aware of the broader institutional forces which limit their efforts. Repeatedly and consistently in our study, key community leaders and advocates cited newcomers' undocumented status as a substantial barrier to integrative efforts. Specific examples included newcomers' inability to obtain drivers' licenses, open bank accounts, or access higher education. In addition, newcomers' inability to freely circulate across national borders proves problematic according to our informants. These conditions of federal policy and transnational migration place definite limits on newcomers' full and equal membership at the community level. Moreover, it is beyond community leaders' immediate control or influence to alter any of these conditions.

Furthermore, institutional constraints to newcomer integration appear in both the Barrytown and Morningside School Systems. Despite good intentions to provide ESL courses and modified

instruction for language-minority students, the Barrytown Schools have been chronically understaffed with ESL teachers. As the ESL coordinator indicates, "We did [provide services] to the best of our ability, but our ability was limited due to the limited staff." Moreover, the principal of the local high school with the largest population of Latino students explains that, regarding ESL services,

> state funding didn't allow it, and the budget was already made over eighteen months ago, so there was just, 'Wish we could help but there is no help.' So up until midyear last year, I used money that was made off the Coke machines and grant money that I was able to scrounge together to buy a halftime TA to come in to build a program. So we built a program around no money.

Cuts to state funding for education have only aggravated the difficulties of local districts to find and hire sufficient ESL staff. Again, these are macro-structural conditions which constrain a key element of the educational ecology for newcomer integration; namely, it limits the capacity of local schools to provide for the "need to educate them" and thereby to enhance newcomer self-sufficiency. Strategies of corporate paternalism in Barrytown have not overcome such constraints, as evidenced by the ESL coordinator: "As far as local [funding], we were getting some money from some of the businesses, but at the time they wanted the school system to match the funds." Local corporate sponsorship, which insists on "matching" as a condition of funding, does not address the inability of local schools to contribute due to budget cuts at the district and state levels.

Both Barrytown and Morningside also have school corporations that, to varying degrees, have historically operated in isolation from many other community agencies. At the central offices, a tendency toward insularity and cronyism, coupled with poorly developed modes of coordination and communication, have weakened the kinds of collaboration that could be developed. We see some hopeful developments in this regard. In Barrytown, a change in the superintendence appears to have breathed new life into community-school partnerships, while in Morningside, persistent pressure from an advocacy group eventually led to the Superintendent's decision to hire a multicultural program coordinator, whose primary job task would be to facilitate newcomer education. Clearly, the commitments and sensibilities of particular school leaders—from principals to superintendents to school boards—can make a huge difference in meeting newcomer needs. Yet we still find that regular dedicated positions, and regular structures of communication, are necessary to institutionalize these developments.

In the case of Barrytown, the persistent institutional constraints to newcomer integration raise concerns about the viability of local corporate paternalism. Specifically, the initial findings of our study suggest that local strategies for newcomer integration in the context of current institutional constraints run the risk of persistently marginalizing newcomers in the community. Macro-structural constraints to newcomer membership status are not conducive to short-term integration goals and expectations of self-sufficiency. Local service providers cannot overcome the long-term constraints newcomers face given the short-term imperative that conditions their funding. If agencies like the Latino Center in Barrytown must devote their time and resources to fund-raising, this limits the resources they have to devote to social services. More drastically, it increases the difficulty such agencies have for long-term survival, especially if available resources are largely limited to philanthropic organizations and corporate sponsorship, as they are in Barrytown. As Belinda noted, newcomer advocates need the support of the "movers and shakers" in the community to further their efforts. Given these organizations' rules for short-term goals, it is uncertain if such philanthropic support will persist over time. In the words of the Healthy Neighbors Program Director, "the community will grow tired if we always have to help." This adds to the risk that service-provider agencies may not survive over time. We already have evidence of

such potential problems; at the time of the writing of this paper, an after-school program for Latino students no longer exists due in part to staffing limits as well as competition amongst agencies for scarce resources.[13]

In the case of Morningside, the decentralized networks of individuals (largely women) doing the work of integration in the face of larger institutional constraints raises similar concerns about the long-term viability of integrative effort. Tensions emerge between volunteerism and the institutionalization of permanent resources. The reliance on advocacy networks places an untenable burden on their membership, likely leading to the type of advocacy burnout mentioned above. Indeed, in both communities, we know examples of individuals who simply cannot keep-up indefinitely the levels of time and effort they provide newcomers and host agencies. For reasons of burnout, as well as individual career or life change, many such key advocates reach a point where they all but cease providing volunteer services. And often, when they cease, the service itself ceases, with no one left to pick up the integration baton, so to speak. A key example is the former multicultural program officer in Morningside schools; she moved away from the community, and her position has not been re-filled since her absence. This shows how vulnerable integration efforts are to changes in key individuals' lives; the sustainability of newcomer integration is put at risk.

Even if service provider agencies, volunteer networks, and central community figures are able to persist, however, there remain institutional constraints which make it unlikely that newcomers can achieve equal community membership. People who have access to driver's licenses, bank accounts, and higher education have far more opportunities for self-sufficiency in their community than those who are systematically denied such access. If self-sufficiency is a key goal of local strategies for integration, but newcomers have persistent, structural barriers to self-sufficiency, newcomers are set up for failure in becoming full and equal community members. Moreover, if long-term residents remain complacent about new populations simply adding to their already "multicultural communities," they are likely to remain insensitive to the real socioeconomic problems newcomers are likely to continually face. In light of such community dynamics, there is the potential for some long-term residents to assume that newcomers' failure to attain self-sufficiency is their own fault, given the efforts the host community has put forth in the name of newcomer integration. Local limits to organizational stamina in this context of institutional constraints may contribute to decreasing public support for newcomer services. Such effects would necessarily keep newcomers relegated to a marginal social status in the community, and aggravate their socioeconomic problems, which are already formidable. The potentially bitter irony, then, is that the very processes intended to integrate newcomer Latinos into local communities could become precisely the processes through which they are more persistently marginalized in their communities.

Our preliminary findings suggest that there may be important contradictions in the educational ecologies of Barrytown and Morningside. We must continue to explore these patterns in further analysis, and explore alternative strategies at work in other communities. Ultimately, it remains to be seen how processes of corporate paternalism, grassroots maternalism, and alternative local strategies for newcomer integration will evolve over time. The impact of macro-structural conditions remains substantial, and advocates for newcomer integration should continue to address state and federal policies which maintain such conditions. For local communities, however, leadership may need to reevaluate the level, direction, and commitment of local efforts at newcomer integration. One-time grants and matching funds, while important sources of funding, are not likely

[13] We must note that though this program died, a local elementary school houses a recently initiated similar program. The importance of this example is the relatively short-lived nature of the after school program, and the sources of its demise.

to solve the systemic problems newcomer populations and their host communities will face over the long-term. Likewise, volunteer networks, while important providers of newcomer support, are not likely to lead to coordinated community integration nor are they likely to endure the long-term workload which gets placed upon their members. Community leadership may be well-advised to develop strategies for the continual generation of resources to devote to on-going service provision and community-building. Long-term approaches to community-building would help leadership effectively harness the positive ways that host communities evolve with changing populations. To be sure, the efforts of key actors in Barrytown and Morningside have been substantial and well-intentioned. Also, integrative efforts have extended throughout the institutional landscape of these communities. Their most difficult task will be to ensure that such efforts do not dissolve with time and thereby reaffirm newcomers' secondary social status.

Recommendations

Here we identify some of the best practices that we observed, and extrapolate some of the implications from our findings about educational ecologies, to make concrete recommendations:

1. The legislative and service branches of state government should take on a greater leadership and coordinating role in newcomer integration. An *office of immigrant services* might direct or coordinate efforts amongst disparate agencies such as the Department of Education, the Department of Workforce Development, the Department of Health, and the Civil Rights Commission.

2. Given competing visions of community integration, local cities and neighborhoods—perhaps with leadership from the state—should *hold regular community forums, both face-to-face and electronic*, to air these views and, through public discussion, move closer to a consensus. Assimilation and integration are not mutually exclusive positions, though they are often constructed as such in public debate. Structured and moderated conversations, rather than one-time journalistic "statements" (e.g., "letters to the editor"), are more likely to promote ongoing learning and pragmatic adaptation. Such conversations should endeavor to involve as broad a cross-section of the local community as possible, and provide for Spanish-English translation. Face-to-face communication is critically important, since host efforts to improve immigrant access to social services, and to improve communication between parents and schools, may be based on contrasting assumptions and practices. For instance, host use of print and electronic media may contradict culturally embedded notions of trust (*confianza*), and the importance of face-to-face personal relationships, in Latino newcomer communities.

3. Mechanisms and resources should be developed to *improve the local coordination of immigrant services, and to especially create closer collaboration between schools and community agencies*. A dedicated "community liaison" position in the school corporations, with joint funding from the city and/or county, is one way of meeting this need for coordination. Additionally, local religious organizations can and ought to be supported to play a more pro-active role in facilitating social services, as well as providing a powerful ethical voice for newcomer integration at the state level. Yet another promising model is to create a permanent position for immigrant services in city or county government. While some cities have spread responsibility for newcomer integration across several offices, including the local human rights commission, the office of family and community resources, or the police department, we

recommend at least one dedicated position, and strong city government involvement on a long-term basis, without fearing charges of partiality or "advocacy." Ultimately, local governments must communicate effectively that what appears to be privileged treatment for one segment of society is actually contributing to positive social integration that benefits everyone.

4. State and local resources should be channeled into *Latino leadership development* amongst newcomer populations. After a generation of steady immigration, it is time for newcomer populations to rely less on second-generation Latinos, or other advocates, and instead develop their own capacity for representation. This will require financial commitments for release time from work, and increased efforts to make higher education affordable and accessible to the children of newcomer Latinos.

5. State and local governments should consider making a *"newcomer integration" assessment*, or creating other philanthropic incentives, for businesses that profit from low-wage immigrant labor. Such businesses may currently make *some* contributions to social policy and social services, but such contributions are not typically in proportion to the economic windfall that immigrant labor provides. A kind of newcomer assessment could especially subsidize community based health clinics, since these agencies are among the most heavily used social services by newcomers. Assessed funds could also be directed into a long-term immigrant scholarship fund, which would in turn enable more immigrant Latinos to pursue higher education.

6. State and local government should partner more effectively with university-based resources in the state to *educate broadly and develop greater cultural competency* amongst native Hoosiers for living and working with Latin-origin residents. Presently, most educational efforts are directed at the newcomers themselves, in an effort to help them "adjust." Far fewer efforts address the intercultural competencies of the established resident population. We see the development of more study abroad programs, and dual immersion Spanish-English schools (or programs within schools), as an important aspect of this competency work. Such educational efforts, which might encompass community and workplace settings, as well as schools, could also address and broaden local understandings of community membership and citizenship.

7. There is clearly *a need for greater funding of English as a Second Language*, both at the individual school and state levels. More incentives must be created to attract prospective teachers into this field. At the same time, schools and communities must avoid segregating and marginalizing Latinos and other English-language learners. Even as special resources and teachers are dedicated to integrating Latino newcomers, *we must continue to view newcomers as a resource for learning, rather than a "problem," and we must continue to foster a broad sense of shared responsibility for their integration.* Too often we have seen in our research that Latino newcomers are defined entirely by their linguistic needs or deficits, and that ESL teachers are their primary advocates. Yet as long as these new students are seen in terms of their linguistic needs, we will lose an opportunity to educate reciprocally for citizenship. All school personnel and community members must embrace the responsibility of educational integration.

Epilogue: 2005-2006: Two Steps Forward, One Step (or More) Back?

According to the original protocol, data collection for this study formally ended in the summer of 2005. Our findings and conclusions, therefore, are based solely on this formal data. However, each of us has since remained attuned to local and state events, both through media reports and other ongoing research and service projects. The events that have transpired since 2005, especially over the first half of 2006, also inspired us to re-visit some key actors and solicit informal updates. Based on this information, we venture some comments about the status of our recommendations from the study, as well as our observations about whether the goal of Latino newcomer integration has been advanced or slowed during this time.

As most readers of this report will know, 2006 brought a lively and controversial immigration debate from the national to the state and local levels. Both houses of the U.S. Congress worked to pass immigration legislation; the House version that eventually passed included a provision for criminalizing all undocumented workers in the U.S. This legislation brought a strong response from newcomer immigrants and their advocates—both legally resident and undocumented alike. Large rallies were held in the month of March, and Latino immigrant workers were urged to stay home from work in a nationwide protest on May 1.

In response to such developments, there was a significant spike in anti-immigrant sentiment and organizing. Newspapers carried larger numbers of disparaging, anti-immigrant letters from their constituents, and anti-immigrant groups held discussions and rallies at the local level. It appears that many long-time Hoosiers had not realized the high proportion of Latino immigrants who might be undocumented. Visible debates and rallies brought this reality into the open in a way that had not previously occurred, and a fiercely contested mid-term election season galvanized opposition to undocumented immigrants and provided more opportunistic fuel for anti-immigrant sentiment. In the Latino newcomer community, rumors about immigration raids, and stories of retaliatory action by employers and local citizens, served to scare and discourage the newcomers. Yet rather than achieving their apparent aim of running newcomers out of town entirely, such actions have only had a chilling effect on community relations. Latino newcomers have stayed on, but they have kept a lower profile, and occasionally missed days of work. Needless to say, they have felt much less welcome in Hoosier cities and towns.

Other trends and developments in Barrytown and Morningside largely bear out our analysis in this report. They leave us discouraged, but still hopeful, about long-term prospects for strong newcomer integration. In Morningside, for instance, several key newcomer advocates left town for personal reasons, or left their positions to pursue other endeavors. As our study may have predicted, few have been able to fill their shoes, and the pursuit of newcomer integration has suffered as a result. Community volunteers report that they are still called on to fill gaps in social service provision, and that they have had to scale back their involvement in order to maintain a personal and family life. The gaps appear to be uneven. One advocate perceives a positive shift: She claims that most social service agencies used to call and ask, "What can you do for me?" However, recently an employee from a health clinic called and asked, "What can **I** do?" Still, another advocate emphasizes that the schools and the hospital, among others, have cut back on resources. And whereas in the past agencies were more responsive to her queries and concerns, now she's perceived as annoying. Their attitude is that, by now, "they've done enough."

In the meantime, Morningside's organizational landscape for newcomer integration has shifted somewhat, and not always for the better. The school system no longer employs a special multicultural services coordinator for the Latino population, and the city has put on hold a part-time position in Community and Family Resources. On the other hand, a new mayor's advisory

commission on Hispanic/Latino affairs is set to begin its work, and a new advocacy group, focused on issues of translation for limited English proficient adults, has been working for some time to garner more resources.

In Barrytown, anti-immigrant sentiments have become more public and frequent since the May 1st nationwide protest. In response to these public expressions of discontent, newcomer advocates and civic leaders have formed a task force on immigration issues. The purpose of this task force is twofold: to educate themselves and keep abreast of the current status of immigration legislation, and to teach the community about the "value-added" incentives that newcomers bring to Barrytown.. Another area that needs more public visibility is the role of immigrants in Barrytown's housing market. This market is now stable, in large measure because a substantial number of rental vacancies have been filled by the new workers. Naming the benefits that newcomers bring to the long-term residents of Barrytown is part of a strategy to re-frame the local conception of community.

There has been a lot of discussion amongst long-term residents of Barrytown about the need to build the base of participation and develop local leadership within the immigrant community. One aspect of the strategy for building community has been to set up mentoring relationships and foster personal relationships between long-term residents and newcomers. The goal in this process is, as they say, to "re-wire the connections" so that the long-term residents of Barrytown will eventually serve as institutional links to services, rather than being the direct service providers. Some newcomer advocates have grown weary, while others, feeling burned out, have substantially scaled back their participation. Still, they continue their volunteer work with local agencies.

There are several bright spots in this process of mutual adaptation between the newcomers and long-term residents of Barrytown. The year 2006 was an educational milestone in this heartland community. The first significant cohort of Latino immigrant children that arrived in the 1990s graduated from high school; several of them are going on to study at a community college. Local newcomer advocates held a graduation party for the graduates, and the mayor was present and offered congratulatory comments. Several of these high school students have become mentors to the next generation of immigrant children, helping the youngsters to navigate their way through the schools. Others are now working as volunteers at the health clinic for Spanish speakers. Relatedly, there is a creative project to develop local leadership by identifying and training Latina newcomers to serve as health promoters (*promotores*) for the immigrant community. This is a local initiative that has grown out of the work of newcomer advocates, almost all of whom have institutional positions that allowed them to focus upon developing this project. The goals of the project are to develop local leadership; to support basic health care education; and to increase health care access for Spanish speakers.

Indeed, we have been encouraged to learn that the State Department of Health has recently developed its MARPHLI initiative to help fund and train Spanish-speaking health advocates (*promotores*) at the community level. This is just one of a few actions for newcomer integration at the state level. New governor Mitch Daniels has continued to support his Senior Advisor for Latino Affairs, Juana Watson; the work of the ICHLA, of course, continues in earnest. A summit on Latino Economic Development was held in the Fall of 2006, and a similar summit on Latino Education is in the planning for 2007. Clearly, these are promising developments at the state level. Yet much more could still be done, and the rationale for most efforts at Latino newcomer integration remains pro-business and strictly oriented to economic development. We do not dispute the need for state policy that is economically sound, but we do believe that newcomer integration requires moral as well as economic justification. Rather than being seen as a case of "special pleading," support for Latino newcomer integration ought to be understood in terms of the sustainable health of the whole person, as well as the common good of Hoosier civic life.

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