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Corinne Valdivia, Pedro Dozi and Emma Zapata Martelo

Abstract

Migration patterns are changing from large metropolis to rural towns. Rather than temporary migration of male heads of households the patterns are now for families to migrate in various stages. Rural Missouri towns have attracted newcomers. Foreign born Hispanics in non metro Missouri have low income earnings, and education, mobility and being woman have a negative effect on income earnings, as regression results show. The livelihoods of rural newcomers are vulnerable, with low income, multiple adults working in the households and with limited English proficiency. This is consistent with the life stories of women in a small town near a meat processing plant in Missouri.

Introduction

For many years migration in development studies was a male phenomenon, where the male head of household would migrate to look for employment as a mechanism to cope with shock events in agriculture. Men migrated and women became de facto heads of household in rural areas of Latin America and Africa. This resulted in the “feminization” of agriculture, and this realization, though slow to come about, permeated into the approaches and efforts to assist in mobilizing agriculture. Many studies have focused on the role of women in agriculture and studies in social sciences have moved

from the traditional division of labor studies to the understanding of the needs and constraints of women farmers. In the case of Mexico's rural migration process to the US there is an increase in the number of women migrating in many cases to be with their partner, but also of women migrating in search of opportunities not found in their communities of origin. This paper explores the settlement of newcomers in a Midwestern state of the US, Missouri, focusing on rural areas and small towns, non-metro. It discusses the factors that affect income earnings of migrants, including the gender of the worker. Finally it looks at the sources of employment of newcomers of Mexican origin, their household characteristics and composition, with insights from discussions with families that have migrated to small towns in the Midwest, to understand better the livelihood strategies and present vulnerabilities.

Immigration and Rural Growth in Missouri

Globalization has many dimensions relevant to the Midwest: international trade and migration. Both are significant. Products for national and international markets are produced in the Midwest, a labor pull factor to communities where manufacturing and processing companies establish. These tend to do so near the sources of beef, pork and poultry in the case of food manufacturing. Missouri's manufacturing exports to Mexico increased by 142% since 1993 (Martínez 2003), and was the second largest trading partner for this state in 2002. The other side of the coin of globalization is immigration, labor mobility consistent with free trade. At least 160 million people lived outside their country of birth in 2000 (Martin and Widgren, 2002). The growth is expected to continue, affecting both sending and receiving communities all over the world, as well as

Mexico and the Midwest. Growth of the Latino population in Missouri, according to the US Census Bureau, nearly doubled in the last decade (Lazos and Jeanetta, 2002). Of the almost 120,000 Latinos that responded to the Census, 78% are US citizens, ten percent born abroad. Thirty-two percent of all Latinos in Missouri are foreign-born, and the majority (sixty-six percent) are of Mexican descent. The majority migrated because of work opportunities, especially in meat processing, manufacturing and services (Dozi, 2004). Latino immigrants come for work, and 98% according to the National Council of La Raza, are employed (NCLR 2002. Case and Campbell, 2002).

Immigrants for many years settled in ethnic enclaves in metropolitan areas of the US. Today's Hispanic immigrants are dispersing, settling in small towns, and often reviving rural areas of the Midwest. These changes in society present challenges, especially in communities where the growth is rapid. Often the perception is that Hispanics don't integrate. Communities that have a welcoming mat often create a bridge that facilitates the process of adapting to the work environment and institutions. The context, the community's welcome mat, is shaped by immigration policies, labor conditions, public attitudes, perceptions, and knowledge of newcomers, and the social networks that can support the newcomers, including relatives, friends, and local organizations. The relations between new and old residents will impact long term settlement, and long term returns to families and communities. How families settle, households organize, and especially how children are taken care of, will lead to wellbeing or vulnerability. Understanding the situation of women as they pursue reproductive activities, and often of productive ones will be instrumental in identifying best practices that address their needs.

The Characteristics of Hispanics in Non-Metro Missouri

Census statistics for 2000 (www.census.org), along with PUMS data, provide an approximation of what is happening in rural counties where there has been major growth of Hispanics in Missouri. Many of these are counties where meat processing businesses were established during the 1990s, pulling in new comers as labor force (OSED A 2005). Between 1990 and 2000 a significant growth of population is attributed to immigrants. Table 1 shows the growth in the population in nine counties between 1990 and 2000. The average growth was 5.5 times the population numbers of 1990. The average is not a good indicator as some counties faced up to 20 times growth. This continues, though at a slower rate, as data for 2003 shows, around 13 percent (fifth column), larger than the growth of non-Hispanics (Table 1; OSED A, 2005). The last column shows the number of worker employed in each county. Thirty eight percent of the Hispanic population in these counties are workers (www.census.org). Table 2 shows employment, income, and demographic characteristics of Hispanics in these counties. The total number of Hispanic households in these counties is 2,277, eighty one percent are defined as families living together. This highlights the fact that most of people employed have moved to Missouri with their families in search of work (Case and Campbell, 2002), and mostly come from other states in the US (Lazos and Jeanetta, 2002;Case and Campbell, 2002).

Average household size varies from more than two people to mostly close to four members. Median household income according to the Census in these counties varies. The lowest is \$19,000 in Barry, and the highest is \$32,000 in Dunklin (Table 2). It should be noted, that using the PUMS data the average income per person in food

manufacturing/meat processing is \$14,429 (Table 3), more than one adult works in the household. Another interesting fact is that even though these are important meat processing counties, not all Hispanic workers are employed in this sector. Actually only around 46 percent are in this line of work. They represent around 28% of the total number of workers in the meat processing sector of these counties, according to the PUMS data. In the Southwest the proportion is 32 percent, 33.4 percent in Pettis and Saline, and as low as 10 percent in the northeast (Sullivan).

A Framework for Household Analysis of Economic Vulnerabilities and Wellbeing

Wellbeing, Vulnerability, and Livelihood Strategies

The sustainable livelihoods framework focuses on how individuals and households develop strategies based on the assets they can access, control or own (Valdivia and Gilles, 2001). These assets, depending on how they are used and what they can produce, are also often defined as capitals (Bebbington, 1998; Valdivia 2004). These are both tangible and intangible (Chambers and Conway). These capitals along with their capabilities, are used develop strategies to make a living, negotiating institutions, markets, and policies (de Haan; Ellis; Valdivia and Gilles). Wellbeing is achieved as the individual's and household members' strategies lead to accumulation of capitals, and integration to the community. A model of sustainable livelihood strategies that includes the individuals and households as well as the climate of the communities is presented in figure 1. Vulnerability on the other hand is shaped by the inability to cope or deal with stresses or shocks, realized risks. In developing country economies lack of safety nets is a major source of vulnerability when coupled with environmental risk or civil strife. In

economies like the US safety net institutions exist for poor citizens. Immigrants on the other hand lack access to safety net institutions due to government (federal and state) immigration policies (Rupasingha and Goetz; Valdivia, Dozi and Lazos, 2005; NCLR, 2002).

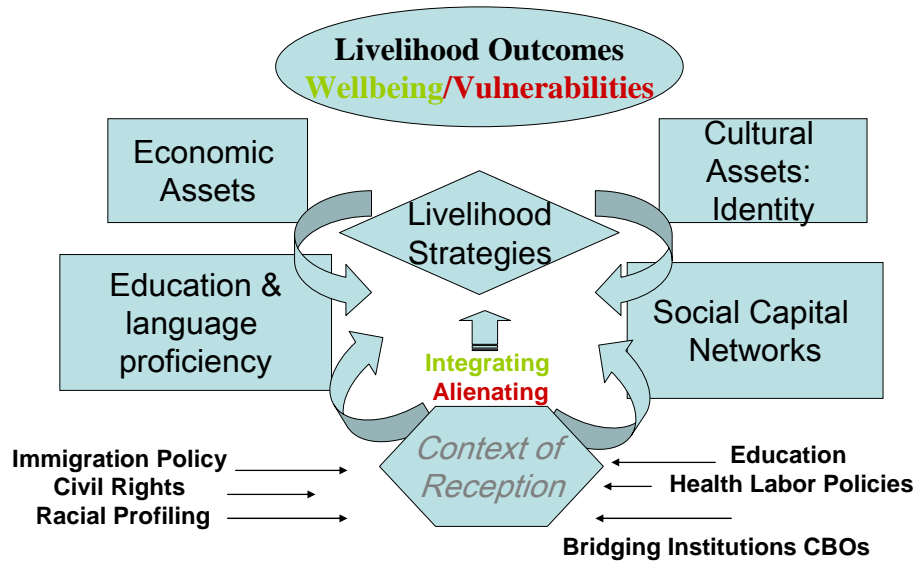
Consumption smoothing and income smoothing are indicators used to understand if and how households are coping with stresses and shocks (Morduch; Valdivia, Dunn and Jetté; Binswanger and Rosenzweig; Corbett; Kusterer). Household strategies to cope with risk ex-ante are defined as income smoothing, often achieved through income diversification. Strategies developed ex-post to cope with events are defined as consumption smoothing (Morduch; Valdivia, Dunn and Jetté).

The ability to smooth income and/or consumption is a function of different capabilities and capitals a household or individual can access, control, or own. These various types of “capital” can be created/acquired and depleted (Valdivia and Gilles; Chambers and Conway). A capital is the product of investment which yields a flow of benefits over time. These capitals are: human, financial, natural, physical, cultural and social¹ (Valdivia and Gilles). In the context of Latino newcomer livelihoods important assets include economic and productive, human capital as defined by education and language proficiency, cultural capital as defined by identity and pluralism (Dannerbeck), social capital as defined by the networks of families and friends that allow families to access capitals as well as the bridging capital they can access (Jeanetta), as the main types of assets. The capabilities to negotiate with the structures (de Haan), through the

¹ Some authors identify cultural capital as a building block of social capital others use it as a stand alone category.

individual's or group's agency is affected by the context in which decisions are taken (the climate of the community), also defined as the context of reception.

**Figure 1:
Livelihoods Strategies, Assets, and Institutions**



Migration has been used as a coping strategy (after the shock), and as an income diversification strategy for rural households. Building capital, such as human, cultural and social, is critical to households in rural communities of the developing world. Through the process of migration, these capitals are transferred to a new context, communities where they settle. For example Latin Americans bring their culture, perceptions, knowledge and reliance in networks to the communities where they settle.

Income accumulation in capitals builds financial/liquid assets that mitigate risks. Economies with well functioning markets provide access to insurance mechanisms, reducing the impact of the realization of risk (Morduch). Some individuals are precluded from participation, or lack access to these institutions. The majority of citizens in the

developed world tend to take jobs, early in life that provide a comfortable balance of expected earnings and risk. In the US there are many alternative forms of income smoothing, safety nets for the poor. Temporary assistance mothers and children through welfare programs can be used to cope with the hunger. However, extremely high eligibility requirements and their rigidity are barriers for newcomers that need them the most (McDonough and Korte).

Latino newcomers' human capital relevant to settling and developing livelihood strategies in the US consist of English proficiency, educational attainment, and work experience. Economic capital consists of savings or liquid assets an individual is able to access. Because the household's financial capital is fungible (Dunn, Kalaitzandonakes and Valdivia), meaning that it can be invested in creating new capital, or consumed, depending on the household's vulnerability. For instance a secure, high paying job may provide enough savings to acquire land (natural capital), send money to family, may be invested in acquiring a house (physical capital) and status, and/or be used to connect with others in the community (social capital). For Latinos, especially newcomers settling in new communities, four capitals are often used: human, financial, cultural, and social. Cultural includes their local knowledge and cultural values, and social capital refers to the networks (kin and friendship- bonding- as well as community based organizations - bridging) that are a support system for finding jobs, settling, accessing loans, and social validation. This framework is relevant in studying the vulnerabilities of newcomers because of the importance of these capitals in shaping their livelihood strategies.

Capability (Bebbington; Chambers and Conway; Ellis; Valdivia and Gilles) refers to the ability to pursue activities to make a living. Capability consists of the ability to

cope with stress and shocks, and to seek and make use of opportunities. The notion of agency, being proactive, and able to change and adapt are elements of capability. Examples include gaining access to, and using services and information, exercising foresight, experimenting and innovating, competing and collaborating with others, and exploiting new conditions and resources (Valdivia and Gilles). Study of income earnings of Hispanics foreign born is developed in the next section to understand how assets and the gender of the individual impact on the economic outcome.

Income Earnings, Origin Status, and Gender in non metro Missouri

A model comparing income earnings of foreign born vs US born Latinos for non metro Missouri (Dozi and Valdivia 2005) included individual assets along with context of reception variables. The objective was to determine the variables that affect income earnings of Latinos, and also determine in which ways are they able to negotiate with structures such as policies, and institutions, (de Haan) to achieve wellbeing, in this specific case measured by income earnings. The model and coefficients are summarized in the appendix, table 4 and table 5. The model includes human capital captured by English ability, educational attainment, and skills, gender, and context/climate variables such as mobility and racial profiling. Good command of English, such as ability to read and write, is considered important factors for Latino immigrants (Abalos), though studies have produced mixed results at best. A study in Missouri's southwest (Wirth) showed genuine concern in learning English. Interviews of newcomers in non-metropolitan counties in Missouri (Vasquez-Case and Campbell) found ability to properly speak English affects social integration. Education has been the most important factor of social

mobility for immigrants and non-immigrants (Roderick) enabling access to higher paying jobs. NCLR reports that both Latino immigrants and poor Latinos face barriers towards improving their education, creating a big concern for future generations' wellbeing, as a study found that low parent education combined with low income and lack of English ability explain a large portion of poor school performance and low educational attainment (Figueroa). Lack of a home environment conducive to higher levels of learning is also a barrier, because parents can't assist with homework, and don't have the technology that wealthier families do. While this may be the case, in Missouri's rural communities there has been an overwhelming increase of enrollment in rural schools (OSEDAs; Lazos and Jeanetta). As the results from the regression study showed (Dozi and Valdivia; and Appendix 1), in the case of foreign born income earning individuals, older than 16 and participating in the labor force a combination of education and language, as well as labor experience have a positive effect in earnings. On the other hand being female, and having moved in the last five years have a negative impact. Finally the climate of the community, in this case measured by racial profiling, has also a negative effect on income earnings.

These results are significant for the future ability of Latino families whose decision makers are born outside the US. It highlights the vulnerability of low skill workers in communities where the climate is adverse, as an environment of racism expressed in profiling. If the worker is a woman the earning impact is even more negative. And as is the case of women immigrants where education is low and English ability is non-existent, the challenges to her and the children are significant. In the next section we explore from the statistics the situation of the households and women in

selected rural counties of Missouri. In a context where women are in charge of reproductive activities, as well as income earners in the households, these are themes that we need to understand to determine how significant they are.

Latino Households, Women and Employment Patterns in Rural Missouri

Hispanic workers with education at or below the 8th grade are mostly employed in Manufacturing, Services and Agriculture in non-metro Missouri (Valdivia, Lazos and Dozi, 2005; Dozi, 2004). Experience in the job, measured by the number of years in the sector is an important factor in wage earnings, especially for those that were born abroad. In the case of Hispanic citizens, education is a major factor in earnings. Workers that have education and English skills have larger earnings than workers who have poor English skills and low education combined.

Moving has a negative effect on Hispanic workers of low education and English ability, born outside the US. For this group the longer they stay in a job, the greater experience is achieved, and therefore the higher income obtained (Dozi, 2004; Valdivia, Lazos, and Dozi, 2005). These are important factors to consider as the population of Hispanics continues to grow. Studies have shown that Hispanic immigrants are in the US because of work, and 98 percent are working.

Our statistics also remind us that Latino citizens are almost 70 percent of all Hispanics in Missouri. As the number of households continues to grow in these counties, it is important to determine what factors will contribute to increases in their household income. This is relevant because as residents of the state they are economic contributors to their communities. PUMS data show that Latinos in rural areas do not receive welfare,

and their income is spent locally. Major expenditure items are housing, utilities, transport and food. Although Latinos with families in other countries do send money, and remittances as a total are significant to the economies of Latin America, the amount per family may not exceed ten percent², so it is safe to assume that most of the income is spent locally, which is important in terms of revitalization of the economy of rural communities. The population in many rural areas was decreasing before work opportunities arose as meat processing plants were established in rural counties. The data also shows that today it is not only meat processing but other sectors that are hiring Latinos. This may be due to the multiplier effects of supporting industries (cleaning services to meat processing for example), and demand for services by the new population. A study by the Pew Hispanic Center of labor confirms the growth in demand for labor for native born and immigrants, but also highlights that for 2004 this growth happens in low skills jobs, and absorbed mainly by construction, eating drinking and lodging industry, wholesale and retail trade, and professional and other business services (Kochhar). Construction, cleaning and production are main occupations of foreign born Hispanics in the US, and this is reflected in the non metro regions of Missouri.

Looking into the Demographics of Labor and Households, and the Roles of Women

Data from the Census showed that more of the newcomers settling in rural communities in Missouri are families (Table 2). The proportion varies but it is in average very high, almost 82 percent. Average household size is between 3 and 4 members, with a large percent employed in food manufacturing. The average income of

² Anecdotal information from Latino families in non metro areas of Missouri. Further research into expenditures, asset building, and remittances is necessary to determine in which ways Hispanics are contributing to revitalizing rural areas.

Hispanics is low, and below that of non Hispanics in most regions on Missouri. Analysis of the PUMS Census data by Hernandez to understand the conditions of children in these households found that 83% of children from Foreign Born newcomers in non metro Missouri live in two-parent households (Table 4), better than the situation of US born Hispanics (68%). But 40 percent in rural areas of foreign born Hispanics live in poverty, an 70% at two-hundred percent of the poverty line. An added challenge is that 37% have Limited English Proficiency. Interviews in rural communities near a meat packing plant confirm this (Zapata and Suarez), where adults in the households interviewed did not speak English, and where the weekly paycheck was between 300 and 350 dollars. Interviews also showed that households lived from paycheck to paycheck with more than one adult member working outside the home. This is consistent with the results for Missouri cited by Hernandez (See table 5). Fathers working full time were 89 percent. Mothers working full-time was also a high percentage, 52 percent. Households with more than two adults working fluctuated between 18 and 41 percent. The average in non-metro is 27 percent, for families foreign born. The average for children living in households where there is another adult not related to them is 41 percent for this same population group. The highest was for the group of foreign born in non-metro areas. Table 5 shows that a large proportion of both parents did not have a high school degree in non metro Missouri. This was 65 percent for men and 64 percent for women (Table 5). Table 6 shows a significant share of households headed by women. Of the total of 32,757 Hispanic households of all types, 20 percent are family households headed by women. A little over 10 percent are non-family households headed by women. The role of women is also evident in the labor statistics for the states and rural counties (Table 7).

In full time employment women consistently received lower wages than did male full time employed. For part time the picture was more varied. In non-metro areas 52 percent of foreign born Hispanic women work full time, and 64 percent do not have a high school degree. Statistics provide a picture of Hispanic households in non-metro regions where both parents are present, often living with other adults, in a situation of poverty or close to poverty, where almost 40 percent of the households do not have good command of English, often none, over 60 percent of both parents did not finish school, where 52 percent of the mothers work full time, and often are heads of household. Out of the total Hispanic family households a little over 25 percent are female, and in some rural counties it can be as high as almost 50 percent (Table 6). Educational attainment of the children of newcomers when compared to all Americans lags behind. Figure 2 shows the statistics presented by the National Council of La Raza (NCLR 2004) which paint a bleak picture. An overwhelming majority of the first generation do not complete high school. Second generation does better with this, but not even ten percent of second generation attend college. With parents, especially mothers, who are not educated and lack English skills new practices to address these constraints in the schools will need to be implemented in order to impact on these trends, especially when combined with the fact these are poor households.

Reflections as a matter of conclusion

The Census statistics provide a picture of the livelihoods of Hispanic families in rural (non-metro) Missouri. This picture shows hard working families, where women

work full or part time, and receive lower salaries than men. It also shows that families live in poverty. The education of women is low, and this is also found in the life stories of migrant women presented in this session (Zapata and Suárez). Women migrated to the US to be with their husbands, or to look for opportunities. They find themselves working but unable to speak the language, working mostly part time, in shifts that will accommodate taking care of the children, . Further research is necessary to understand the expenditures, savings, and asset building patterns of Hispanics, as this may lead to policies that foster the economic contribution to their communities in Missouri.

Table 1: Hispanic Population in Rural Meat Processing Counties: Numbers of People and Changes 1990, 2000, 2003, and Number of Hispanic People Employed.

County	1990-2000 Change	1990	2000	2003	Hispanics Employed In 2000#
Barry	1027	152	1,713	2,005	701
Dunklin	387.6	169	824	945	241
Lawrence	466.4	211	1,195	1,412	447
McDonald	1577.7	121	2,030	2,226	916
Newton	224.9	353	1,147	1,392	385
Pettis	469.8	268	1,527	1,945	486
Saline	404.8	208	1,050	855	408
Sullivan	2164.3	28	634	628	306
Taney	395.9	194	962	1,127	314
Total	550.35	1,704	11,082	12,535	4,204

OSEDA Growth Hispanic Population Regional Profiles Meat Processing Counties.
 Number of Hispanics Employed Census Data
www.census.gov
 #Census 2000 Summary File 4 (SF4) www.census.gov

Table 2: Latino Employment in Selected Missouri Counties, and Household Characteristics in Missouri 1999.							
County	Total Employed in County	Employed in Food Manufacturing	Household Median Income	Number of Households	Average Household Size	Number of Family Households	% Family Households
Barry	701	366	19,432	412	4.12	338	82.0
Dunklin	241	29	31,836	164	3.17	130	79.3
Lawrence	447	165	27,000	288	4.14	271	94.1
McDonald	916	655	25,991	497	3.94	404	81.3
Newton	385	80	20,859	303	2.78	200	66.0
Pettis	486	160	30,352	375	3.57	290	77.3
Saline	408	227	23,352	251	3.66	217	86.5
Sullivan	306	255	30,521	169	3.72	137	81.1
Taney	314	0	23,173	218	2.27	198	90.8
TOTAL ^	4,204	1,937 (46%)	23,400	2,677		2,185	81.6

^Total or weighted average.

Branson a large tourism city in Missouri is in Taney. Most of those employed are in sectors other than meat processing.

Table 3: Employment and Average Income in Meat Processing Regions of Missouri in 2000 using PUMS Census Data				
Region-Counties	Meat Processing (numbers)		Average Income (\$)	
	Hispanics	Non Hispanics	Hispanics	Non Hispanics
NE-Sullivan	146	1251	16,729	23,034
Central-Pettis Saline	702	1426	10,816	22,849
SE-Dunklin	25	-	5,908	-
W-Jackson	119	459	29,378	21,932
SW-Barry	1,150	2,982	14,175	18,280
SW-Newton	403	505	16,200	17,485
Total/Average Regions	2,545 (28%)	6,623 (72%)	14,429 *	20,354 *

Source Census 2000: Estimates of employment and income based on PUMS Micro-data.

@ Definition of Regions is determined by the aggregation done by PUMS.

The counties included are the following per described region:

NE-Sullivan: Adair, Clark, Lewis, Linn, Macon, Scotland and Sullivan

Central-Pettis Saline: Carroll, Chariton, Johnson, Pettis, Saline

SE-Dunklin: Dunklin, Mississippi, New Madrid, Pemiscot, Scott

W-Jackson: Jackson, Lafayette, Ray, Cass

SW-Barry: Barry, Lawrence, McDonald, Stone, Taney

SW-Newton: Jasper and Newton

* Weighted average excluding Dunklin.

These are rural meat processing counties. Others, in which the population fell, are Saline and Sullivan. A county included in the SW-Barry, Taney, where Branson is located (OSEDA Regional Profiles, 2005).

Table 4: Selected Indicators of Hispanic Children Wellbeing in Missouri. Census 2000. (Percent)				
Category	Native White	Native Latino	Foreign Born metro	Foreign Born Non metro
Children in 2 parent HH	82	68	87	83
Children in Official Poverty	11	17	26	40
200% of Poverty	32	43	58	70
LEP	1	3	34	37
Source: Hernández, D. Cambio de Colores 2005. Presentation Plenary Change and Wellbeing. Columbia MO.				

Table 5: Household and Parents Characteristics of Hispanic Children in Missouri. 2000. (%) PUMS Data.				
Category	Native White	Native Latino	Foreign Born M.	Foreign Born N-M
Father Works Full Time	96	94	90	89
Mother Works Full Time	78	78	65	52
Other Adult Working	11 (18)	14 (23)	17 (36)	27 (41)
Father no High School Degree	12	16	45	65
Mother no High School Degree	11	19	51	64
<p>Source: Hernández, D. Cambio de Colores 2005, Plenary Change and Wellbeing. Columbia.</p> <p>(in parenthesis) Percent of MO Latino Children who live with other adult persons in the household, who are not family members.</p>				

Table 6: Household Numbers and Composition of Hispanics according to the 2000 Census in Selected Missouri Counties

County	Total Households	Average household size	Head of Household Male or two adult	Female Headed Households	Non family households; Male head	Non family households; Female head
Barry	396	4.03	255	64	57	20
Boone +	731	2.69	282	140	172	137
Cole +	250	2.92	116	58	43	33
Dunklin	193	3.9	124	42	19	8
Greene +	1,142	2.87	508	232	233	169
Lawrence	278	4.14	197	42	27	12
McDonald	491	3.89	283	93	88	27
Newton	283	3.48	172	53	44	14
Pettis	375	3.91	195	94	73	13
Saline	249	3.84	152	50	36	11
Sullivan	173	3.59	79	35	52	7
Taney	236	3.02	132	38	48	18
Missouri	32,757	3.09	16,876	6,507	5,707	3,667

Data Source: Census 2000.

Table 7: Employment and Education of Hispanics in Selected Counties of Missouri.

	Males in the Labor Force	Females in the Labor Force	Males with Education <9 th grade	Males with Education 9-11th	Females with Education < 9 th grade	Females with Education 9-11th
Barry	490	257	224	69	141	48
Boone	772	512	104	88	22	23
Cole	214	175	24	55	49	17
Dunklin	185	84	40	55	48	57
Lawrence	279	181	94	53	101	20
McDonald	648	325	234	162	174	121
Newton	298	151	22	78	50	17
Pettis	412	194	92	112	98	56
Saline	268	172	129	71	81	45
Sullivan	227	95	103	61	58	25
Taney	231	116	15	53	27	54

Source: US Census 2000.

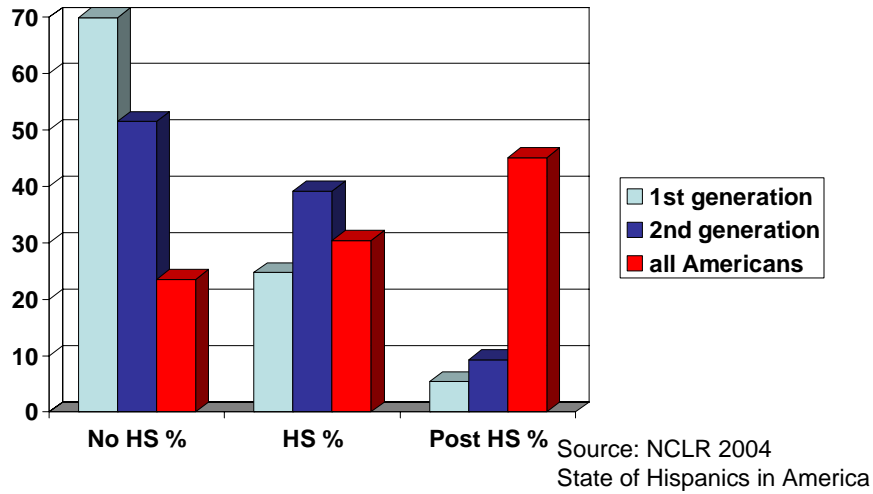
Table 8: Total Hispanic Population, Household and Male and Female Income in 1999, Full time and Part time.

County	Total population	Median Household income	Median earnings Full-time; Male	Median earnings Full-time; Female	Median earnings Other work; Male	Median earnings Other work; Female
Barry	1,730	24,911	16,939	15,346	12,270	6,083
Boone	2,511	30,233	22,278	21,921	10,879	7,500
Cole	795	34,063	21,979	16,382	9,750	11,726
Dunklin	717	19,432	16,464	14,167	8,421	5,179
Greene	4,171	27,426	24,250	19,448	8,352	5,928
Lawrence	1,238	27,000	20,885	14,118	12,222	9,750
McDonald	2,047	25,991	16,090	15,820	10,278	7,672
Newton	996	20,859	20,450	18,542	11,615	11,731
Pettis	1,367	30,352	20,729	20,000	11,797	12,206
Saline	1,000	23,352	23,021	16,667	10,529	8,875
Sullivan	631	30,521	20,000	15,729	11,250	6,719
Taney	774	23,173	16,400	14,063	9,833	11,500
Missouri	116,373	33,188	25,353	21,654	10,893	8,033

Source: Census Data 2000.

Figure 2: Educational Achievement of Latinos by Generation, US. 2000.

Educational Attainment, 1st & 2nd generation Latinos and all Americans



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Social Networks and Capital

Portes defines social networks as “sets of recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial, cultural, or affective ties” (p.8). The size and densities of these networks are very important in regulating individual’s activity in the society. Size refers to the number of participants in a network, and density to the number of ties between them (Portes). Networks, also described as social capital, provide avenues for acquisition of information, resources, and capital that an individual could otherwise not access. Putnam (cited by Flora) described social capital as “features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit; social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital” (p. 45).

For the poor or families lacking in other capitals, collective action is a means to access to scarce resources, such as tips about employment, interest-free loans, best schools for children, access to welfare programs, acquisition of formal documents and the like (Portes). Immigration is seldom an individual activity; it involves a collective effort of many individuals within a well established social network. Thus when an individual moves from one place to another, it is actually its network that is moving because he/she uses the information and resources created by the network in order to leave the place of origin and settle safely at the destination (Roberts). The literature identifies Latinos mostly with menial jobs in service and agricultural industries and portrays the Latino as a very young ethnic group (Rosenbloom; Bove; Hurst and Cheswick). The high turnover rate and physical requirements of these jobs would lead us to expect that age will have a negative effect on earnings i.e. the older you get the lower you earn.

Nativity

Much of individual's human capital is country specific and, as the social science literature contends, foreign born Latinos tend to be disadvantaged because their cultural and social capital does not readily fit in the US labor market (Bean and Tienda). Reimers suggested that within the Latino population there are significant differences which have some bearings on their success in the labor market. For instance, Valdes (1996) argued that Latinos' perception towards the future and the means to achieve their objectives varied by nativity: foreign born were more driven to work, less selective on the type of work, and their benchmark of success was much lower as compared to US born Latinos. On the demand side, Roberts (1995) argued that foreign born Latinos are viewed by their employers as temporal workers therefore not worthy of positions with a high degree of responsibility.

Appendix 1: Model and Regression Results of Income Earnings for US and Foreign Born Latinos in Non Metro Missouri. 2000. (Source:

Table 4: Model of Income Earnings and definition of the variables

The earning rate is a function of educational attainment, English language proficiency, work experience, gender, age, mobility, racial profiling, and nativity and the interaction effects of English ability and education.

$$\ln W_i = \alpha + \beta_1 Ed_i + \beta_2 E_1_i + \beta_3 E_2_i + \beta_4 W_i + \beta_5 M_i + \beta_6 A_i + \beta_7 RP_i + \beta_8 G_i + \beta_9 EdxE1 + \beta_{10} EdxE2 + \varepsilon_i$$

Variable	Description
Age	= Age in years
E_1	= English ability (1 if speaks English very well or well and 0 otherwise)
E_2	= English ability (1 if speaks English not well and 0 otherwise)
Ed_Att	= Highest level of educational attainment in years
Gender	= 1 if female and 0 otherwise
EdXE1	= Interaction effect of educational attainment and good English ability
EdXE2	= Interaction effect of educational attainment and poor English ability
NPF	= Number of Persons in the Family
Rac_Prf	= Racial Profiling (level of over or under representation in traffic stops in PUMSi)
Wrk_Exp	= Potential Work Experience
Mob	= Mobility

Source: Dozi, P and C. Valdivia. Vulnerabilities and Economics Wellbeing of Hispanics in Non Metro Missouri. Selected Paper American Agricultural Economics Association Annual Meeting, Providence Rhode Island, July 2-27, 2005. Available Electronically at AgEcon Search.

Table 5 Results of the Semi-Log Wage Estimations on the Effect of Human Capital and Demographic factors on Latinos in Non-metro Missouri in 2000

Variables	US Born		Foreign Born	
	Estimate	Std. Error	Estimate	Std. Error
Intercept	9.3046*	0.3709	8.0191*	0.6217
Ed_Att	0.0631*	0.0977	0.0371*	0.0165
Eng_1	0.0012	0.4505	-0.0501	0.1249
Eng_2	0.0001	0.0089	0.0452	0.4501
EdXE1	0.1611*	0.0781	0.0911*	0.0114
EdXE2	0.0112	0.0055	0.0502*	0.0291
Age	0.0231	0.1175	0.0406	0.0881
Gender	0.0012	0.0544	-0.0188*	0.0461
Wrk_Exp	0.0921*	0.0442	0.1409*	0.0049
Rac_Prf ³	-0.0181	0.0033	-0.0116*	0.6278
Mov	0.0211*	0.0187	-0.0497*	0.0072
F	19.5		8.33	
R ²	0.28		0.32	

Source: Dozi, P and C. Valdivia. Vulnerabilities and Economics Wellbeing of Hispanics in Non Metro Missouri. Selected Paper American Agricultural Economics Association Annual Meeting, Providence Rhode Island, July 2-27, 2005. Available Electronically at AgEcon Search

* Significant at 5 percent level; Source: 2000 Census, Public Use Microdata 5% Sample.

³ When modeled for the worse case scenario (the highest values of disparity index) US born = - 0.0188*; Foreign born = - 0.0588*.