

Sacrificios Para La Familia: The Context of Mexican Farm Worker Narratives.

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Abstract

Among the school age population in Idaho, the populations most at risk for not graduating and or dropping out from high school are the children of migrant farm workers. According to data from the 2000 CPS, the dropout rate is 44.2% for Hispanics 16 through 24 who are born outside the United States. Previous research has focused on several contributing factors to the dropout rate such as, socioeconomic status, recent immigration, and linguistic differences, few studies however, have focused on the role of generational context as a possible factor. This study explores the role of generation as a factor influencing the dropout rate of migrant farm working children. It draws on narratives and life history accounts from 22 interviews of migrant workers, a project from the Hispanic Oral History Project conducted in 1991 for the Idaho State Historical Society. It concludes that the dropout rate among farm workers should be seen more accurately as a conflict between the collectivist cultural orientations of Latino farm worker students that clash with an educational system that emphasizes individual competition over cooperation.

Introduction

The United States is a land of immigrants, yet as Portes states, “never before has the United States received immigrants from so many countries (Portes 2006, 13). The focus of this study is generational choice and sacrifice within the Mexican immigrant family. It is the goal of this analysis to use a small sample of immigrant narratives to explore the way in which family stories reflect the cultural values of farm workers. Based on this sample, it will be possible to make some tentative generalizations about the importance of narrative and ethnographic analysis in better understanding the histories and cultural expectations of immigrant families. This study explores the role of generation as a factor influencing the dropout rate of migrant farm working children. For this study, interview transcripts of Mexican farm workers that migrated and worked in the United States were collected from the archives of the Idaho State Historical Society (ISHS), a project conducted for the Idaho Commission on Hispanic Affairs and the Idaho Humanities Council who funded the study and published their project in 1991. At the time of the interviews, most of the informants were older adults who ranged in age between 60 to 70 years old. Data was analyzed to understand context and structure. The goal is to use the collected oral histories as a microcosm of the Mexican farm worker experience. Future research will use these insights to target cultural themes which can be documented using the ethnographic method of participant observation.

Diaspora

Diaspora is the Greek word for “to spread” or “to scatter.” It is a term that refers to those individuals living outside their homeland throughout the world. Having left their nation of birth out of factors which are the results of economic and political “pushes or pulls” (Van Hear, 1998). Push and pull factors are what drives individuals to migrate. The push factors are what drive the immigrants out of their country; the pull factors are what attract immigrants to the target countries. According to Van Hear, “migration crises” fit into six slots. First individuals migrate due to pull and push factors. Second, households migrate based upon decisions of who stays and who goes. Third, migration is caused by differences between the receiving country and the home country attributed to economic or political reasons. Fourth, the social networks created by immigrants into the receiving country allow for the migration to occur. Five, is termed as “migration regime” by Van Hear, which is made up of international and national laws that dictate the movement of individuals. Finally that migration is molded by the macro-political economy (Van Hear 1998, 14-16).

Continuing Van Hears' approach the six different reasons to migrate are subdivided into four domains. These include "root causes", "precipitating" factors, and finally factors that make migration occur or not. The "root causes" are essentially the individual factors that cause migration. These may come from much larger reasons such as an economic crisis in the country of origin from or the emergence of a new political power which may or may not cause social changes in the lives of individuals. Factors that have an immediate effect on migration are those in which families and individuals weight options regarding the ways that migrating would be beneficial to them (Hear 1998, 18-21).

Communication, information and technology have made our world more connected allowing migration information available to those with access to technology in the peripheral countries. Van Hear mentions that the motivation to migrate may not be all inclusive within a population. Portes support this idea by mentioning that immigrants come for many different backgrounds and the motivation to migrate may vary with the immigrant's experience, education, financial situation, and class status (Portes 2006, 20-34). The previous outlook on migration is one that mostly focuses on a macro approach to the diasporas, which is why there needs to be further stresses on the micro which is of importance to understand the issue of immigration, this can be achieved by balancing the macro and the micro perspective. This leads us back to narrative analysis, which is the focus of this paper.

From Mexico to the U.S: Migration and issues for Immigrants

Mexican farm workers arrived like most immigrants; out of "push" and "pull" factors linked to political or economic forces. During the 1870's, Mexican railroad workers were recruited to work on the expansion of the railroads in the Western U.S. In the later part of the 19th century the U.S government began to express concerns regarding migration. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, being one of these preventative measures of migration, prevented the Chinese from entering the United States. These concerns resulted in the passage and legislation that allowed some workers to enter and others not. Border patrols in 1904 were deployed between Mexico and the United States in an effort to curb the undocumented migration of Chinese into the United States through Mexico. In the 1920's, quota restrictions were established, limiting the number of immigrants permitted into the U.S. It was during this decade that immigrants were seen as a threat to the native population of the United States (Douglas S. Massey 2002, 33). In 1924, the Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began keeping statistics on the apprehension of undocumented immigrants (Espenshade 1995, 210-212).

Prior to World War II, legalization programs were established to make undocumented Mexican immigrants residing in the U.S legal citizens. This set in motion an immigration regime that continued for years (Douglas S. Massey 2002, 33). The Bracero program was introduced in the 1940's and allowed more Mexican migrant labor to enter the country under tight federal control; it was eventually dissolved during the civil rights of 1964. In 1952, the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), fined and imprisoned employers who hired and harbored undocumented workers.

During the 1982 decline of the Mexican Peso another wave of migration occurred. The U.S congress tried to restrain and abolish the flow of undocumented workers by implementing the Immigration Reform and control Act (IRCA) in 1986. The IRCA applied authority and limitations upon employees; it established legalization programs and stepped up enforcement on the border (Espenshade 1995, 210-212). With the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994, issues have been exacerbated, by creating subsidies in foodstuffs upon which families need to live off.

Mexican immigrant issues

Overwhelmed by the demands of a new society, immigrants entering a destination country become trapped by low wages, while they attempt to meet the most basic needs (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 1995). There are serious deficits in their preparatory education due primarily to poverty desperation and low educational attainment (Gibson and Hidalgo 2002, 3). In addition the immigrants must follow the cyclical pattern of shifting from crop to crop as farm workers. This entails moving frequently and children are uprooted and transplanted in different schools throughout the academic year (Gibson and Hidalgo 2002, 4). The pressures on family stability and cultural values are enormous.

Generational changes and responsibility

Generational changes occur within each succeeding generation as its members reshape and reinterpret what is lost retained or relinquished from the preceding one (Fischer 1986, 196). Fisher states that the problems of the first generation are family related and communal. These problems eventually lessen with each succeeding generation (Fischer 1986, 231). These changes are continually in the process of being created and learned (Smith-Hefner 1993, 152). They are thus byproducts of an on-going acculturation process which transforms generational knowledge as each new generation emerges and intertwines with the old. It is this balance between the old and the new that it will never completely disappear. It will reach a stasis where both are in harmony. However, other commentators state that the transition between generations is not always a smooth one and results in conflicts. Demartini states that generational cohorts interpret things different from each other especially the parent generation, which causes intergenerational conflict (Demartini 1985, 2).

Intergenerational relationships in industrial societies result in conflicts between the generations because of the rapid development of new social institutions around the world. Research shows that intergenerational welfare exchanges are occurring within the family. According to Ogawa, industrial societies stand at the generational crossroads on the issue of intergenerational equality and debates “the disruption of social contract between generations” will continue (Ogawa 2002, 15).

Within the Japanese culture, for example individuals are faced by customs to provide care for family. This has created a strong traditional cultural expectation that emphasizes familial responsibilities toward the elderly. In Japan women are usually the primary caregivers within this cultural context (Hashizume 2000).

In China, the care giving responsibility is extended to extended family members. Unlike Japan, Chinese caregivers tend to be mostly children or the in-laws who provide the care. Responsibility is commonly shared between children or in-laws and there is a commonality of inter and intra generational cohabitation where care giving is seen as a normative function of society and the state (T. L. Patterson 1998, 1073).

Mexican immigrants maintain a strong independence regarding responsibilities for the home. Girls and older children often help provide their own monetary support for their necessities and contribute to the household income (Gibson and Hidalgo 2002, 3). In Mexico informal care giving situations are established within which support and exchange systems play a role, specifically amongst children, where the older adult is both a provider and a receiver of such care. Women and men support different generational roles within the family the community and the society. This generational and sexual division of labor molds and reshapes networks and norms regarding ageing (Zavala 2002).

Edward Hall proposed a popular framework that may provide insight into these divergent views of generational responsibility. He stated that cultures can be situated in relation to one another through the styles in which they communicate. In order to distinguish among cultures, Hall proposed an outline to help situate cultures along a continuum from High-Context to the Low-Context social interaction (Hall, 1976). For example the majority of cultures that demonstrate high context qualities are countries such as Spain, Mexico, and France; these countries place importance on the group with an emphasis on cooperation, communicating indirectly where it is based upon implicit or unseen communication. In low context cultures these can be observed in countries such as Germany, Canada, UK and the USA. The emphasis here is the individual where the emphasis is on competition, with communication being direct and explicit, otherwise seen. Although Hall's, dichotomy is criticized for being too simplistic, the geographical borders that encompass these cultural differences still continues. In the accelerating process of globalization, cultures are increasingly recognized as fluid and amorphous and thus are not absolute, cultures are constantly changing. With this in mind, Hall's focus on divergence in cultural values, our paper focusing on the Mexican high context reliance upon the extended family as opposed to the U.S idealization of the individualism may still be relevant.

Methodology

Participants in this study were Mexican farm workers. The interview transcripts of Mexican farm workers that migrated and worked in the United States were collected from the archives of the Idaho State Historical Society (ISHS), a project conducted for the Idaho Commission on Hispanic Affairs and the Idaho Humanities Council who funded the study and published their project in 1991. At the time of the interviews, most of the participants were older adults who ranged in age between 60 to 70 years old.

The transcripts were reviewed twice. The first review was done to evaluate content. The second was done to identify narratives which contained rich family material. Utilizing a section of James Spradley's model for

analysis of the narratives systematic note taking and general themes within the text were then recorded. As data was collected and analyzed interview themes and domains within the transcripts began to emerge. Spradley's model, the developmental research sequence, uses a focus on language to identify cultural categories of primary significance to outsiders. These categories, domains, are then documented by linking them to repeated terms and words. The theme of sacrificial decision making emerged. This domain is described in a number of narratives in which the eldest child sacrifices his or her education to help the family financially.

In narrative analysis, a model for the study of personal narrative developed by Labov and Waletzky, the transcripts were broken down into abstract, orientation, complication, resolution, and coda. The abstract of the narration is the summary of the story and its importance. Next is the orientation with its specific location. This is followed by the complication which is the tension or conflict of the narrative. Fourth, the resolution illustrates how the complication or tension was resolved. Finally the coda returns the story back to the conversational mode (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). The end product becomes the narrative analysis of the interviews.

Labov and Wallezsky's approach shares a focus on language with Spradley's ethnographic method. By using these methods in the analysis of immigrant interviews my goal is to reveal the value of using oral history of archival material as a rich resource for qualitative analysis of the narrative. The following case studies are just an example of the stories and narratives that give the immigrant experience a voice.

Findings

Abel Vasquez (see Appendix A)

Abel Vasquez was born in the United States during the 1930's to parents born in Mexico. He was raised by his grandparents after his mother passed away when Abel was very young. Abel, his siblings, and grandparents eventually migrated following the cyclical movements of migrant farm workers following employment in the fields. It was through this pattern of moving from field to field that he came to end up in Idaho,

How we came to be in Idaho is that my grandmother had a sister that lived in Salt Lake City...and we came to visit ...and we stayed there maybe six months out of the year. In 1938 my grandfather and other people decided to come to Idaho because there was field work topping beets." (Vasquez 1991, 1)

Abel recalled his memories of school and remembered "...walking to school barefooted, we did not have money sometimes...." (Vasquez 1991, 6). When in junior high he tried out for the basketball team. He was one of the first ones there "...and I was there with all the gringitos I looked like a mosca in the leche." To his disappointment he mentions that in order to play one had to provide your own sneakers, but he did not have the money to buy them. He played really well that first day but on the second day "got blisters from playing on the hard wood, so I couldn't play basketball, my folks couldn't afford to buy me sneakers" (Vasquez 1991, 9). He really had wanted to participate but did not want to burden his grandparents. Rather than asking them for money that they did not have, he decided to drop out after the ninth grade. He decided that since he was one of the older ones, he felt like he could be more useful in helping out the family economically; "I was an extra pair of hands to help support the family. If I went to school there was less money coming in, if I quit school there was more coming in." (Vasquez 1991, 10).

Narrative analysis of Abel Vasquez;

- Abstract: "...being one of the older ones in the family ...male I was an extra pair of hands to help support the family..."
- Orientation: "...when I went to school..."
- Complication: "...rather than go through all the hassle of my folks buy [sic] me nice clothes to go to school at the age of 14 I quit school I was in the ninth grade."
- Resolution: "This part my aunt did and later me and my sister (he refers to working to make ends meet)."
- Coda: "...there was another two hands to go to work." (Vasquez 1991, 10)

Abel's resolution, for extracurricular activities was to not ask his parents for money to buy these things. He viewed this sacrifice, of dropping out, as trying to contribute to the cause instead of making the problem bigger for his already economic strapped parents. His decision to contribute to his family helped the family succeed and thus alleviated the economic strain on his family.

Rita Perez (see Appendix B)

Rita was born in Idaho Falls in 1930, to immigrant parents from Mexico. Her father began working on the railroad, and once her mother became ill, they were told they had to move to the country. They arrived in Idaho and her parents found work in the fields to help support the family. The family consisted of fifteen brothers and sisters. Her father did odd jobs here and there to support the family, and like many farm workers, he had to travel to where the crops were in season to find employment. On a few of those occasions, Rita remembers caring for her younger sister while her parents worked in the fields. "They would take us in the car and park it at the end of the field, where my mother could come at intervals to check on the baby and nurse him." (Perez 1991, 7) Rita helped support her family by working with her parents. She mentions that she "managed to talk my father into allowing the younger ones to continue school and not have to take time off" (Perez 1991, 13). She helped her father make the decision to keep the younger children in school.

Narrative analysis of Rita Perez;

- Abstract: "We started school after the potato and beet harvest was all done and there was no more work to be had, sometimes we didn't start until November." (Perez, 11)
- Orientation: "I just went to fifth grade." (Perez, 11)
- Complication: "(parents would work) from sunrise to sun set thinning beets would be from 4 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock in the evening...I was left in charge of my younger sister, she was about 6 weeks old." (Perez, 7)
- Resolution: "All the older ones had to work to help support the whole family, and Daniel (her brother) was the first one to graduate high school." (Perez, 11)
- Coda: We went to school "either place, wherever we were. If we went to California we started school there we were not allowed to work in the fields so we had school..." (Perez, 11)

Rita saw herself as able to help her younger siblings remain in school and for her and her older siblings to help contribute to her very large family. She sacrificed her education for the improvement of her younger siblings. She viewed this as a triumph within her family, that through working she could help her family reach the goal of improving their financial situation. She had knowledge of what it meant to be responsible from a very young age, as is demonstrated by her caring for an infant brother in the fields while her parents worked whatever hours were established by the farmer.

Pablo Barbosa (see Appendix C)

Pablo recalls how he and his sisters became orphans. He states that had there been an opportunity for him to finish school it would have happened. But because they were orphans and his Uncle had taken them in, there were more in his family to support. Pablo's Uncle did not earn more than "\$20 a week and he had five in the family (Barbosa, 7)." It was later when he got to be a bit older that "my aunt ... and later me and my sister (Barbosa, 7)" helped out the family financially. His education did not go beyond the seventh grade. He dropped out to help his family out financially. Pablo continued working as a laborer and eventually came with his wife to Idaho in 1975 to work in the fields of Wilder. At this point they decided to make Idaho their permanent home (Barbosa 1991, 7).

Narrative analysis of Pablo Barbosa;

- Abstract: "...I no more than seventh grade [sic] for the simple reason that me and my sister were orphans..."
- Orientation: "I could have gone to high school if there had been a manner of this...."
- Complication: "But not in that time, because he didn't earn more than \$20 a week and he had five in the family."
- Resolution: "This part my aunt did and later me and my sister (in reference to making money)."
- Coda: "...I believe [sic] I could have had a high school education." (Barbosa 1991, 7)

As we can see Pablo left school to begin working in the fields to help his Aunt and Uncle as well as his sister. The resolution again reflects a self sacrifice to attain the ultimate goal of the family which is to escape economic stress. His contribution to his family helped them succeed in having food, clothing and shelter.

Ofilia Ramos (see Appendix D)

Ofilia was born in Texas in 1943 to immigrant parents who came to work for the railroad. Eventually they moved to Idaho to work in the sugar beet fields. There were six children in her home and they all lived in a house on the farm owned by the patron. She was one of the younger children to attend school, and she was able to graduate from high school. The entire family worked on the farm and remembers having to work, particularly the eldest children to help the family out financially.

Narrative analysis of Ofilia Ramos;

- Abstract: “the four youngest went to school and we completed our school.”
- Orientation: “a couple of the older ones started school...”
- Complication: “They had to work.”
- Resolution: “...but they dropped out because of work...”
- Coda: “Yes, they did-well in the fields. We worked out in the field.”(Ramos 1991, 2)

Here Ofelia recounts that the eldest children had to work and the younger ones remained in school. This complication and resolution again shows that the need to have the eldest help out the family.

Victoria Archuleta Sierra (see Appendix E)

Victoria’s ancestral family was from New Mexico and Colorado before these states were a part of the United States. She was born in Colorado in 1924, which became a state in 1876. She begins her narrative accounts of memories of her father as a field worker in Colorado. She recalls having to babysit her younger brother in the family’s model T as her parents worked in the field. She remembers seeing them for a little bit before they had to continue on with their work and “pick more green [sic] beans until the late evening (Sierra 1991, 1).” Her dad had taught her to read and write but it did not stick with her. However, when her mother wallpapered their home with magazine pages she began learning to read from the pages on the wall.

Narrative analysis of Victoria A. Sierra;

- Abstract: “We had no other means of lively hood except my dad and mother working out in the fields.”
- Orientation: “I learned to cook when I was ten years old”
- Complication: “Sometimes I had to stay home and take care of my two brothers while my mother and dad went out and worked in the fields.”
- Resolution: “My dad taught me how to make tortillas and the beans were already cooked from the day before...”
- Coda: “So all I had to do was make the tortillas for when my mother and dad came home. There was a lot of burn ones.” (Sierra 1991, 2)

Here Victoria demonstrates her responsibility to help with preparation of meals and helping take care of the younger children. Her sacrifice of her time of playing, reading, studying, being concerned about what every ten year old should be doing; instead she began helping with her siblings and had the responsibility of doing prep food for when her parents came home exhausted from the fields.

Discussions and Recommendations

Most studies of educational issues within Mexican farm working families approach the subject statistically and demographically. Often these issues are presented within the context of what is called the “dropout” rate of farm worker children. It might be more accurately looked at as a “push out” or “pull out” rate to capture the essence of the many issues of cultural conflict involved.

When utilizing statistics to define who is a “dropout” and who is not, there are two ways, one is called an “event dropout rate” the other is known as a “status rate.” The first is used to report students who have dropped out of school within one academic year, November through November. The second reports when the students have dropped out at any time between their ninth and twelve grades. The latter cohort study is the one that is more frequently heard of in the Department of Education report updates. Currently the state of Idaho does not use “status

rate” to report on dropouts, it uses “event rates.” These state that the mobility of this cohort is difficult to pin point, making the data inaccurate which are then reported using a ‘hypothetical’ model to demonstrate the dropout rates. In the State of Idaho, as in any other State, there are specific definitions about who is considered a “dropout” and who is not. It is a general rule that if a student has left school without requesting transcripts, has left because of age limits, or has been expelled; he or she is considered a dropout. However, students who leave the school system because of homeschooling are not considered dropouts. (Statistics, 1997-1998 to 2004-2005).

As described below, this study reveals that rather than viewed as a failure, farm working children in the first generation leave school to help their family. Sacrifice comes from a Middle English verb meaning 'to make sacred', commonly known as the practice of offering food, or the lives of animals or people to the gods, as an act of propitiation or worship. The term is also used metaphorically to describe selfless good deeds. In our modern world, this has come to be interpreted as giving up something of value or importance to somebody else. It is in through narrative analysis that insights can be gained into the ways in which each of the families has viewed generational sacrifice. We can see that these ‘Mexicano’ families belong to a series of generations in which the current generations have benefited from their predecessor. Parents sacrificed themselves to work in labor related employment to find better future for themselves and their children. Older children have sacrificed themselves for the improvement of the family economically, in return helping their younger siblings remain in school; generational sacrifice from this perspective is embodied in narratives of strength, not in statistics of failure.

Abel’s narratives recount family sacrifice in which he helped out his family financially by returning to work. Although an outsider might see that leaving school was detrimental to him what they do not see is that he alleviated his family financial situation by supplying extra income for the family. He is a success within the dynamics of the family.

Rita sacrificed herself for the benefit of the family. By helping her parents with childcare, she allowed for the extra income to flow. Had she not done this they may not have survived on just her father’s income alone. In working together as an extended family they resolved the childcare issue together, and allowed her to plant the seed in her father’s mind about keeping the younger children in school.

Pablo upon noticing the responsibility that his Uncle had taken on, by bringing in his niece and nephew to live with them, also put family interest before his own. He saw the need for his Uncle to have support providing for the children. The result was that Pablo and his sister began to work and left school to help the other children. This was related in the narrative not as a bad thing but as a collective family success.

Ofelia one of the younger participants, benefited from the eldest children working. She and her younger siblings, graduated from high school. Yet she remembers that the eldest children did have to go to work with the family in the sugar beet fields. Her family triumphed because had it not been for that help from the eldest children the younger children would have had to work as well.

Victoria’s account of caring for the babies, allowed her parents to work. She helped contribute by sacrificing her childhood to care for her infant sibling in a car as her parents worked out in the fields.

There are several conclusions that can be tentatively drawn from these stories. A primary conclusion is that they represent sacrifice and intergenerational responsibility. Secondly, the “dropout” issue is not a “failure”, as the Anglo school sees it, but a family triumph. Third these stories illustrate how the decision to support the family is viewed from within as a personal and cultural achievement.

These stories feature sacrifice for the family, revealing the depth of the cultural contrast between that of a high context culture and a low context culture. Farm working children of the first generation farm workers are caught in a dilemma between the collectivist cultural orientations of Latino farm worker families and an educational system that emphasizes individual competition over cooperation. The results of this study reveal that a closer look at cultural material from an insider’s perspective may assist in understanding the “push out” or “pull out” issue from a much more grounded and pragmatic perspective. It calls for further analysis of narratives to gain the perspective of the immigrant family to understand the full score of issues affecting immigrants. These narratives could pave the way for further study into how to approach this and other issues of cultural conflict from an insider’s point of view. In addition, further research within Mexican immigrant communities conducted from a community or family perspective might replace negative stereotypes of immigrants with more realistic and sensitive views of people who are caught up in the global diaspora, just trying to survive.

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Appendix A

Interview: Abel Vasquez OH1167 (pages 5-10)

MT: What's your earliest memory of school? (pg.5)

AV: Walking to school barefooted, we did not have money sometimes School was nice for us, because I'm from almost the same time as he was, I'm a few years younger than he is , but our homes were so poorly insulated that we were just talking this morning how when I was raised it was so cold I just quite did not have enough blankets to keep me warm. We were a lot of children so going to school it was nice to have a warm room, hot lunch smelled so good because a lot of the times you did not have that in your It was a new way of life that was good to us and it was good. (Pg. 6)

MT: How do you recall doing in school as far as grades? (pg.7)

AV: I was just an average student my parent's really didn't put that much emphasis on education. They figured they'd rather have somebody who was a good worker than a good scholar. But we did fairly well, I never flunked a grade going to school.....we'd go to school maybe six months out of the year because we had to quit early to start working in the fields and we had to start late because the harvest was still going on.....I remember some of my school teachers taking a little extra with me personally helping me to catch up.....we went to school all winter then in the spring our parents pulled us out of school to go to work. That's why I say I never flunked a grade. I must have had good teachers.” (pg.7)

MT: Do you remember any situation in the schools or a teacher or teachers that stand out in your mind?

AV: Mrs. Gillmore in Marsing she was my third grade teacher. She used to go the extra mile to help me. And she knew that the other kids did not need that much help or I needed more than they did. So she would always help me she would take me by the hand and teach me. She was my teacher, that's what teaching was about for me.(pg 8).

MT: Do you suppose it was because she also knew that you missed out on school that she helped you just to catch up?

AV: Yes I'm sure that she did. That's one of the teachers that really stands out as a kid growing up..of course I remember the other teachers that we have here but nobody that stood out like she did because she really made an impression on me because of that extra care she gave me.When I was in Jr. High I wanted to go out for basketball.....needless to say I was the first ones there ...and I was there with all the gringitos I looked like a 'mosca in the leche'. In order to play you had to furnish your own sneakers, well I didn't have any but I was really good barefooted the first day.....the second day I got blisters from playing on the hard wood. So I couldn't play basketball, my folks couldn't afford to buy me sneakers so I didn't participate because I didn't have shoes to play in. (pg. 9)

MT: You played barefooted?

AV: Just one day, the second day I got blisters from playing on the hard wood. So I couldn't play basketball my folks couldn't afford to buy me sneakers so I didn't participate because I didn't have shoes to play in.

MT: How did you feel about that?

AV: I really wanted to play basketball but I couldn't but I didn't want to put a burden on my folks so that they would have to buy me sneakers because we could barely, make it. So I just finally said that I didn't want to do it. I never participated in any sports because you always had to stay after school to practice and it the wrong time of the year so it wasn't conducive for me to participate in all the school activities that were available to me because of the way I was raised. Being a field worker you had to work when the crops were ready, the crops didn't wait for nobody you had to go and do it. Me being one of the older ones in the family and the male I was an extra pair of hands to help support the family. When I went to school I liked

school too I think but then as I was getting older, when I was fourteen years old it go to be more of a hassle going becauseI felt out of place not because I didn't that I was adequate ...I felt t out of place because material things were entering into my life. I didn't have nice jeans, I didn't have nice shoes, nice shirt to be able to go with the other kids. I knew that there was something wrong somewhere, not that the kids made me feel that way I was my worst critic in that respect. And rather than go through all the hassle of my folks buy me nice clothes to go to school, at the age of 14, I quit school. I was in the ninth grade, I finished ninth grade..... I had an out, simply because I asked my grandmother...I don't want to go to school anymore.....she wanted me to go to school but she didn't push it to a point...the reason she did not push it was because there again was the economic situation. There was another two hands to go to work" (pg. 10).

Appendix B

Rita Perez OH1156 (pg 9-11)

- RR: What did you do before you worked out in the field?
- RP: Babysitter.
- RR: You took care of your little brother's and sister's? Your three older brother's worked and your mom and dad? And you would stay in the tent...
- RP: Yes, but they would take us in the car and park it at the end of the field where my mother could come at intervals to check on the baby and nurse him.
- RR: How old was the baby when you took care of her?
- RP: The first time I was left in charge of my younger sister, she was about 6 weeks old and I was not quite five.
- RR: What was a normal working day for your mom and dad? How long did you have to take car of your brother's and sister's?
- RP: From sunrise to sun set thinning beets would be from 4 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock in the evening. Picking green peas because it was under the contractor and he set the hours it was from 6 to 6 pm.
- RR: Would that be in Idaho or California.
- RP: Either place, wherever we were. If we went to California we started school there we were not allowed to work in the fields so we had to school. When we went there was nothing they could do before we moved there.
- RR: Did you graduate from High School?
- RP: I just went to fifth grade.
- RR: But your younger sisters and brothers did graduate? You were the one that had to help support the family.
- RP: Yes. All the older ones had to work to help support the whole family, and Daniel (her brother) was the first one to graduate high school.

Appendix C

Interview: Pablo Barbosa OH1147 (pg. 7).

- MT: How interesting the themes of education. You had, forgive [sic] me a moment, I would like to ask before we continue another topic. When you say you sold her for [can't understand] when you carried her there you left or...

- PB: No, no more than to Reynosa. No more than the bridge to Reynosa.
- MT: That bridge there it was here [sic] is was like she could return to her town. The topic of education, can you describe something about how many years.
- PB: She didn't have a formal education and I no more than seventh grade for the simple reason that me and my sister were orphans and my neither my sister not my father, my uncle and unfortunately he couldn't either and for this.....the opportunity that he could send me to school until seventh grade. I could have gone to high school if there had been a manner of this; I believe I could have had a high school education. But not in that time, because he didn't earn more than \$20 a week and he had five in the family. This part my aunt did and later me and my sister they couldn't send me to high school my education wasn't more than seventh grade.

Appendix D

Interview: Ofelia Ramos OH1157 (pg. 2)

- RR: And were they, how many children were born in Idaho Falls?
- OR: Two, the two youngest. The girl May, was born in 1948 and the boy Bill, was born in 1950
- RR: So you and your other brothers and sisters went to school here?
- OR: Just myself. Let's see, the four youngest went to school and we completed our school. But a couple of the older ones started school, but they dropped out because of work. They had to work.
- RR: And did they work there in the sugar factory with your dad?
- OR: Yes, they did-well in the fields. We worked out in the fields.

Appendix E

Victoria Archuleta Sierra OH1164 (pg 1-2)

- AL: How did your family come to Idaho?
- VS: My dad traveled a lot in his young days and then he finally settled down in La Junta, Co and that is where he met my mother.
- AL: So he married your mother.
- VS: My dad's niece married my mother's brother and that's how they came to know each other. They married and started having a family, I have an older brother that was born in New Mexico, because they traveled back, and I was born in La Junta six years later. Then they moved to Grand Junction Colorado where he was working as a ranch man. He milked cows for this man and we lived there until I was six years old. And then we moved into the town of Grand Junction. From there my dad was a field worker, because he had no transportation of any kind for a while until he bought a Model-T car and then they used to make us pick green beans quite far out of town. My brother and I took care of my little brother that was born in 1930. We stayed in the car all day long waiting for them. They would come to eat lunch and we'd see them for a little while and then they'd go back and pick more green beans until the late evening. Many a time the car wouldn't start and we had to be there until it was dark. We had a few times of panic when the car wouldn't start and it was getting dark and everybody left except for us. There are happy memories too, at the time there were lots of sad things that would happen at that time. I can remember when we'd eat lunch my mother would boil potatoes, corn on the cob, and boiled eggs that was fun to eat lunch. That far out it was

like a picnic every day we had fun then. We really had lots of good times. I think about it now and it seems kind of sad that we grew up like that, but it didn't damage us any. It was just fun at that time. We had no other means of lively hood except my dad and mother working out in the fields. I learned to cook when I was ten years old because sometimes I had to stay home and take care of my two brothers while my mother and dad went out and worked in the fields. That wasn't easy and I wasn't too crazy about it. My dad taught me how to make tortillas and the beans were already cooked from the day before so all I had to do was make the tortillas for when my mother and dad came home. There was a lot of burn ones.