

**SUMMARY REPORT OF FOUR FOCUS GROUPS
ON MIGRANT WORKER ENUMERATION CONDUCTED IN
BRADENTON, FL AND CORNELIUS, OR**

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This paper reports general results of research undertaken by us Bureau staff. The views expressed are attributable to the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Census Bureau.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During August 7 and August 10, 1996, respectively, the Census

Bureau conducted four focus groups, two each at Bradenton, Florida and Cornelius, Oregon, in order to collect information on barriers to the enumeration of migrant farm workers, and to elicit suggestions for improving current census procedures for year 2000.

The groups consisted of a total of 35 individuals¹ of both sexes (9,8,8,10 respectively), five outside observers and one census observer, in addition to the moderator. The participants for the focus groups consisted of service providers, program administrators, outreach workers and migrant workers; the second Oregon focus group included some migrant workers, who are primarily Spanish speaking, and because of this the session was conducted with the help of a translator. The representatives of various organizations were able to provide good overviews of the wide variety of migrant farm workers they serve; the migrant workers provided an insiders' view of migrant life, albeit of more restricted scope.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUPS² WITH RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The migrants in these areas consist of 80 to 90 percent Latin Americans, among whom Mexicans predominate. The Bradenton area farm labor force is also made up of a little over ten percent of Haitian migrants. Both Florida and Oregon migrants also include Mayan and Mixtecan Indians from Guatemala and Mexico, as well as workers of several Asian nationalities. Most of the migrants are Spanish speakers; only a few have good mastery of English, and some of the Indians speak only their native languages.

2. The Florida and Oregon sites are located on the Eastern and Western migrant streams respectively. Florida has a sizable portion of its migrants remaining there at census time; Oregon by contrast has only a few workers who remained over the winter.

3. Migrant housing in these areas consists primarily of employer-provided dorm-style barracks, duplexes, cabins or trailers. About 80 percent were said to be living in actual labor camps. Although lists of camps are available, some camps could be omitted due to late registry, or because they are illegal and do not appear on any list.

¹ The respondents in the four focus groups, will be referred to as "participants," throughout the paper.

² Unless otherwise stated, the statements made here represent the findings based on the four focus groups only, and are not generalizable beyond the areas and groups from which they were recruited.

4. Many migrants live in complex households harboring relatives, friends and other countrymen, who may be undocumented, or illegally housed or employed, and thus not likely to be reported to any authorities.

5. In addition to language difficulties, many migrants have low levels of education, either poor reading skills or none, and also difficulties in completing official forms. Making forms available in their languages (primarily Spanish, then Creole, as well as several less known languages such as Mixtec or Kanjobal) was seen as some help, but a majority of the migrants would require hands-on assistance to complete their forms. Even Spanish language forms were seen as posing difficulties for those who speak varieties of Spanish different from the literary Spanish of the forms.

6. The fear of arrest and deportation, due to various illegal situations many migrants are in, is clearly the most important obstacle to their enumeration. The only solution for the census appears to be working with the staff of local organizations which have already established friendly and trusting relationships with the migrants.

7. Each area has a large number of organizations serving migrant workers. Enlisting their aid in partnerships would be great help in implementing more successful outreach, promotional and enumeration procedures. Participants indicated that most of the organizations would be glad to assist the census.

8. Educational and promotional messages to the migrants need to serve several functions. They need to inform them of what the census is, what it's purpose is, what it is used for, and when it is taken. In addition, they need to be told that participation in the census poses no danger to them, that the Census Bureau serves no law or other enforcement function, and finally that their participation may bring some benefits to their community and the organizations serving them.

9. Because of the migrants' low educational and literacy levels, the use of oral and visual media were emphasized by the participants. Radio and television were emphasized, but the use of posters, fliers and newspapers was also recommended as means of informing additional people, some through word-of-mouth as the news get passed on through the migrant community.

10. Each focus group provided a long list of sites where printed information could be posted or left for distribution or where announcements about the census could be made. These can vary considerably from community to community, and over time, so that up-to-date information on the most popular hangouts would have to be obtained in each area closer to the census date from knowledgeable local informants.

11. The final and perhaps the most important recommendation made by the participants is that we should make maximum use of the most knowledgeable individuals in the community who deal with the migrants on the daily basis, know where they are, how to talk to them and, the ability to persuade them to take part in the census. These individuals are most often found to be doing outreach work, acting as crew leaders, counselors (including clergy), but they could be in various positions, as long as they have established trusting relationships with the migrants. Many participants said that unless we use these already known and trusted individuals we might as well "forget it."

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I. INTRODUCTION

Description of the Research:¹ Four focus groups were conducted among persons familiar with migrant farm workers, as well as migrant farm workers themselves, in Bradenton, FL on August 7, 1996 and in Cornelius, OR on August 10, 1996.² The overall goal of the research was to discover ways of improving census procedures for the enumeration of migrant farm workers. Specific objectives of the focus groups included learning the composition and distribution of the migrant workers in each of the areas at census time, getting an overview of the timing of migrant movements, housing and employment patterns and, some idea of the problems the Census might face in enumerating them. We also wanted to elicit suggestions on how to obtain the assistance of local service organizations, better target our promotional messages, and, in general, improve census procedures in order to be more inclusive of migrants in our overall count.³

Site Selection: A total of four sites were selected to conduct the focus groups. The two discussed in this report included one in the South (Bradenton, FL), part of the Eastern Migrant Stream, and the other, Cornelius, OR, in the North, part of the Western Migrant Stream. The sites covered by another hired researcher are San Juan, TX and Oceanside, CA. These sites were chosen purposely to reflect regional variations along several dimensions of migrant life. Although the seasonal differences in work schedules naturally show up as the most pronounced contrasts there are other differences as well that must be taken into account in planning an enumeration.

Recruiting:⁴ In both Florida and Oregon the recruiting of participants and the donation of facility space was done by staff of local migrant service organizations. The recruiters were provided two sets of recruiting criteria: one for farm worker employers, service providers and program managers, and the other for current or former migrant workers.

Focus Group Composition: The recruits consisted of members of both sexes (See Table I), a distribution of ages from about twenty to sixty, and persons from a wide variety of ethnic and national origins.

TABLE I
DESCRIPTION OF FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

SESSION #s	BRADENTON		CORNELIUS	
	BI	BII	CI	CII
MALE	3	2	2	5
FEMALE	6	6	6	5
outside observers	0	0	3	2
census observer	0	0	1	1

Most of the participants had done at least some migrant labor themselves and all had a good overall grasp of migrant work situations in their respective areas. However, because of the timing of the focus groups, very few actual farm workers remained in the Bradenton area, and both sessions had a preponderance of persons from service organizations, although, as pointed out, many of them were also former migrants. In Cornelius the second focus group consisted entirely of migrants from various Latin American countries, and most were primarily Spanish speaking. The questions and answers were translated into English with the help of one of the participants, who had also done the recruiting for us.⁵ The first focus group in Cornelius was conducted in English without any major difficulties.

The participants were able to provide much relevant information on a wide range of topics, which both corroborated many of the findings of our 1994 research⁶ and complemented it as well with new information and insights.

All participants were provided with a statement of confidentiality for their statements and required to sign a consent form allowing their comments to be recorded for later verbatim transcription.

Possible Limitations: The limitations of this type of study are primarily of two kinds: the first stemming from the smallness of the sample, which, in spite of attempts to get some representativeness, remains largely opportunistic. In other words the recruiters got people who were available at the time, and the findings can not be generalized beyond their local contexts. The second limitation is due to the focus group method of eliciting

information itself. Although far better than the mechanical standardized survey approaches, focus groups still do not provide the time or opportunity for the kind of relationships to be established that contribute to the in depth considered responses that are characteristic of ethnographic interviews after good rapport has been established with the respondent. However, focus groups have one advantage not present in most other methods of data gathering: they stimulate discussion on topics that bring out differences of opinion that can be addressed right then and there. One gets a much better sense of what is culturally consensual, limited to some special interest group, or just plain idiosyncratic. On the other hand specialized knowledge that only one or few individuals have, may not surface at all if other participants, especially outspoken individuals with strongly held views, dominate the discussion and shy individuals hold back.

Presentation of Findings: Focus group results can be presented in a variety of formats ranging from raw data, with minimal comments (best for preserving the validity of informant statements) to highly interpretative analyses, based on an a priori set of research assumptions (furthest removed from grounded perception) (see, for example, Krueger 1994:167). We chose a middle ground of presenting the gist of the participant views on the various topics in our words, but supplementing them with verbatim illustrative examples on key points. Additional commentary is provided by the researcher where they were considered useful or necessary to orient the reader. Naturally the observations and recommendations relating the findings to census operations are largely from the researcher, as the participants could not be expected to have any detailed knowledge of census procedures. Although we have made every effort to preserve the culturally relevant meanings of the participants' statements, the danger of misinterpretation is always present when the cultural idiom of the speaker is not sufficiently familiar to the interpreter.

In the following text, the statements of the focus group participants are presented in two ways: 1) they are paraphrased and summarized at the beginning of each topical section under the location of the focus group, i.e. either Bradenton, Florida or Cornelius, Oregon; or 2) they are presented as verbatim quotations, or in the case of the focus group at Cornelius, as translations. If the quotations are short they are marked off by quotation marks, and embedded within the text presenting the focus group statements. If the quotations are long, they are presented as single spaced paragraphs and indented, set off from the rest of the text, without quotation marks. We do not identify the speakers further either by name or description, as they were promised complete anonymity.

The topics discussed are presented in a logical order of I: Background, II: Barriers, and III: Implementation; within these major headings the topics are arranged in the order of the

questions in the moderator's guide for service providers. The moderator's guide for migrant workers, which has its topics in a different order, was used in the second focus group in Oregon. The responses from that focus group are placed within the order of the service provider guide so as not to make the outline too complicated. Although the order of the discussion did not always adhere strictly to the order of the questions, we chose to preserve the topical unity of the guide rather than following the skipping around, coming back to earlier topics, side comments, etc. that occur during the natural flow of any communication, and are reflected in the transcripts. All evaluations and recommendations made by the participants considered significant are included here. We have included the figures given by the respondents as percentage estimates where there appeared to be some consensus. They are presented without further evaluation since there is no way to either verify or disprove the figures.

II. BACKGROUND OF THE MIGRANTS IN THE FOCUS GROUP AREAS

A. ETHNICITY, LANGUAGE & CULTURE

Bradenton, Florida:

The migrants working in the Bradenton area are of diverse origins by nationality and ethnicity. The largest single category among them consists of migrants from various Latin American countries; of them, in turn, the largest number, perhaps as high as 70 percent, come mostly from the northern and eastern states of Mexico. It must be noted, however, that Mexican origin should not be interpreted to mean that they are ethnically or linguistically homogeneous. Mexican migrants may be Hispanic (in the original sense of the word as descended from Spanish immigrants), or they may be of indigenous Indian ancestry, as for example the Mixtecos and Mayans are. In addition, Mexican, as well as all Latin American migrants display considerable regional cultural variety in their customs and speech. Most participants remarked on the variety of dialects among the migrants that make the application of a single Spanish language census questionnaire problematic. Other Spanish dialects mentioned include those spoken by Colombians, Cubans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans, and Salvadorans. On their origins one Bradenton participant remarked:

They could come from anywhere,...from Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras; Nicaragua, I've met some Guatemala, and Cubans, Colombia, Salvador...we got them [from] all over. Yeah, and Haitians too.

The second largest migrant category in the Bradenton area consists of Haitians, who were estimated to number about 11 percent of the local migrant population according to a recent survey. They speak a French-based Creole instead of Spanish. They were said to be based further south in Florida (see Map 2).

Many of the Bradenton area migrants from Guatemala, and some from Honduras, are monolingual Mayan Indians. The participants referred to them as "Guatamecos," and said that they also had their home bases in the same areas of southern Florida as the Haitians. They were reported to be somewhat isolated from other migrants and especially hard to communicate with. Participants indicated that with this group you should, at the very least, be able to speak Spanish, as some of the Mayan migrants, who have been here longest have picked up Spanish from their Hispanic fellow workers; otherwise you'd have to know their Mayan language.⁷

There are also some Asians, among whom only the Chinese were singled out by name. Although earlier a considerable number of native Blacks had been part of the migrant labor force, only a few remain in it today.

Cornelius, Oregon:

The ethnic composition of the migrants is a little different in Oregon from that of Florida. The Hispanic population constitutes the largest category among the migrants here also (about 90 percent were said to be speakers of various Spanish dialects). Most of them were said to be from Mexico, but a few also originate in South America. There are also some Asians, among whom Vietnamese, Koreans and Indonesians were specifically mentioned. In addition, the Cornelius area was said to have about 200 Russian speaking migrants. The Indians in this area are also from Guatemala. About half of them speak at least some Spanish, and most of the rest can make themselves understood sufficiently to do their work. However, about 20 percent were characterized as monolingual speakers of only their native Indian language; most of these are recent migrants. Those who have been coming for a few years already have picked up a working knowledge of Spanish.

A few participants in Bradenton emphasized the need to distinguish migrant farm workers from seasonal farm laborers, who are local people, mostly single men, who take farm work as it becomes available, but who do not migrate, or follow the crops as a way of life. They were said to be outside the migrant stream.

I'll say there are some seasonal farm workers, but not migrants, because there is a tremendous difference. There is some isolated seasonal farm workers that go to work every season at the same place and don't get into the migrant stream. (BII)

COMMENTS: Knowledge of the ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds and variety of the migrants is the foundation on which census procedures should be built. People associate with one another and behave in particular ways in accordance with their cultural upbringing. Many outreach efforts, messages, census questions and interview approaches developed for the mainstream, largely middle-class American culture, are inapplicable to other cultures; at worst they are offensive. However, with appropriate training in and exposure to the customs and norms of local cultures, most of the census information, at least on the short form, can be obtained without alienating the respondents.

Presumably the work and housing patterns of the local seasonal farm workers would be closer to that of the more mainstream rural

population and would not require the same strategies needed to improve the enumeration of the culturally different and more elusive migrant workers.

II.B. MIGRANT TRAVEL AND WORK: ROUTES AND SCHEDULES

Bradenton, Florida: Bradenton is near the southern end of the Eastern Migrant Stream which at its northernmost areas reaches all the way to Maine, New York and even Michigan and Wisconsin (Map 1. The migrants appear to be identified and distributed by areas where they primarily work, although most of them will also go to other areas during the slack season in their primary work area. Some migrants pass through the area and continue to winter bases further south in Florida, but the bulk of the migrant population uses the area as their winter work territory. Some migrants pass through the area and continue to winter bases further south in Florida, but many migrants also use the area as their winter work territory. A sizable portion of the Bradenton area migrant work force also travels between Texas and Florida, thus creating a East-West stream that cuts across the traditional North to South migrant streams. Many of those who go to Texas may actually have their home bases in Texas, although the majority of the calendar year is spent working in Florida.

They come from everywhere, some from Texas, some from North Carolina, some from Maryland, some from Wisconsin, some from Tennessee. We have some from Atlanta, Wisconsin, New York. The majority of them are from Texas, and... (BI)

...there are certain families that work packing house; some do not migrate, except they migrate from Texas -- that's their home base -- they come to Florida to work, just packing house. That's the only movement that they make, so when the packing houses in Florida close down, they go back to Texas. That's seasonal [work], and they stay there until it's time for the packing house to run, then they come back. (BI)

Travel between Florida and Mexico or Texas did not seem to have any major implications for the census as the travel would be primarily later on in the summer.

A limited number of [of migrants], some over the summer, go to Mexico or go to Texas, because they also have another home there. They don't necessarily work there. ...They stay all summer, then they come back. (BI)

The arrival times of migrants in Bradenton are well known to the local people who deal with them; they are tied to the seasonal demands of different kinds of work required by the various crops. Most migrants start arriving at the beginning of the citrus and

tomato seasons in September, at earliest, continuing through December. By January some migrants go further south, for example,

"down Homestead toward Florida City [about 30 miles southwest of Miami], and then in April they start coming back over here for the spring crop, and then they leave here, the state of Florida, in June thru maybe August, mid-September, they go up north, they start to stream upward."
(BII)

The Haitian migrant workers are actually based further south and work primarily the agricultural areas around Immokalee, Fort Myers and Bell Glade; they are on the northern route of their travels when they reach Manatee county.

Participants were not agreed on what proportion of the workers would remain in the Manatee county area at Census time. One man estimated that only about 25 percent of the Bradenton area migrant labor force would be present at census time, and that most would be gone by April. Others indicated that quite a few more might still be in the area. For example, those working the citrus crops may stay until June.

They stay about seven or eight months, depending on what they are doing and where they are going. Some leave in May, some leave in June and we have a few scattered ones that stay. (BI)

By June through mid-August many again leave, this time to go find work further north, which could take them:

"anywhere they can start [work] from the state of Georgia, all the way to the state of Michigan, New York, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia." (B1)

Workers were said to be coming and going fairly continuously according to the seasonal needs of the growers of different crops for whom they work. Many have circuits they follow from one area to another as for example the harvest times come around sequentially in different areas. The branching routes followed by the migrants constitute the Eastern Migrant Stream, which has been fairly constant for a half century or so (Map 1), but which some participants predicted was now undergoing significant changes. Some of the changes taking place were said to be due to increased mechanization of the harvesting technology obviating the need for as many manual pickers.

...the tomato industry, because of mechanization, is getting away from us [i.e. the migrants]. The citrus industry is really going to change in the next four years. Last year they now have orange pickers [machines] that can actually

pick a trailer load of oranges in half the time with only two people. The largest grower (name), in the state of Florida, might have them already. That is going to be a tremendous change. The migration pattern is really changing. (BI)

Even the standard migration routes were always subject to local adjustments due to effects of weather on the crops anywhere along the routes. Where crops were ruined or delayed, the migrants would adjust their travel schedules accordingly.

Cornelius, Oregon:

Cornelius, by contrast, is part of the Western Migrant Stream. Most workers come up from Mexico through California on their way north. (Map 1) Although many migrants pass through the area on their way to Washington or Idaho, it is a major stopping point for many workers.

The schedules are somewhat reversed for the more northerly Oregon communities. Very few people were expected to stay in the area during March or April, many of them could still be in Mexico, although some would be already doing agricultural work in California. Migrant camps are still closed on April first, as most migrants arrive from mid-April to July and then stay until October. The actual arrival time was said to be dependent on the weather, with mid-April given as the earliest time. Winter months were said to be spent anywhere from Mexico and California to Arizona or Texas, picking grapes or olives:

From my experience watching that, during March 15, when it's cold, most people are picking where it's warm, like Arizona and down in the south Texas, for example. (CII)

Increasingly, though, it was said that more and more migrants are remaining in the Northwest, as it is becoming increasingly difficult to cross over from Mexico, due to stricter monitoring of the border. In order to survive during the off season they are finding other kinds of work during the winter months. Pruning of Christmas trees was an example cited by several participants of wintertime work, along with making of Christmas wreaths. Other migrants staying over might winter in neighboring Washington state.

In November and December and January, a lot of people work in Washington, getting ready for the harvest, umm, you know, pruning the trees, for the fruit, fruit production...(CII)

Of the ten participants in the Cornelius focus group of migrant workers, only one person admitted that she might be in Mexico in March; the others claimed to take a variety of non-agricultural

jobs until farm work started up again. One participant spent the winter in Oregon working at a fast food place; another worked until March at getting the vineyards ready for the new season: cleaning the fields, pruning and cutting off suckers. Still others were said to work in the nurseries getting new plants ready for the planting season. For this March was said to be an especially busy month.

COMMENTS: Knowledge of the travel patterns, arrival times, durations of stays, and departure dates are useful for discovering what groups will be present and in what concentrations in various communities at census time. Aside from small numbers of single migrants, who take their chances at finding work wherever and whenever they turn up, most migrants plan to reach particular areas at times when work becomes available, and either have made arrangements already during the previous season, or have a crew leader arrange work for them and whoever else is on their crew, ahead of time. These arrangements, however, are subject to change for various reasons, such as weather, shifting emphasis on different crops, and opportunities for making more money somewhere else.

The arrival, working and departure schedules are also complicated by the fact that even for a single crop, say strawberries or tomatoes, there are numerous varieties which require planting, care and harvesting at different times. A respondent, who is familiar with the work pattern for one variety, may not know or at least pay as much attention to others, resulting in conflicting estimates for the beginnings or ends of different crop seasons. However, in each area there are local service providers who deal with a sufficiently large cross-section of the migrant population to be aware of the principal in- and outflows of migrants from the area.

A good illustration of the ethnic organization of migrant labor is provided by the distribution of The Haitian and Guatemalan Indian workers whose travel routes and schedules differ markedly from those of the Hispanic migrants. In short, there is a multitude of migration patterns formed by the segmentation of the migrant population by ethnicity, place of origin, time of arrival, home base, work specialization or lack of it, crop seasons, and fluctuations in weather or market conditions.

The high mobility of migrant workers can create problems for the Census, since any people who are not permanent residents in a particular household; and this has been shown to be true for our homeless and peripatetic, as well as migrant populations, may not be reported to the census enumerator for that reason. Some of the migrants may also be omitted from the Census of their primary work areas, where they might spend eight to ten months of the

year, because they may be visiting relatives in Mexico or elsewhere at census time. According to the participants, most of them would not get reported to the Census by their families or friends remaining here on census day.

It is still too early to gauge the effect of the increased mechanization of agriculture on migration patterns and the timing of the migrants' presence in any particular area. The main patterns evident in the changing migrant labor scene are the continued Hispanization of the work force, increased settlement of the migrants in United States, and the growing intrusion of the migrants into non-agricultural jobs in urban settings.

Participants in each of the focus groups were greatly concerned that the Census should count migrants at the time when most of them are in their state.

Let's put it this way. If the Census, if the Government wants to include the migrants, we should at least think about changing it [the census date], but if the Government wants to exclude them, let's keep it where it's at. (BII)

The participants did not seem to appreciate the idea that the best date, from the point of view of each community (usually stated to be the peak season of migrant presence in each area), would be different for each latitude as the migrants proceed along the South-North axis. However, because the census date was a matter of such major concern with all the focus group participants, it should not be ignored, but should be better addressed in the Census Bureau's educational and promotional campaigns.⁸

III. BARRIERS TO ENUMERATION

III.A.1. MIGRANT HOUSING AS A BARRIER

Bradenton, Florida: Some aspects of migrant housing utilization may also present problems for the Census. Not all migrant camps are registered, so that locating the unregistered ones would require the help of knowledgeable locals. Many of the outreach workers for various organizations in Bradenton assured me that they knew where all the camps were, regardless of whether they were registered.

In the Bradenton area majority of the migrants were said to be living in employer-provided housing both in rural areas and in towns, but usually close to the farms. These consist of dormitory style barracks, separate housing units, duplexes, and trailers. Employers also make arrangements for their workers to stay in motels, apartments and houses in nearby towns, most often in Bradenton itself, or Palmetto.

[Migrant housing consists of]...usually duplexes, and sometimes they place more than one family in them, many times. A lot of it is run down; living conditions are terrible. Some are trailers, some are actually at the camps. There is a migrant camp just for men that is kind of like a barracks. It's a barracks site. Just all kinds. We do have one camp that is just so nice; brand new trailers around. We got five sites of trailers out there. (BII)

There's a lot migrant camps here that's not declared as migrant camps because they rent to more than migrants. It's the flaw in the law. Some motels will rent 19 rooms to migrants and one to a non-migrant, so you can't consider that a migrant camp. That's the fallacy in the law. There are a lot individuals housing in homes, that can not be considered as a migrant camps, which it really is a barrack type housing, because only single men live there. (BII)

Many local people, including the local police, of course know that they are here, but choose to ignore the illegality of their status, because they also know that the local growers need them to get their vegetables and fruits planted, pruned, or harvested. Getting in to enumerate the migrant camps could be a problem. Some camps are set way back from main roads; others have blocked access roads, fences, and padlocked gates. By law the growers must let the census enumerators in, but they must be alerted about their coming ahead of time, so permission should be sought before any attempts to enter. Access to some camps may be blocked for people who have no business there; for example the access road may be posted with "no trespassing" signs:

They are hard to get in; there is a camp that is really far off, and they have gates, and at night they close them, and during the day they have signs you can't go back there.(B2)

This means that permission to enter must be sought ahead of time. It should also be remembered that most growers will not tolerate having their workers interfered with during working hours.

Workers who come before the agricultural season has started, or arrive too late to obtain employer-provided housing, or do not have a definite work agreement with an employer, as well as those wanting to stay on their own, may pool their resources to obtain a house or an apartment nearby. During the peak seasons there isn't enough housing to go around, making outside rentals or other makeshift arrangements necessary.

The migrants who take up housing in towns when they are not staying in camps may be difficult to locate. The migrants worry about having extra renters evicted from overcrowded quarters, whereas their landlords worry about being penalized for having the extra tenants. These sleeping places are naturally not advertised so that locating them might be difficult unless someone knowledgeable can guide you there.

I know several places where there's like 14 or 15 people and like two- or three-bedroom house and they would not want you to know to get anybody in trouble or themselves.(BI)

In the Bradenton area, only a few were reported to be staying in their cars, station wagons, or in outside locations, for example, in the orchards. A few were also said to be staying at local campgrounds or camping under bridges, and in Sarasota some were said to have erected army tents just north of the city. Most migrants were said to be too proud to stay in homeless shelters, although a few occasionally resorted to them as well; others were said to go to the shelters in order to get free meals.

Lists of the registered camps are readily available; for example, the Florida Department of Labor makes lists available to local organizations twice a year; they were said to cover about 80 percent of the known camps. Other lists were said to be kept by public housing authorities, such as HUD, and the Health Department, which inspects the camps, was also said to know where they all are.

Cornelius, Oregon: In Oregon, about 80 to 90 percent of the migrants were said to live in employer-provided housing; the rest either sought housing on their own, or were taken in by friends or relatives.

Most of the migrant housing in the Cornelius area consists of

labor camps; there is also some government housing available. However, the waiting lines for them were said to be long, up to three and a half years, with about 4,500 people on the waiting list. Some of the labor camp housing was said to consist of crowded small cabins, but otherwise they were not described.

Some growers in the mountains were also said to put up their workers in motels or hotels in nearby areas. Because they are not always the same places, many of them would also be difficult to locate, unless the help of local service providers was sought.

Just as in Florida, migrants who came early before the migrant camps opened, or came so late that all the employer-provided housing was spoken for, or stayed past the main harvest season, after which the labor camps closed down, had to look for their own housing.

Because the camps are open but certain months and if they come in early from the season they end up living with friends or they end renting an apartment by themselves while they wait and locate a job in another place...as soon as the camp opens, they quit that job and go into the camp and move into the camp. (CI)

The most common pattern was for several families to get together to rent a house or an apartment. Many migrants doubled up in apartments, motels or even single rooms so that many more people than are legally allowed will sleep there. It was also noted that:

The owner might not know how many families are in one house. Maybe 3 or 4 families, and he thinks he's got only one family there. (BI)

In Oregon, as well as in Florida, only a few migrants were forced to resort to makeshift arrangements, stay in their vehicles, or sleep outside. This was said to be more common in nearby Marion and Polk counties, but not very frequent in the Cornelius area. Few people were reported camping around railroad tracks, but the participants had no further knowledge about them.

The labor camps in Oregon are required to be registered by law and lists of the registered camps are made available, but by July 18, 1996 only 16 of the identified 29 camps in Washington county had complied. It was not made clear, however, when the registration period began, but if the census date is near the beginning of the registration time, some camps could be omitted simply because they were not yet on the list of registered sites. Community Action and Food Bank were also said to be developing their own lists of the camps, but participants had no further knowledge of these.

COMMENTS:

Inclusion of the migrants in the decennial census is dependent on our being able to target the locations where they stay, being able to contact them there in person and convincing them to participate. The locations where they stay can be roughly classified into three categories: 1) employer or government-provided labor camps, 2) private housing consisting of trailers, apartments, or houses, and 3) makeshift or irregular shelters similar to those used by homeless individuals.

The first category may include registered, unregistered but legal, and illegal camps. Those in the last two categories may be missing from lists of migrant housing and could be omitted on that account. Those in regular houses, apartments or trailers should receive a census form in mail, but for the several reasons given by our focus group participants are highly unlikely to respond unless personally approached by some familiar and trusted person who can convince the migrant that it is worthwhile to answer and that no harm will come to him or her from doing so.

Those in makeshift or irregular shelters are in a position similar to homeless people and pose similar difficulties to census enumerators. Because many shelterless migrants refuse to stay in homeless shelters and instead hide out in isolated and hard-to-reach rural locations they may not be easily reached by methods used to enumerate the homeless either.

If local people who are in daily touch with the migrants are used to locate migrant housing or shelters and to approach them for enumeration there is a good chance of getting a decent count. In Bradenton the services providers assured us that they knew where the bulk of the migrants were and believed they could count most of them. However, the people working with migrants in Oregon were far less sanguine about their ability to locate migrant housing, than their counterparts were in Florida.

III.A.2. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION:

Bradenton, Florida: Participants described migrant households as usually heterogeneous, but nevertheless with all members tied into some network based on family, friendship, or place of origin in Mexico, or elsewhere, as expressed in the following statement:

Usually they are related, you know, very close friends, or from the same town or area. (BI)

This implies that the people traveling and residing together are really more than just an accidental conglomeration of workers; they really are social unit tied together by family relationships

and a common local culture. Many of the families are together from the start of their traveling season, and continue that way, if work can be arranged.

"...a lot of families will not travel blindly anywhere, they've got to know someone or someplace they are going to , know someone. they usually travel three or four families at a time. (BII)

Some individuals do make choices. If they know of their brother or sister goes up to Michigan, they would go up there with them. But it would be mainly for work, that they would feel more comfortable knowing someone already there. (BII)

Keeping the families together is also facilitated by some companies. For example, companies that run agribusinesses in South or North Carolina, Tennessee, or Virginia, as well as Florida have their crew leaders take the workers and their families north as the season progresses, and then bring them back as well.

Relatives were emphasized as the key constituents of the migrant households by the Florida focus groups, as for example: "You have anywhere from cousins to uncles, to second cousins, to way down the line, but mostly mother and father." But, they also recognized other combinations, such as "friends and neighbors," and "people that they know, and [are] familiar with, and everything." (BI)

The one exception to taking in sundry residents was the line drawn at complete strangers. One participant stressed that since they weren't sufficiently known you could not really trust them.

I don't think they would rent to anyone they don't know ; not enough room. Some stranger comes up to you and says, you know, I need a place to stay; well, you can sleep outside, you know, but not inside. Don't really trust them. (BI)

Cornelius, Oregon: Participant estimates of proportions of migrants who came with family members vs. by themselves varied wildly. According to one person "80 percent come with their family members," whereas another said that "80 percent are singles coming in." (C I) Yet another participant estimated that "there's about 30 percent families; the rest percent are singles." (CI)

Part of the discrepancy might be accounted for by the fact that not all participants considered a man coming with some of his children, but without his wife as a complete family, whereas

others did, as for example:

A man might come with his male children to work, you know, but not bring his wife, so that's different, but it is family. (CII)

The actual composition of the residential unit also varies considerably. As one participant described it:

There could be an apartment, they could be just friends or relatives, or solo. There could be a family unit and the same thing could happen in a house...(CII)

Another participant continued:

...sometime there may be mothers and fathers and children, and maybe two sisters and maybe a relative, could be a couple, who aren't married...(CII)

COMMENTS:

If the migrant housing has been located and targeted the degree of within housing unit coverage will depend on how well the enumerator can convince the respondent to fully report on all persons living there. The barriers to getting a complete roster are formidable, but, again, if we use known and trusted local people we have a chance of getting a response. If the respondent has agreed to cooperate there is the further problem of getting him or her to understand just who should be reported as a member of the household. This may require knowledge of other languages besides English and interview skills that take into consideration culturally different norms governing interrogative communication. The solution our focus group participants again gave us is that we must use local enumerators who know the people, can talk to them and can convince them to participate.

III.B. BARRIERS OF LANGUAGE, LITERACY AND COMPREHENSION

Bradenton, Florida:

If we look at the Census primarily as a response to a written questionnaire presented to an individual, the inapplicability of this mainstream approach becomes immediately apparent when we consider the educational levels of the migrant workers.

Most of them have a just first grade, or second grade [education]. They can't even read or write in Spanish, so they can forget it...(BI)

If we start with language knowledge first, we are faced with the

fact that a clear majority of the migrants in Florida do not understand English well, and some not at all. Thus all appeals from initial messages promoting the Census to the actual completion of the census form will be effective with only small numbers of the total migrant population. As the participants pointed out, about 80 percent of the migrants are native Spanish speakers with varying degrees of understanding of English dependent on the amount of time they have been in the United States or on their degree of education, or other exposure to the language. If the forms were only in English most of them would have some problem with them. As to the mailed census forms we were told:

That's out of the question. Forget that. They won't answer it. You wouldn't get no response. (BI)

Another participant stressed that really it is the literacy level that is the "big problem! When asked about the numbers of people who couldn't read well enough to understand the census forms, one participant estimated that it was "...at least 50 percent;" another countered "I think it's more than 50 percent," but one participant insisted that "about 90 percent are not going to be able to understand" [the census form]. All seemed to agree, however, that well over half of the migrants would have serious difficulties with reading.

When asked if they would do better in Spanish, the consensus was that they still would have major problems on account of illiteracy and perhaps because of the kind of Spanish used on the forms or promotional materials. As one participant explained it:

I have read the form in Spanish, I understand it, but in order for me to translate [it] into Spanish [for other migrants] I have to use a different kind of Spanish, you know, the regular street Spanish that everybody speaks, because most people would not understand that Spanish [the literary Spanish of the census form] unless you went to college, that is if you were like a migrant. (BII)

Another participant complained that too little attention was paid to the language problems of the Haitians.

Creole is a language. I think, I speak Creole, it [the Census] should be done in Creole. That is one problem we have in the community where everything is done -- again it's not that I have anything against Hispanics -- but everything is done that Spanish have access to Spanish, where Creole, or French don't have anything. (BII)

Although the question of comprehension of census concepts was raised briefly, only the meaningfulness of the "race" question was challenged.

Are they going to change the racial category? Because my children are very multiracial, so, you know, they had us to choose,... and lot of our people are registered under white, because they are confused in that category. (BII)

Because of the various problems the participants expected the migrants to have, or knew on the basis of their own experience that they did have, in filling out forms, most counseled providing assistance at all stages of the enumeration. First of all they pointed out that many of the non-readers or poor readers would probably not even bother to pick up a "Be Counted" form. Another participant thought migrants would be afraid to go to some of the places where "Be Counted" forms are distributed, and suggested the solution was "to go over to the camps and talk to them, and get them to..." [fill out the forms]. Another participant suggested that, if we can get the forms to them, and get them sufficiently motivated through publicity, they will get their kids to read and interpret the census forms. Others were said regularly to use known translators or persons who fill out their forms for a fee, and might also do that for the census. Also many of the organizations provide such services to the migrants. One participant said:

I fill forms for those people who come from Salvador. I have a lot of neighbors around here and they always come ask, and I would fill out theirs and bring them sometimes over here. (BI)

Cornelius, Oregon:

Several of the Cornelius area participants seemed to agree that about 80 percent of the migrants would have problems in filling out census forms because of difficulties with English, and all agreed that whatever the percentage was it would be "very high."

I think most farm workers that, you know, especially older persons, will have problems in filling out the forms. Initially, you have to look out for them, all of them. (CI)

In regard to illiteracy they likewise agreed that it was also "high." One participant said that only 50 percent could read somewhat in Spanish; in English the rate would be even lower, especially among those who have only recently come to the United States. Another participant, referring to the people in the camps, said: "Here in the camp, about ten percent is to read, not more." (CII) But, in speaking about those who would attempt to fill out forms, another participant qualified it as follows:

It is not just, I think, total illiteracy, but some of it is the speed, or the ease with which you could do it...they will sit there and it will take about half an hour just to

fill out one page. (CI)

One participant commented that the terminology of the census forms, or their poor translation, was going to cause difficulties in understanding; another believed it would play havoc with the reliability of the responses as not all respondents would understand the terms and would just put down something.

Sometimes the written information that's given to the people is so poorly translated, or the words are so elevated, that the people just don't understand it. (CI)

And there may be some words that they are not in their vocabulary, that they might not understand, and they complete one [question] and go on to another question, and you never know. (CI)

Another participant described the experience her institution had had with the concept of a "household" on a Health Department questionnaire.

They want the "household," and so they have to include everybody, not just the farmers. We have to tell them to include the uncle, the aunt, and everybody, so I think, in helping them, you have to, not just say the word, but just tell them, explain what it is you are trying to get. (CI)

Indeed the advice of many of the participants who had experience with having to help the migrants with their forms was to offer assistance and not to wait for the migrants to come to them.

...let the people know that they'll help them, don't just assume that if they need help they will ask; they won't ask. They'll just sit there instead of coming back and ask you. The census taker, that we were talking about going door to door, [also] needs to offer to help them fill it out. (CI)

COMMENTS:

The three main problems relating to their ability to complete a census form shared by many of the migrants are: 1) their lack of English proficiency, 2) inability to read well, and 3) lack of understanding of census terms and concepts. Even migrants who can read to some extent, do not always understand the terms or concepts on the forms, or they may understand them differently, due to their linguistic and cultural background.

In areas where linguistically different populations are concentrated in appreciable numbers at census time, the Bureau would do well to try to communicate with them in their own language. For example, if we were to do promotion and outreach

in Spanish, and had the census forms in Spanish, we would clearly reach more people, but still have problems with those migrants who do not understand Spanish, or who are unable to read Spanish any better than they can read English. In the Bradenton areas this would include Haitians and Guatemalan Indians; in the Cornelius area also Guatemalans, and, in addition, some Asian groups.

The availability of Spanish language forms, and hopefully of forms in other languages in areas where they are spoken, should ameliorate the problem somewhat, although the questions of appropriate regional, social class or subcultural dialect still remain. In addition, among the migrants of both Florida and Oregon, the low literacy levels pose an even greater obstacle to the completion of the forms. The solution would call for a cadre of dedicated local enumerators who are willing to sit down with the respondent and personally assist them in filling out their forms. Such enumerators would need to be bi-lingual, thoroughly versed in census concepts so that they can explain them to the migrant in his or her own vernacular, whether it be a variety of Spanish, Creole or Chinese.

III.C. UNDOCUMENTED STATUS OR ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES AS BARRIERS

Bradenton, Florida: Of the major barriers to enumeration, the fear of immigration authorities was said to affect the greatest number of migrants. Quite a large proportion of migrants were said still to remain undocumented in the legal sense; i.e., not that they don't have papers, but that the documents are often false and could not pass close scrutiny.

When I say undocumented, I don't mean that they don't have documents, they don't have legal documents, they have false documents. (BII)

One participant estimated that about 65 percent of the migrants in the Bradenton area were in the country illegally. Even those who now are legally in the country, perhaps already settled or having even become citizens, still may have undocumented relatives, friends or other people from the same village, stay or work with them, and thus be constantly under the threat of arrest and deportation.

The people that they bring with them might not be [legal], and if they're not, they [those who house them] might not want to say anything or talk to anybody, or let anyone know. (BI)

One service worker reported on the difficulties she had

encountered in getting the paperwork done for her agency because of the suspicions of her clients:

Sometimes they don't want to sign those papers, because they think that they are going to take them to Mexico. That's why a lot of people don't say anything. They're afraid they are going to put them in jail and take them to Mexico.(BI)

Participants stated that migrants, as a rule, rarely talk to strangers for the fear of inadvertently giving out information that would allow authorities to become aware of the presence of their illegal fellow migrants, or that might somehow incriminate themselves, their friends, or someone in their families, as the following exchange demonstrates:

Respondent: Nobody would talk about anyone else.

Moderator: Is that like a rule?

Respondent: That's a quotation.

Moderator: Now, is that just for the family, or is it for everybody?

Respondent: Everybody!(BI)

Bradenton participants also reported it as standard practice for a migrant to have two sets of names, one for border crossing, and the other for use where he or she works.

We were also warned not to use words that would raise red flags for the migrants by reminding them of the immigration act enforcement functions of other government agencies. In response to the question: "Should we say we are from the government? one participant stated emphatically: "Nope, that is wrong, wrong!" However, he was immediately censured by another participant who advised:

"Don't lie to them, and tell them that you are not government, cause you're starting off bad...You're a census taker; I mean there's a difference between saying I am a census taker so United States government can know how many people there are so they can receive different services that they need, like the elderly. I mean it's not only migrants, it's how many elderly people there are, what areas need most service for the elderly, handicapped, veterans. (BII)

However, most participants seemed to think that migrants, in general, equate the word "government" with the "Immigration and Naturalization Service" (INS), and do not really trust anything that, to them, is associated with the government.

To them government is government. [When they think of government, they immediately think] "Immigration." It would be better probably not to use the word "government." (BI)

"Bureau," likewise, was said not to be a good word to use, as it might remind the migrants of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "Census" is a less threatening term, but then you have to explain to them what the "Census" is. And then you have to explain to the migrant worker population why they should bother answering and what benefits a better enumeration would bring to their community.

When asked how much trust migrants might put in the confidentiality statements handed out to the respondents, many of the participants said that they would not trust such claims themselves.

Well, I know I don't trust it myself (followed by appreciative laughter by several participants). I don't know how anybody else would feel, but I don't. I think somewhere, somehow, somebody has something on me. Being government, I know it's out of control sometimes. (BII)

Discrimination by the local non-migrant people was also given as a factor in the migrants' preference for staying among themselves:

That's why they keep to themselves and they stay all together, they don't mingle with anybody else. Because that's protection for them. (BI)

Cornelius, Oregon:

The members of the Cornelius focus groups were equally convinced that the generalized fear migrant workers have of all government officials and authorities is the biggest single obstacle to enumeration. As one participant put it:

I know that people I work with, train in that area, and their message is: keep your mouth shut and don't talk to anybody. And that is your best way, you know, don't reveal, ...unless you know who the person is... (CI)

Few migrants were said to put much stock in the census claims of confidentiality. Their distrust could be so strong that even a seemingly neutral act like signing up their children in the migrant education program for free insurance is resisted, "because they are afraid in some way that information will go to someone that [they] don't want to have it." (CI) It was also said that, because of the low educational and reading levels of many of the migrants, they would not really be aware of what they were signing, and rather than take an unknown risk, they'd avoid doing it altogether.

Most participants described the migrants' concerns to be

primarily of preventing their personal data from reaching the INS or the IRS, because so many of them are undocumented and not paying taxes. The Census was advised especially to avoid being associated with them, and to make it clear to the migrants that its enumeration functions are quite separate from the enforcement functions of those two agencies.

One strategy to avoid detection by the INS, similar to that reported from Florida, was noted in Cornelius also by one service worker. He described seeing the same families in different years, but with entirely different names.

It is confusing for me, because I know I seen this face, but I know that I [now] have a different name [for him], and now even the kids change their names. (CI)

Other participants expressed concern over the anti-migrant sentiments that have been surfacing lately, especially on the west coast, but which are felt by and affect all migrants regardless of where they are.

You are going to be affected by what is happening on the national, state, and local levels as far as proposed legislation also. If people, if we have a #187 type movement,⁹ the more of these types of things that are happening, the more difficult it's going to be to reach the community and have them feel comfortable in participating in the census... (CI)

...if there is something going on at the national level, especially over any of the anti-immigrant stuff, or anti-undocumented workers, or English as an only language kind of stuff, that will have huge impact. (CI)

Discrimination by non-migrants, their employers and managers were also cited as factors causing migrants to refuse cooperation and avoid revealing much about themselves that could be used against them. The employers and landlords, in turn, may also be doing something illegal that they would like to hide; in fact they were said to be breaking and bending the laws all the time. Some landlords were said to be hostile to the census because if it were found out how many persons they actually have in their housing, they could lose their certification. For example the grower may be putting twice the number of workers in housing designed for half as many people.

...a camp order or contractor may say they are expecting, or the capacity is 60, but in real, in every day life, when we go to the camps, we know that expectancy is 60, but we go there, and there is 120. (CI)

Other employers may be doing something else against the law by

violating any number of workers' rights, and simply do not want anyone coming around asking questions for the fear that someone who is more aware of the workers' rights will find out what violations are taking place. This was said to be especially true of the staffs of the various service and advocacy organizations if they were actually to assist in the enumeration.

Some employers purposely restrict workers' exposure to the outside world so that they would not learn what rights they may be entitled to from talking with people from the service organizations. Also many are unsure of what perils await them if they venture too far without sufficient knowledge of the language or the laws of the land. Getting some of the more isolated migrants to pick up "Be Counted" forms or reaching them through other forms of outreach was said to be difficult; direct outreach to the camps themselves was recommended as an alternative.

Lot of times people come, if they live in a camp, they come into town just to buy groceries, you know. They may be fearful, they don't know what to expect, and they live really isolated lives, so you got to do outreach out in the camps themselves. (CII)

COMMENTS:

The Census Bureau can not do anything about the undocumented status of most of the migrants, the often illegal housing and work arrangements they live under, the non-payment of taxes, or the discrimination and exploitation to which they are subjected. What the Census can do, however, is to make clear that census functions are quite different and separate from the enforcement functions of other government agencies, and that participating in the census will not have any adverse consequences.

If the political climate at census time is such that there are a lot of negative things going on against the migrants, such as proposition #187, or the "English Only" campaigns,¹⁰ mentioned by the participants, that have created so much fear and suspicion among the migrants recently, there should be additional education to counteract them. How educational campaigns could be undertaken and what messages might be most effective with migrant workers are the subjects of some of the following sections.

IV. IMPLEMENTING THE CENSUS

A. PARTNERSHIPS WITH ORGANIZATIONS

Bradenton, Florida:

Participants from both focus groups at Bradenton were able to list a wide range of organizations that deal with migrant workers. They also claimed that most of them were ready and able to assist the Census Bureau in getting the word out about the importance of the census. Also all were said to be interested in getting an accurate count.

The largest organizations serving the migrants are the Federal, state and county agencies. These are often umbrella organizations, hosting numerous subsidiary programs. For example, the Florida Department of Labor migrant section alone hosted several programs for the migrants, in addition to offering job services. Among them, for example, Project Independence offers job counseling, referrals to medical assistance, transportation and child care once the client has landed a job. In addition there were many county and community level organizations as well as private charities, and religious organizations that aided the migrants. They are listed here by function only; as the organizations, their locations and telephone numbers are subject to constant change due to funding, changing perceptions of needs, and sometimes just political whim.

Of the services listed below the job counseling and health services were said to be functioning throughout the entire year. Educational services are geared mostly to the school calendar, but there also are special summer programs for migrant children.

Employment assistance agencies:
 Florida department of Labor
 Project Independence

In the area of education participants listed:

Manatee County School Board program for migrant children
 Headstart for Migrant Children

English as a Second Language (ESL) programs
 Bradenton Vocational and Technical School

In the health field providing general medical assistance, immunizations, and AIDS counseling there are:

Health Resource Services Association (HRS)
 Rural Health Clinics
 Medicaid programs

Migrant Health Program

For those needing food, shelter, food stamps, or cash there are:

The Manatee Opportunity Council
 The Salvation Army of Bradenton
 Other unnamed shelters in "
 Food stamp offices
 Local Catholic and Protestant churches

Holy Cross in Bradenton
 St. Vincent "
 St. Martha "
 First Baptist at Palm Meadow
 The Wimauma Mission in Wimauma
 Presbyterian churches in Pinellas and Manatee counties

Hispanic American, and other ethnic organizations:

Almost all the organizations were said to be able to post or distribute promotional materials and "Be Counted" forms, and some could have their staff make announcements or appeals on behalf of the Census; still others could provide space for an assistance center. The greatest benefit to the Census, according to the participants, would derive from the name recognition that the helping organizations would provide to the Census by association, and the aid of already known and trusted staff members, who have access to the migrants and know how to communicate with them. Their faces would already be familiar to the migrants and it would be known that they represented no threat to them.

All the federal, state and county agencies keep administrative records on the migrants whom they serve. For example, the Florida Department of Labor maintains computerized lists of the cases it handles. However, all these records are protected by stringent confidentiality restrictions barring their use for other purposes than those for which the records were created in the first place.

CORNELIUS, OREGON:

The Cornelius area appeared to have just about as many organizations serving the migrants as did Bradenton. They also represent a spectrum from federal and state to the local level, as well as private agencies, including grass roots organizations created by the migrants themselves. Specifically mentioned types of services provided by various organizations included:

Educational:
 Headstart
 Migrant Education Program

Department of Labor (Federal)

Employment Placement Payment

Health and Social Services:
 Farm Worker Day Care
 Migrant Community Clinic
 County Health Department
 Food Bank

HUD
 Housing Development Corp.
 Community Action Organization
 Hispanic Cultural Organizations:
 Centralo Cultural.
 Hispanic Services Corp.
 Legal Assistance
 Business associations
 Religious groups
 Interagency Round Tables

Aside from differences such as who funds what effort, there were no significant differences in functions that would be relevant to planning census operations. What was said about Bradenton, seems to apply to the Cornelius area as well.

Questions about administrative records kept by most of these organizations brought mixed responses in Oregon, as well as in Florida. Some organizations were said to keep excellent records, those of others had hardly any, or they were rarely up to date. In addition, many were said to have confidentiality clauses that prohibit access to their records by others for purposes other than for what they were created.

COMMENTS:

The plethora of migrant related services and programs and the large number of people they employ to work with the migrants presents an excellent opportunity for the Census Bureau to piggy-back on the greater local knowledge and the expertise of their staff members with migrant workers. The Census Bureau should use these workers to reach out to the migrants with educational and promotional messages, and to locate and enumerate them at census time. As noted, most service providers were said to be willing to help with the Census.

Participants who were speaking on behalf of their own organizations, as well as from their knowledge of other organizations in the area, specified the following ways in which their staffs could serve the Census Bureau to include more migrants in the census, by providing:

lists of migrant housing

lists of service organizations in the area
 staff for outreach and enumeration
 guides and transportation for enumerators

use of their name recognition and reputation
 place for distributing promotional materials and "Be
 Counted" forms
 making announcements about census to their clients

acting as a conduit to distribute promotional materials
 use of their facility as an assistance center
 use of their contacts in facilitating cooperation with other
 agencies and cutting through red tape
 linguistic and cultural expertise in dealing with ethnic
 populations

Most of these suggestions were made without any prompting. Most organizations do seem to be genuinely interested in getting a good count of the migrant workers.

IV.B. CENSUS PROMOTION: EDUCATIONAL AND MOTIVATIONAL MESSAGES

BRADENTON, FLORIDA:

All participants were in agreement that explaining the Census better to the migrants is of major importance. Very few of the migrants were said to know anything about the Census, such as what the Census is, what it is for and how it could benefit them. Some migrants had been enumerated in Mexico and had some idea of how a census is conducted there, but not many were able to equate their experience in Mexico with the U.S. Census.

People who come from there [Mexico] are not really too well aware of us [local organizations serving migrants], and they would not certainly know about the U.S. Census, or when it was taken, or anything about it. They wouldn't know the purposes of the Census either. (BI)

Thus, the first job the Bureau must perform, is to educate the migrants about the purposes and functions of the Census in United States. For example, people need to know how census figures affect the amount of money the community gets for health and educational programs. Benefits of the Census were tied to the cultural concept of reciprocity by the participants, and this seems to apply equally to both Hispanics and Haitians.¹¹

What they are going to get if they register, what are the benefits? That would be number one. What are they going to get out of it? Exactly, what am I going to get out of this? You give me this, and you get this. (BI)

Well, you can say that the importance is that they will get more services, and they will understand that. (BI)

Migrants were said to be very future conscious and any benefit that would allow their children to lead a better life was said to be especially welcome. The Census was advised to stress the funds for education connection more strongly.

All migrants, like she [another participant] said, all migrants care about getting their kids educated, and they are more concerned and they will take more interest in that. (BII)

Another message that is of equal, and to some of even greater importance, is that no harm will come to migrants from answering the Census. The fears of many of the migrants have already been described earlier, and it is easy to see that overcoming them is much more easily conceived than actually accomplished.

Participants believe that very few people would respond to any appeal to their civic duty, but there may be a few, especially among those who have recently become citizens, who might be swayed by such an appeal.

Cornelius, Florida:

The Cornelius area participants also mentioned the need for a general education of the migrants about the Census, in the words of one participant, to answer the question: "Why would I want to be counted?" In response, several participants made similar the following one:

We might...provide educational forums for people ...to be able to explain why the census is here, why do we have it, why do we do it, and what is the value? (CI)

When asked what kinds of promotional messages we should emphasize, the participants in the Cornelius focus groups stressed much the same messages as the Florida participants had.

[Stress] ...the value of the fact, for example, a town would provide additional health services. I think it should clearly identify the needs, the services and needs. (CI)

Several participants suggested starting the education early, even in grade schools, so that the new generation growing up would understand what the Census is. For more immediate results, they recommended sending informational packets about the Census home with the students, so that the whole family would learn about it. This effort should start at least six months prior to the actual census date.

Other participants stressed the need to target the messages more precisely to different demographic segments of the population:

There is a big difference, if you have your children here, and in the schools, than if you don't. And so I think that is a good starting point if you are with families and children here, [[you] would have very different interests, I think, than with some of the single unattached individuals.(CI)

Several participants emphasized that all communications to the migrants should be in simple, easy to understand language, and that census jargon should be avoided at all costs. The motivational aspects of the messages were seen as tied up with the benefits part of the messages. Most participants were convinced that, if we can inform the migrants in what ways the Census can benefit them, while, at the same time assuring them that no harm would come to them, they would also be motivated to participate in the census. A few participants also suggested labeling the census according to its perceived benefits, or in group-specific terms that would make it seem more like their own thing than just another bureaucratic chore. Terms suggested included: "Census for Betterment," and "Censo Latino." Along with the messages, several participants also stressed that there should be an indication where those, who need help in filling out the forms, could go to receive assistance.

COMMENTS:

The formidable list of barriers that needs to be surmounted by census messages include a profound lack of knowledge about the census, an inbred suspicion of any government agency, the fear of being exposed as an undocumented person, who, in addition, may be working and living under a whole range of illegal or quasi legal situations.

The participants recommend an ongoing educational campaign that reaches into the migrant communities and informs the migrants of what the census is all about years before the census actually comes around, followed by a more intensive promotional blitz, starting perhaps six months, or so, before the census date. The educational and promotional messages must inform the migrants not only about what the census is, but also that it need not be feared, as it is not a threat to the migrants. Assuming this has been done, additional messages are needed to motivate migrants to participate, and this can be done most efficiently by informing them of the benefits that better coverage would bring to the community which the migrants identify as including their usual residence. These messages should be fairly specific in spelling out what the benefits are: for example the local community could get more federal dollars for education or health care if more people are enumerated.

Because migrants represent many different cultures, the messages need to be likewise tailored for specific cultural groups, rather than trying to use the one-message-fits-all promotional approach. The messages should be geared to take into account, not only the cultural differences, but also the in-group variation in what persons at different stages of life might want; for example persons of different sex, ages, and whether they are single, married, have children, and so on, may have quite different interests which a well-planned promotional campaign would have to tap if it were to be successful.

IV.C. COMMUNICATION MEDIA AND CHANNELS

BRADENTON, FLORIDA:

Radio and Television:

Both Bradenton focus groups were in agreement about the main types of media used by the migrant community. Radio loomed as the most important single source of information, since not all people had TV, and only a small percentage could read well enough to benefit from newspapers. There are also several Spanish language television stations, among which Channels #16, #53, #60 and #63 were mentioned specifically. One man suggested putting skits on TV with census themes, such as ones he had seen in Mexico. The Mexican census message was translated something like: "Don't forget to get counted on such date!" One woman suggested tying Census messages somehow to commercials for Mexican beer, such as Corona or Dos Equus, or even Budweiser, on local television. No one else thought that using beer ads as advertising media was a good idea.

Newspapers and Other Printed Media:

Although the perceived literacy rate among migrant workers varied somewhat (between 10 and 20 percent) according to the Bradenton focus groups participants, there was a consensus that the migrants' literacy level was very low. Some participants volunteered further breakdowns of the skills in question; one claimed the reading levels in Spanish were perhaps ten percent higher than in English; another respondent said that illiteracy (in English) among the more recent arrivals was much higher than among those who had been here for a while already. For those who could read well enough and thus could be reached through newspapers there apparently are several choices; at least two specific Spanish language newspapers were identified; one published in Tampa, the other in Miami. There are also Creole newspapers, although it did not become clear what proportion of the Haitian migrant population had access to them or could read them if they did have access to them.

Other printed media suggested included messages printed on medical or food stamp cards that would reach a large migrant population using them. One participant recommended articles in a

newsletter issued by the WIC program. Several participants mentioned "novellas," which apparently are small illustrated booklets, printed in comic book style, but carrying serious messages. The Office of the Special Council was reported to have put out novellas on immigration and discrimination against migrants.

CORNELIUS, OREGON:

The situation in Cornelius was similar: radio was judged to be the most important medium here also; there are several Spanish language radio stations that reach into the area from nearby counties as well as local stations. According to participants they are listened to while out in the fields, as well as at home after work. Many concerns interested in reaching the Hispanic audience advertise through the radio, so that people expect to hear and regularly listen to announcements about forthcoming events on the radio.

Three Spanish language papers were mentioned by the Cornelius focus groups. They all were reported to have somewhat different circulation areas. No mention was made as to what portion of the migrant population read them, although here too illiteracy was cited as a major problem. In Cornelius, we were told the priests often make announcements of importance to the community. It was suggested that such announcements spread by word of mouth, person to person, until most people in the community became aware of them. The same was held to be true for many other sources of information. For example information passed on in the various service organizations, through schools, and even through the *majordomo*, or labor supervisor, soon gets into the migrant networks and over time, depending on the significance of the information, reaches practically everyone in the social networks. Some participants thought that having famous entertainers make announcements about the census on radio or television would similarly diffuse throughout the community. A particularly popular group, Los Tigres, was recommended as a good prospect, as they had previously made songs about immigration and proposition #187.

Many participants also recommended the use of posters and fliers for promoting the Census. This may seem contradictory considering the low literacy rate. However, it was explained that if the posters and fliers were made striking enough and the messages on them very direct and to the point, people would learn about them from one another and talk about the issues among themselves so that the word would eventually get around. All communications should also give information on where it is possible to get additional help for completing forms.

Another channel of communication that should not be overlooked is the migrant "grapevine," said to be "the best in the world." This sentiment emerged during all the focus groups without any prompting on the moderator's part. The natural regional, work, kinship and friendship based networks are very strong among the migrant workers as their livelihood and support during lean times depends on those close to them.

It may be useful for the Census Bureau to learn something about such natural communication networks in addition to attempting to reach out to migrants with promotional methods and messages standardized for the mainstream population that has little in common with migrant lifestyles. One place to start would be with the crew leaders who are in touch with all the migrants under their purview, which could number fifty or more workers. Other persons mentioned included priests and nuns, who would be trusted because of their religious status, and service providers because they are known to help a lot of migrants.

COMMENTS:

If we could get these messages across to the migrants through some kind of educational program that makes use of multiple channels of communication we could convince a lot more people. A multi-media approach is recommended in spite of the fact that the majority of migrants do not gain much information from the written forms of communication. The rationale is that even if only ten to twenty percent of the migrants read any particular message, they will discuss it with their fellow workers and the information will be diffused throughout the "migrant grapevine." Depending on costs, a saturation type multi-channel promotion would reach the most people. The more eye-catching a poster is, or the more dramatic a skit performed on radio or television turns out to be, the better the chances that the message conveyed by these media will enter into the migrant communication networks.

IV.D. PROMOTIONAL SITES

BRADENTON, FLORIDA:

The places recommended for the posting of signs and leaving or distributing fliers are mostly the same ones we had already learned about from our previous 1994 research; they included:

service organizations
 Salvation Army
 Rural Health Clinics, and other health services
 churches,
 PTAs

grocery stores (bodegas),
 flea markets
 laundromats,

migrant camps
 work sites
 packing houses

dances
 sports events: soccer matches
 Gillepsie Park, other city parks

AT&T telephone center
 Western Union
 check-cashing places,
 post offices,
 police department
 auto license bureaus (MVAs)

The latter were seen as places where people need to go to obtain not only licenses, but also ID cards they would need for personal identification purposes.

All need IDs; they got to have their IDs. So that's a big place where you could reach them at. (BI)

Specific examples recommended by the focus group participants for posting signs and distributing fliers included:

Like in places where they sell Latin products or Spanish products, that will be the best place to post any kind of signs, and also where they pick up a newspaper, and laundromats. (BI)

You meet them at flea market, at the movies, in churches, or when they have reunions, and social gatherings. (BI)

Social events such as dances, or sports events, like soccer games were also said to be excellent places to pass out fliers. For those with children, PTA meetings or day care centers were also mentioned. In Cornelius we were advised to use the churches, especially the Catholic church, to help distribute handouts. Also, in Cornelius, a special Harvest Festival, held once a year, was considered as an especially effective place to transmit information.

CORNELIUS, OREGON:

sports events; soccer
 dances
 ethnic festivals

PTAs
 school conferences
 high school programs
 migrant education program
 Migrant Headstart
 migrant camp Schools

legal services
 welfare offices
 unemployment aid program
 County Health Department
 Migrant Community Council
 Centralo Cultural

grocery stores
 laundromats
 post offices
 churches

IV.E. OUTREACH AND ENUMERATION: CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND INTERACTIONAL NORMS

The criteria which the focus group participants specified that outreach persons and enumerators should have, if they are to have any chance of talking to the migrants at all, are instructive, as they both illustrate the barriers and at the same time offer advice on how to overcome them. Because we are here discussing cultural practices, rather than regionally varying conditions, the following responses are not separated by focus group sites.

First of all it seems that it would be best if they knew you already, that you didn't come to them as a stranger.

They'll talk to you if you know them, otherwise they won't. They will think you are immigration or something. They'll think you are a cop. (BII)

The second criteria was said to be trust; even if they know you, but you have not earned their trust, they will not open up to you.

Somebody that they're going to trust, and they know that they are going to help them, instead of turn them in or anything like that. (BI)

Third, if you start asking them questions you need to convince them that no harm will come to them for answering; that the information will not go to anyone in a position to hurt them in any way. One outreach worker was said to be good because:

She could convince them of giving information that nothing is going to happen to them; it's for their worth to give the information of the other people that are living with them. (BI)

The best people to use for outreach and as enumerators would be people like themselves, migrants or former migrants, who speak their language and know how to talk to them. Ideally they should be bilingual in English and Spanish, or Creole, as the particular area requires.

They're very suspicious of other cultures. They need someone who speaks their language, so they feel comfortable. (BI)

It would be even better if they knew a lot of people already, especially the crew leaders, who could then vouch for them, as obviously they themselves would not know each migrant personally.

They trust their crew leader, because their crew leader is the one that tells them [what to do]. So for the Census, if you get the crew leaders to work with the Census, it will be great. You will have them all. (BI)

They should not be putting on airs or dress in suits and ties. One man described how he would drive a pick-up truck and dress casually and would have no difficulty getting into the camps, but one day, when attempting to get in with a late model car, he could see fifty people from a distance, but when he got there, only two migrants with legal papers remained. They had not recognized him with a different vehicle and had feared it might be someone from the immigration service.

The ideal outreach person or enumerator should show respect for an older person, offer him or her a seat, if another one isn't available. They should be able to talk to the migrants as equals, not talk in highfalutin terms, or in any way disrespect the migrants, and even share a meal with them if that is their custom. They also have to know how to ask questions diplomatically, or they may not get any answer, or at least not the right answer.

Gender Relations:

When approaching a house, always ask for the husband first. If only the wife or women are in the house, a male enumerator must not try to enter the house, but conduct the interview outside, where they are visible to passers-by, so as not to create any cause for gossip. Likewise, women enumerators should not go out by themselves, because then they can get into situations where they may be left alone with a male. One male outreach worker reported how he handled such situations in Hispanic households:

...when I go into the a house, I knock at the door and first of all, if the female would open, I would ask her if her husband was home. And if he is not home, knowing, I would not go inside, anything, not that anything could happen, [but] anything could be said...well, I wasn't there, so you had to stay outside and talk to her, she has to sign the paper in my car and lean on the hood. (BII)

These rules were said to apply equally for both the Hispanic population and the Haitians in the Bradenton area. The best solution to the sex dichotomy problem would be to pair male and female enumerators so that no matter which situation they encountered, males or females alone, the enumerator of the matching sex would ask the questions while the other would observe.

They get more trust and view it as more comfortable for the person who is opening the door as they see a couple coming in as they open [the door], and will answer questions.(CI)

Cultural Conventions:

The communications must also take cultural differences into account: The Indian, Asian, Black and Hispanic farm workers have quite different norms and expectations about proper ways of addressing people, especially of different sex, ages or social status, and, just as in the case of language use, there are differences among the various Hispanic groups as well. One Haitian participant described the etiquette used in his home town:

In my culture, when I greet a [female] person in an older age bracket, the way I have to greet them, I have to shake her hand and kiss her on the cheek. I don't know how it is in her culture (pointing to another participant), I would think she might be offended if I did that, but in my culture, even at my age (about 35), if I see one of my mother's friends who come and I see [her] talking to her friend, I have to greet the person and kiss the person. If I don't I am sure that I will get a whipping at my age -- there is nothing I can do about it. (BII)

Crew Leaders:

Another way to insure getting through to the migrants, wherever they might be housed, is to make use of the crew leaders, who know where all their workers are.

They have their own crew; they travel with crew leaders and they have already the jobs here [Florida], so they come work here. When the job is done here, they go with the crew leader over to Maryland, Tennessee, or wherever they go.(BI)

The crew leader or his helper [would know]. Those are the ones that know everything that's going on there. (BI)

Most of them want the best for their workers and once they understand how the Census might help the workers get better services, they will cooperate. The crew leaders also will be able to reach out to the crowded apartments and rooms migrants take in towns during off seasons or when they are doing non-agricultural work.

COMMENTS:

The outreach and enumeration phases of the census are crucial to the success of the census in that they are two facets of the process that actually put people working for the census face to face with the migrant. This is the transaction where the most demanding skills of personal interaction and communication are needed to assuage the fears of the migrant and persuade him or her to participate. Because the person most likely will need to, not only speak another language, but to speak a particular dialect or vernacular form of that language, as well as to be aware of all the subtle cultural conventions that so often cause problems in intercultural encounters, it becomes clear that census would have difficulty finding such persons unless they were recruited from the migrant communities or from among the people that have served them for many years and have developed an intimate familiarity with them.

Although almost anyone who had acquired the requisite knowledge and skills to deal with the migrants could qualify for the job, there are a few pre-existing roles that could be tapped to find people with the relevant skills. Among them are the outreach workers of the various service organizations who may have been engaged for years in exactly the kind of exchange with the migrants that allows sufficient trust and confidence to develop for them to be able to convince the migrant and request him or her to complete a census form. Crew leaders and their helpers are in somewhat a similar position, as they have been working with the migrants who rely on them for finding work and obtaining whatever services that they may need. Next, among the trusted persons who could perform well in these tasks would be the clergy: priests and nuns in the Catholic church and ministers in the Protestant churches, especially if they had specialized in or taken an interest in helping the migrants. Following them could be any number of service providers who have worked long enough among the migrants to become familiar with them and to gain their trust.

The question whether the person that would be acceptable to the migrants needs to be of the same ethnic stock as the migrants themselves brought mixed responses. I believe the majority favored the view that a person of any color or ethnic group would

be accepted if he or she knew how to otherwise interact properly. However, if the person didn't meet all the criteria of acceptability, it would definitely help to be at least of the same origin as the migrant. Even an outsider could, under the right circumstances, gain entry if he or she were, what one participant called a real "people person," who establishes relationships easily and knows how to respect persons of any class or origin. The bottom line of all this, I believe, is that the Census should do its best to recruit people who already have the contacts and the skills to deal effectively with our migrant communities.

**V. CONCLUSIONS AND SELECTED RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON
FOCUS GROUP SUGGESTIONS**

The Census needs to know basic information about what ethnic and linguistic groups exist among the migrants and what crops and areas they work at which times in order to target appropriate messages to them and have an adequate number of bilingual and culturally savvy enumerators available at census time.

Knowledge of the agricultural work cycles, in combination with information on who does what and when, is necessary to better target areas where particular kinds of outreach are needed, and to plan for their enumeration in terms of which migrants are there at census time. Because these circumstances change over time, and even in short run due to local conditions updating of the information is recommended shortly prior to the actual census. If the Census were to remain in the March 15 to April first time slot, some areas would be at the peak of their migrant presence, whereas other areas, especially in the colder northern states, would have hardly any at that time.

Of the three types of housing: labor camps, private housing and makeshift arrangements, labor camps were used most in the Florida and Oregon areas we visited, but in other areas, other types of housing might predominate. Each type of housing poses different problems for locating and access; the labor camps for example, might not yet be all registered at census time, so complete and up-to-date listings may not be available. Each area also has some illegal migrant camps which can be located only with the aid of knowledgeable- local help. Some of the motels or hotels, that cater primarily to migrants, escape being labeled camps if they save some units for non-migrants. In reality they are also camps.

Prior census research demonstrated that respondents from the complex households, which are the rule rather than an exception among the migrants, try to conceal household members, who may be in the country illegally or crowd into quarters exceeding the legal limits for the number of residents allowed for the existing space. This situation exists unchanged in our research areas and the possibility of within-unit omission of household members remains unless we can get outreach workers and/or enumerators to convince the respondents they will not come to harm for reporting even illegal residents.

The reported low English language knowledge, literacy and comprehension levels may inhibit the inclusion of many migrants in the census. Spanish language forms, and those in other languages for areas that have other language speakers, will help to some extent, but since the problem is primarily a question of poor reading skills, the only solution would be to have available a large number of dedicated census assistants who can provide help with filling out the migrants' the forms.

All research to date, including these focus groups, indicates that the primary obstacle to the migrants' participation in the census is the undocumented status, and other working and housing conditions in violation of law, that affect the majority of the migrant population causing them to fear and hide from any government authorities or officials, including the Census. An extensive educational campaign was recommended by the participants to inform the migrants that 1) the census poses no threat to them and that they have nothing to fear from the census, and, that 2) participation in the census may actually provide some benefits to them in the form of additional or better services.

Both focus group areas had numerous organizations which appear to be willing to assist in the census effort. The Census can benefit from partnerships with these organizations as they can offer a wide range of assistance with outreach, promotion and the enumeration itself. We were advised to work closely with these organization as their staffs already know their area and the migrants coming through there.

Participants recommended that the Census use educational messages informing the migrants about the nature and purpose of the census, its independence from other government agencies with enforcement functions, and motivational messages stressing possible benefits of participation, as the best ways to overcome the ignorance about, the fear of, or apathy over answering the census. Educational and promotional messages were recommended to take into account not only the linguistic and cultural variation among the migrants, but also what would be appropriate and appeal to the different groups and strata among them. Overcoming the fear of the government was said not to be sufficient to persuade migrants to participate; additional motivational incentives are also needed in the form of what benefits accrue from complying.

The focus group participants recommended using all media for maximum multi-media, multi-channel impact, but they also recognized priorities in terms of the efficiency of different the media. Because of the low English language skills and literacy levels, radio and television programs and oral announcements in the appropriate languages for the area were said to reach the most people. Radio was especially emphasized in our two focus group areas, as not everyone had access to television. We were also advised not to ignore posters, fliers, newspapers and other printed media either, because, even if only 10 to 20 percent of the migrants are initially exposed to the messages, others learn of them through secondary discussions by word-of-mouth. Many participants emphasized the highly efficient oral communication system that exists among the migrants allowing for the rapid dissemination of information along social networks. The census was advised to get information into key nodes within the system and the "migrant grapevine" would take care of the spread of information. Long lists of local sites were provided for the

distribution of posters and fliers and for making announcements.

The most important message the participants stressed in the focus groups was that they, as service providers, program administrators, outreach workers and other staff members of the various migrant organizations have a special relationship of trust with the migrant community without which any attempt to reach out to them and convince them to do anything would be far less effective. In offering to help the census in its efforts these workers volunteered to make available their knowledge of the migrant groups, the favorable image and name recognition of their organizations, but above all the personal relationships of trust and respect the staff have built over years of providing services to the migrants.

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ENDNOTES

1. The research was coordinated by Matt T. Salo of the
Statistical Research Division (SRD) of the U. S. Bureau of the
Census. He was also responsible for the preparation of guides for
moderators, checklists of participant recruiting criteria, and
the actual conducting of the focus groups. Assistance in the

preparation of the initial research proposal, discussion topics, and site choices was provided by the members of the migrant farm worker enumeration working group, consisting of Robert T. Williams, leader of the group, Decennial Management Division (DMD), Annetta Clark Smith, Population Division (POP), Denise I. Smith (POP), Linda Kehm (POP) and Stanley J. Rolark (POP). Jennifer M. Rothgeb (SRD) also provided additional critique, and Robert T. Williams (DMD) observed the focus groups in Oregon. Discussions with Richard Mines at U.S. Department of Labor, and Dr. Enrique Herrera of Herrera Communications, veterans in migrant farm worker research, were also very helpful.

2. Dr. Enrique Herrera, a researcher, bilingual in English and Spanish, was contracted to conduct four focus groups for the Census Bureau, two each at Oceanside, California and San Juan, Texas. One focus group at each site was comprised of service providers, the other of migrant workers. His report on the focus groups will be issued separately.

3. See also the Proposal for Conducting Focus Groups on Migrant Worker Enumeration attached as Appendix I.

4. We especially want to thank Charles Redding, an Agricultural Service Representative, and Rosa Matwa, an Agricultural Outreach Coordinator, both at the Florida Department of Labor, and Sabino Sardineta, Director of Centralo Cultural, a migrant run organization, in Cornelius, OR, and Kristin Ludwig, Outreach Director of the Community Action Organization in Hillsboro, OR, for the use of their facilities and for the efficient job they did in recruiting participants on very short notice. We also want to thank Ilene Jacobs, Directing Attorney for California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., for her suggestions and participants provided.

5. The moderator's questions and the respondents' answers were translated by Kristin Ludwig, an outreach director of Hillsboro the Community Action Organization. The translation was checked at the Census Bureau by Idabelle B. Hovland of the Decennial Management Division, who pronounced it accurate.

. The 1993-94 Migrant Worker Research Project both conducted and directed exploratory research on migrant workers. The products included:

- 1) Four ethnographic reports on migrant worker populations in California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and one New York, New Jersey, Kentucky, Pennsylvania comparative report;
- 2) A summary report on eight focus groups conducted in California, Florida (2), Georgia, Idaho, Oregon and Washington (2);
- 3) A brief report on administrative records available for

migrant worker record checks.

4) Report of a field trip to the migrant work areas of Santa Maria valley, the town of Guadalupe, and adjacent areas in California.

5) Bibliography of Selected Works on Migrant Workers and Migrant worker Enumeration.

6) Analytic Summary of Research and Recommendations for Migrant Worker Enumeration.

7. Although not known, or at least not mentioned by any of the participants, the language spoken by the Mayan Indians from Guatemala is Kanjobal, a member of the Kanjobalan-Chujan family of Central and South American Indian languages.

8. See Stepick, Alex and Carol Dutton Stepick. (1990) What's in It for Me, What's in It for You? Research Report #11 on Haitian migrants in Miami produced for the Bureau of the Census under a Joint Statistical Agreement 88-26.

9. Proposition #187 refers to legislation passed in California in 1994 which would deny social services to illegal aliens.

10. English only campaign refers to attempts to make English as the only official language in the United States. Some of its proponents would ban bi-lingual programs and instruction in the pupils' native languages in public schools.