A Community Capitals Approach To Assessing Immigrant Access To Community Resources Within A Meatpacking Community

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A community capitals approach to assessing immigrant access to community resources within a meatpacking community

by

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Program of Study Committee:
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# Table of Contents

List of Figures iv  
List of Tables v  
Acknowledgements vi  
Abstract vii  

## Chapter 1. Introduction

- Iowa's Fields of Opportunities In-Flux 2  
- Marshalltown: A Community Changed 3  
- A Community Capitals Framework of Community Resources 6  
- Purpose Statement 7  
- Organization of the Thesis 7  

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

- Community Capitals Framework and the Effects of Social Capital on Immigrants 9  
- Research Pertaining to Latino Immigrants and Acculturation 15  
- Barriers that Latino Immigrants Face and Strategies for Addressing Them 17  

## Chapter 3. Methodology

- Impact of Immigration and Customs Enforcement Raids 22  
- Research Questions 23  
- Study Design 23  
- Strategy for Data Analysis 25  

## Chapter 4. Data Analysis

- Institutional Strategies for Facilitating Access to Health Care Services 27
List of Figures

Figure 1. U.S. Latino growth by region from 2000-2010 2

Figure 2. Marshalltown population change from 1990-2000 4

Figure 3. Marshall County 1990-2007 population change for Latinos and Whites 4
List of Tables

Table 1. Institutional Strategies for Addressing Barriers ........................................ 79
Table 2. Assessment of Institutional Strategies ..................................................... 82
Table 3. Focus Group: A Latino Perspective ....................................................... 85
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Abstract

This research uses a community capitals framework to explore immigrant access to community resources and the influence this access has on community solidarity. The community capitals framework allowed the researcher to target common community resources within Marshalltown, Iowa, a meatpacking community that has experienced a high influx of Latino immigrants. Successful integration of new immigrants is predicated on the availability of tools such as bilingual interpreters, bilingual outreach materials, and flexible identification systems. As institutional practices influence Latino access to public institutions, providing such tools becomes a key strategy for local governments on how to better serve their community by planning better service delivery adapted to its growing diversity.
Chapter 1. Introduction

Political Scientist, Robert D. Putnam wrote that “retaining social cohesion in the context of increased ethnic diversity is one of the pressing issues of our time” and it is certainly turning out to be (Putnam, National Civic Review 2009). For example, since the late 1980’s and early 1990’s large waves of Latino immigrants have moved to Midwestern communities, changing their demographics and impacting their economic, cultural, and social fabric. From 2000 to 2010 the Midwest Region\(^1\) of the United States experienced a 53% Latino population growth rate even though the total Latino population is small, which was second only to the South\(^2\) with its slightly higher growth rate of 56% (Figure 1). Once thought of as static places, Midwestern rural communities such as Marshalltown, Iowa are struggling to maintain social cohesion as the familiar faces of neighbors are replaced by those of new immigrants. Succeeding waves of Latino immigrants are closely associated with the growing demand of meatpacking industries for low-skilled, low-wage labor (Broadway, 2000). New immigrants provide many benefits from industry to culture, but the gradual “browning” of many Midwestern communities has not occurred without some tension (Saenz, 2004). The growth in ethnic diversity has been accompanied by state legislation and city councils which have haphazardly enacted laws that disproportionately impact immigrants such as “English Only” and stringent “Transient Merchant Licensing” requirements. The National Conference of State Legislatures indicated that 1,400 immigration bills were introduced in 2010, 148 laws

\(^{1}\) The Midwest region is comprised of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

\(^{2}\) The South region is comprised of Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana.
were enacted, 10 were vetoed, and 138 resolutions passed totaling 346 (NCSL, Immigrant Policy Project, 2010). Communities, often divided, struggle as to whether to provide resources that welcome new immigrants or whether the act of accommodating such needs will encourage immigrant settlement. This is further complicated by the fear that welcoming the newcomers will adversely impact the quality of life for life-long residents. Social cohesion between immigrants and life-long residents may continue to deteriorate if these issues are simply ignored.

![Figure 1. U.S. Latino growth by region from 2000-2010 (Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of U.S. Census Bureau Redistricting_File-PL_94-171 for states.)](image)

**Iowa’s Fields of Opportunities in Flux**

The fortunes of all communities ebb and flow over time. The restructuring of meatpacking industries in the U.S. has increased the demand for low-wage labor (Broadway, 2000). Iowa, a state strong in agriculture, has several meatpacking communities that have experienced such change. According to the United States
Department of Agriculture (USDA), Iowa ranks in the top 10 for alfalfa, hay, corn, and soybean production (USDA, 2006). It also ranks number one in pig production and commercial slaughter, and egg production. The high pork production in the state has attracted Latino immigrant laborers to settle in Iowa.

Census data reinforces the notion that Latinos are drawn to meatpacking communities. There were 119,734 Latinos living in Iowa as of July 1st, 2007 which is an increase of 45.2 % since 2000 (Iowa Division of Latino Affairs, 2008). This population increase makes people of Latino heritage the state’s largest ethnic group. It is predicted that the Latino population will grow to 305,900 by 2030 and will constitute 9.1% of the Iowa population (Iowa Division of Latino Affairs, 2008). With this in mind, Latinos should be viewed as a valuable resource for Iowa.

**Marshalltown: A Community Changed**

Historically Marshalltown had been a traditionally homogeneous, white American town with a population of a little more than 25,000. This dramatically began to change with the latest wave of immigration which has included more non-Europeans than ever before in United States history. In fact, the Latino population in Marshalltown expanded from 248 in 1990 to 3,265 in 2000, with a growth rate of 1216% (see Figure 2). This is in sharp contrast to a -7.6% population decline for the white group and only a 37% growth of the African American population. By 2007, the Latino population in Marshall County had increased from 313 in 1990 to 5,455 (see Figure 3). At the same time, the white population had decreased from 37,312 in 1990 to 32,521 in 2007. The Latino population growth rescued Marshalltown from experiencing negative population change.

These changes in Marshalltown’s population make it an exceptional location for studying new immigrants’ access to community resources. With Latinos representing 35% of the community school district’s student body, in 2007, it is not difficult to imagine the future of Marshalltown being increasingly diverse (Marshalltown Community School District, 2007).

Marshalltown’s labor force has changed dramatically. Today Latinos make up a large portion of the labor pool at Marshalltown’s largest employer, Swift & Company pork processing and packaging plant3 which employs about 2,200 people. In the 1980’s, the Latino’s labor presence at this plant was not significant but it grew steadily over the years. By 1998 Latinos represented 55.5% of the plant’s workforce (Grey & Woodrick, 2002). Over time wages at meat-processing plants in Iowa have declined sharply. As a result, JBS-Swift is no longer regarded as the strong, middle income, blue collar employer of Marshalltown it was in previous decades. Not unlike the national scenario, racial tension has increased and new immigrants are accused of being the cause for falling wages in manufacturing industries, although the fall in wages preceded their coming in large numbers. Community cohesion is lost as immigrants are often seen as having different values and as a threat to the majority group.

By understanding how institutions assist new immigrants to become quickly acclimated to and full participants within the community, we can explore what influence this might have on community solidarity. It is hoped that the planning profession will learn from the community capitals framework (CCF), which it is anticipated will reveal

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3 Swift was bought by JBS International, a Brazilian meatpacker, a few months after the raids of five Swift plants in December 2006. It is now called JBS-Swift, although people in the community still call it “Swifts.”
experiences that help us understand immigrant access to community resources. Lack of
preparedness and barriers to accessibility such as language barriers or lack of culturally
appropriate outreach techniques are challenges for policy makers and contribute to social
decay. Many of these barriers make communication, interaction, and accessibility
difficult for police officers, firefighters, paramedics, code enforcement officers,
librarians, and many other city officials. The intention of this research is to differentiate
the experiences Latino immigrants and longtime residents have in navigating access to
public institutions, and to ascertain the value immigrant access to community services has
in strengthening social cohesion within the community.

Although many studies have documented the reasons why immigrants have
migrated to Midwestern communities and the barriers they face, where the immigrants
migrate from, and the impacts this migration has had on social capital, local economies,
and labor markets, a gap remains. A study of how immigrant access to community
resources benefits social cohesion and influences solidarity has not been presented. This
thesis, through the use of qualitative research, provides insight to practices that increase
immigrant access to community resources. It is argued that the inability for new
immigrants to access public resources is a detriment to the health, safety, and general
welfare of all residents within the community (Saenz, 2004).

A Community Capitals Framework of Community Resources

This research uses a community capitals framework to understand access to
resources. This is important because equitable access to resources will strengthen and
maintain social cohesion within the community. A community capitals approach allows
us to view the various elements, resources, and relationships within a community and
their contribution to the overall functioning of the community (Jacobs, 2011). If public resources are organized by the various capitals, then a comprehensive, replicable approach to identifying practices which foster immigrant accessibility to public institutions is established. In addition, we are able to study the function and role community resources play in accelerating social cohesion within the community.

**Purpose Statement**

The overall aim of this study is to utilize the community capitals framework (CCF) to define immigrant and institutional informants’ perception of accessibility to community resources.

**Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the subject of study and discusses what changes drive the need for this project. Chapter 2, the literature review, focuses on relevant studies which: (1) describe how the community capitals framework is used for understanding community resources and the effect of social capital on immigrants; (2) offer research pertaining to Latino immigrants and acculturation; and (3) discuss barriers that Latino immigrants face in meatpacking communities and strategies for addressing them. Chapter 3, the Methodology, describes the aims of this study and how the researcher went about doing the study. Chapter 4 is the data analysis which targeted health care, recreation, the police department, and general community services. With each institution interviewed, the following three themes were assessed: (1) language and interpretation services for non-English speaking residents; (2) privacy and eligibility for services requirements which do not inquire about or require citizenship status; and (3) knowledge of services and cultural and legal knowledge. Chapter 5
summarizes the findings of this study, describes how to better serve Latino immigrants and discusses the limitations of the study.
Chapter 2. Literature Review

The literature review for this thesis is organized into three areas: (1) literature which describes how the community capitals framework is used for understanding community resources and the effect of social capital on immigrants; (2) research pertaining to Latino immigrants and acculturation; and (3) barriers that Latino immigrants face in meatpacking communities and strategies for addressing them. The purpose of this review is to shed light on practices that planners and policy makers may use to facilitate the administering of services to new immigrants.

Community Capitals Framework and the Effects of Social Capital on Immigrants

Our ability to attain well-being depends upon the resources we have available to us and our ability to access and use these resources (Loomis, 2002). The same will hold true for subordinate groups who are not customarily familiar to the norms, traditions, languages, or processes needed to access resources set up by and designed for the dominant group. Thinking of these factors systematically enables us to understand what is needed or how persons are equipped to leverage resources, ideas, and information among different groups, social strata, and formal institutions. Community capitals theory is a holistic approach that can be employed to organize and analyze resources, assets, networks, and institutions. The seven community capitals used in this study include: natural, cultural, human, social, political, financial and built. Each community capital has attributes that distinguish it from the others. These are as follows:

1. Natural capital refers to those assets that come from a particular location such as natural resources, the environment and the life-forms within it, its amenities, the landscapes and natural beauty (Wold, 2007). Natural capital strongly influences the cultural capital connected to place (Emery & Flora, 2006).
2. Cultural capital reflects the way people know the world and how they act within it (Wold, 2007). It includes people’s values, customs, heritage as well as their traditions and language (Emery & Flora, 2006). Cultural capital influences the voices that are heard and that have influence. It is the creativity and innovation that a group may collectively hold. These assets include community festivals, ethnic celebrations, language including bilingualism, work ethic, food, and family tradition.

3. Human capital includes individuals’ skills, their ability to develop their own resources, and their ability to access and benefit from outside resources (Wold, 2007). A leader’s knowledge and ability to identify promising practices or mediate through differences is another example (Emery & Flora, 2006). Human capital assets are local leadership development programs, educational or highly skilled clusters within the community. Human capital can be acquired through formal education, informal education, and experience.

4. Social capital describes the connections among people, organizations, and government (Wold, 2007). It has the ability to make things, positive or negative, happen (Emery & Flora, 2006). Bonding social capital happens when like groups or individuals come together for a common cause, and has also been described as the redundant ties that build community cohesion (Emery & Flora, 2006). Bridging social capital refers to loose ties that build and maintain relationships among individuals, organizations, firms, and communities (Wold, 2007). Bonding social capital involves affective ties, while bridging social capital involves more instrumental linkages.

5. Political capital reflects access to power, power brokers, and to the assets that they hold (Wold, 2007). Political capital also refers to the ability of people to make their voices heard and to make contributions to the well being of their community (Emery & Flora, 2007).

6. Financial capital refers to the financial assets available to invest in community capacity-building and to sponsor a new development strategy (Wold, 2007). It is the backbone which supports civic and social entrepreneurship, and assures a community’s ability to generate wealth for future community development (Emery & Flora, 2006).

7. Built capital is the physical infrastructure that supports these activities (Emery & Flora, 2006). This includes water treatment facilities and sewer system, telecommunications infrastructure, road systems, and business inventory.
Literature pertaining to the Community Capitals Framework (CCF) tells us that, though communities may not have an adequate supply of each capital, the systematic targeting of two key resources, human and social capital, in building and development strategies can positively influence the other capitals (Emery & Flora, 2006). Using this approach to organize and frame institutional services will help us to identify areas of neglect and to strategize on how to bridge immigrant access to them. The spiraling-up process as this is labeled, is a strategy to “identify critical investments in social capital as the entry point for community change” (Emery & Flora, 2006, p. 2). Utilizing the CCF will provide further insight as to how communities must be thinking in terms of dualities as they consider these entry points for both dominant and subordinate groups particularly vie for resources, but also seek collaboration and convergence.

A further explanation of social capital is needed to understand the implications of social capital and its effects on immigrants. Three scholars, (a) Pierre Bourdieu, (b) James Coleman, and (c) Robert Putnam represent three schools of thought regarding the concept of social capital and what these investments may look like. Bourdieu saw social capital as the resources or potential for resources that individuals might have at their disposal as a result of their network of mutual acquaintances (Bourdieu, 1984). For Bourdieu, the individuals are not definitively defined by their social class, but rather by the value and capacity of their networks to mobilize resources. In this case, the ability of immigrants to improve their socioeconomic status is contingent upon their relationships or rather the quality of resources found within their networks of family, friends, and co-workers (bonding social capital), as well as their ability to access community and other external resources (bridging social capital).
James Coleman viewed social capital a little differently. He defined social capital through its function. He argued:

> It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors whether persons or corporate actors within the structure. (Coleman, 1988, p.5).

For Coleman social capital is tangible much as are financial, natural, or built capital, except that it is embodied in the multiple attributes of a relationship between and among people. In this instance, immigrant success would be dependent upon their ability to access such mechanisms as trust, reciprocity, and shared expectations. For instance, the stronger the trust and shared expectations between two groups, the greater their social capital would be.

Putnam looks to the value in social networks and the inherent characteristics that exist when any group gathers consistently for a common purpose (Putnam, 2000). He reiterates that its fundamental virtues are reciprocity and trustworthiness which encourage bargaining, compromise, and neighborliness. For Putnam, immigrants must collaborate and engage in collective bargaining practices to improve their overall well-being, thus calling for the need to build coalitions and solidarity. However, Putnam describes the downside of diversity, that it inhibits social solidarity and social capital in the short term because of contention over limited resources, stating that it fosters out-group distrust and in-group solidarity (Putnam, 2007). Putnam put this assumption to the test by conducting a survey to assess how diversity affects social capital in the United States. Surprisingly he found that ethnically diverse communities correlated with not only lower out-group trust but lower in-group trust as well. He defines this process as hunkering down and believes
that governments will need to develop policies that foster and strengthen a shared sense of identity. To impose this theory at first blush is worrisome for policymakers and the intention of this thesis, however, observations of Sturgis et al’s lend themselves to a counter argument (2011). That solidarity, social capital, and trust are not inhibited by increased diversity but rather the relationship between diversity and trust are strongly conditioned upon the number of acquaintances a person has within their neighborhood (Sturgis et. al, 2011). Sturgis et. al findings further argue that within the most economically deprived neighborhoods diversity had no effect while in more economically affluent neighborhoods the effect was found to be weak (2011). The negative effect on trust arises, not from the ethnic diversity per se, but from the experiences of individuals with few acquaintances living within an affluent but diverse community. The solution argued is not to restrict ethnic diversity within neighborhoods but rather increase opportunity for contact and community interaction.

Putnam later contends that with proper support immigration garners creativity, rapid economic growth, and a young immigrant labor force which will offset the economic impacts of the retiring generation. In fact over the long haul, the negative impacts of increased diversity are diminished and will make way for a more encompassing concept of “we” (2007). Putnam’s research is important because it helps us to understand that increased diversity equates to new challenges but that these challenges can be overcome and will ultimately lead to greater rewards. Subsequently more opportunities for meaningful interaction such as community centers, athletic fields, and schools are needed to foster immigrant acculturation. By defining and reinforcing techniques that service providers effectively use to bridge ties between dominant and
subordinate groups, we may arrest the hunkering down process. Currently no research has
defined such a body of techniques available to human-service and local government
agencies, nor has anyone assessed what separates effective techniques from ineffective
ones.

For immigrants, (bridging) social capital plays a significant role in how they are
received by the dominant community thus affecting their ability to improve their
socioeconomic status and well being. Social mobility, educational achievement,
employment, business development and most importantly successful integration are
important to new immigrants. In a study by Hernández-León and Zúñiga 2003,
immigrants experiencing successful integration when moving to new destinations in the
United States often have access to five types of collective resources (which can be
categorized in terms of different types of capitals, or combinations thereof, as I have
indicated in the parentheses at the end of each resource):

1. Resources to effectively distinguish appropriate forms of association,
exchange, legal and municipal rules, values and costumes, dress codes,
friendship and respect (bridging social capital and human capital).
2. Resources to avoid confrontation with local authorities such as
understanding local values and maintaining boundaries (bridging social
capital strengthening political capital).
3. Resources to address unforeseen circumstances. These include family and
loyalty to kin, trust between friends or paisanos (fellow countrymen) and
close contact with sending communities (bonding social capital).
4. Resources to resist assimilation, for example family hierarchy, religious or
family traditions, regional celebrations and symbols, and use of home
country news and entertainment (cultural and bonding social capital).
5. Resources to communicate information about employment opportunities
(bridging social capital).

Hernández-León and Zúñiga inform us that in situations where immigrants have
abundant social capital, linkages to these collective resources are made and new patterns
of economic and community prosperity will begin. With this in mind, it was expected that where social acceptance for immigrants is strong, barriers posed by language, socioeconomic status, health, or knowledge of laws and resources will be more easily overcome. However the influence that immigration has on social capital has not been extensively researched.

A study conducted by Gleeson, Bloemraad and Ramakrishman (2006) attempted to show that sensitivity to the immigrant experience is necessary to understand social and political capitals and found four significant barriers which may keep immigrants from voluntarily being active in the community or seeking public services. These barriers are: (1) length of time in the U.S., (2) socio-economic status, (3) language, and (4) documentation status. Essentially immigrants who spend all their time trying to get their basic needs met, working two jobs, feeling uncomfortable about speaking a non-native tongue, or who are undocumented will not voluntarily engage with the dominant community. This will have a substantial impact on social cohesion in the U.S. if we do not find new ways to bridge the gap as the number of immigrants increases. This will most certainly affect communities in very dynamic ways but if immigrant access to community resources in fact has a positive influence on community solidarity we may need to rethink policies such as “English Only” that cause both dominant and subordinate groups to hunker down. We might also agree that strengthening bridging social capital may serve a greater good.

Research Pertaining to Latino Immigrants and Acculturation

One need not be a social scientist to understand that increasing diversity is more than just the changing faces of the neighbors we meet. It is the sounds, the smells, the
languages, shops, and cultural festivals that both pull us together and push us apart. As our communities change, it is up to our leaders (including service providers and government officials) to discover methods that help new neighbors feel comfortable and safe with one another, build solidarity, and help immigrants avoid the pitfalls of subordination. I argue that one key to avoiding such pitfalls is making community resources accessible to new immigrants. Language use and proficiency; the current economic, political and social environment; ethnic identity, and length of residence within the United States are considered to be factors that affect acculturation, but what can be said for social acceptance (Arcia et al., 2001)? What can we infer if immigrants aren’t accessing resources within our community? If immigrants, as argued by Arcia and others, adapt their cultural practices to their interactions with the dominant cultural group, then perceptions of accessibility to community resources by the subordinate group may be a reflection of social acceptance (Arcia et al., 2001). In short, social acceptance is considered to be a significant predictor of social service use which is independent of the ability to speak English and length of residency (Arcia et al., 2001).

If social acceptance is a significant predictor of social service usage, building cultural awareness among immigrants and police officers may have a greater impact on improving relationships than simply having an interpreter on call at the police department. Although there is a need for police services and laws to be explained to Latino immigrants in their native language this alone won’t build trust. For instance, a recent study showed that 74.1% of police chiefs surveyed in 2007 indicated that mistrust was major issue within their city (Brenner, 2007). As a result Latino immigrants are less likely to seek police assistance and are less likely to serve as witnesses when
neighborhood crime occurs (Brenner, 2007). Again, when looking at police enforcement as a community service, the detriment of not building social acceptance for new immigrants among police officers has a net effect not only on immigrants, but the entire community as well. In a similar fashion this can be applied to all community services. Brenner indicated that several police departments studied have a formal policy that instructs police officers not to ask residents about their immigration status and that out of those police departments, 86.4% said that police officers will communicate to residents that immigration status is not a focus of their enforcement duties (2007). Officers who are using this tactic to build trust within immigrant communities are distancing themselves from federal issues and will help to bring about social acceptance for Latinos as well as greater usage of police services. This too can be a lesson for understanding immigrant perceptions of accessibility to community resources. Therefore it is not a slam dunk to believe that just because an institution provides language services or does not have a residency requirement will necessarily engender trust among Latinos or encourage their usage of that particular service provider.

**Barriers that Latino Immigrants Face in Meatpacking Communities and Strategies for Addressing Them**

To further understand the function and role community resources play it was important to understand what others studies have found regarding the cause of and barriers which immigrants face. Understanding mechanisms that marginalize immigrants will help this study be informed of the pitfalls to achieving community social cohesion that are in place. Author Lionel Cantu believes there are two levels of control that keep immigrants on the periphery. The first, is the political atmosphere which regulates the
mobility of labor and the agricultural processing industry. This system is fundamentally flawed as new industries were enticed through incentives to rural areas, but this new meatpacking system, designed to cheapen the cost of processing meat did not address the resulting labor shortage (Cantu, 1995). Inadvertently, regulations manipulated and permanently marginalized immigrant laborers who were recruited by meatpacking industries when they found that locals were no longer willing to fill factory positions for a dwindling wage (Flora et. al, 2011). This was logical outcome of the increased mechanization of the meatpacking industry which sought a lower production cost through the use of assembly lines, deskill labor force, and moving meat processing from urban to rural areas (2011). Cantu identified as the second factor the outsider phenomenon, a hierarchy in relation to the local community which is maintained and legitimized by the actions of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency (ICE) and supporting organizations, including meat-packing employers who encourage, or fail to prevent, ethnic and racial strife as a way of keeping the workforce divided. The end result is that an atmosphere is created to complicate immigrants’ access to resources. Efforts to build social cohesion between new immigrants and the dominant community are even more difficult under these conditions and have played out similarly in Marshalltown. For example, research on the ICE raid on Marshalltown in 2006 found that the raids resulted in a localized economic recession which had a residual impact on Marshalltown for at least the following six months. It also encouraged individuals who held anti-immigrant views to be more public about their views (Flora et. al, 2011). The details of this research are discussed further in the methodology. However, notable perceptions of an increase in bonding social capital were discovered as more people (Latino and Anglo) mobilized to
find their political voice and work collectively to protect families and the community from the impact of such raids. Collaborative efforts resulted in a raid preparedness plan should the community be devastated by another immigrations and customs enforcement raid. The research concludes that numerous humanitarian reasons exist for immigration reform to occur and allow undocumented immigrants already within the U.S. to achieve citizenship. This study, like others, suggests that policy makers who seek to grow industries without mechanisms in place to address the need for additional laborers contribute to community conflict, directly or indirectly.

If we consider that long term residents and immigrant newcomers are more alike than different when it comes to economic strain and community concerns, shouldn’t we develop policies that are more sympathetic to the plight of immigrants (Dalla, Cramer, & Stanek, 2002)? These researchers found similar patterns between long term resident and immigrant perceptions of individual welfare and status within the community. Those who experienced economic strain similarly experienced poorer nutrition (Dalla, Cramer, & Stanek, 2002). Policies should be mutually beneficial for both immigrants and long term residents. Additionally, how do we make long term residents comfortable with the fact the providing services to immigrants will in time benefit them? A study conducted in Lexington, Nebraska looked at Latino immigrants in rural communities who worked in the meatpacking industry and came up with three recommendations to improve relations. First, create a “positive context of reception for new immigrants”, second create

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4 Workplace raids were suspended by the Obama administration and replaced with individual apprehensions by ICE at the homes of suspected undocumented persons or in conjunction with an encounter with police, who are required to access the ICE data base of unauthorized persons if they arrest someone they suspect of being unauthorized/undocumented.
opportunities for economic development, and thirdly, provide for the children of immigrants (Gouveia & Stull, 1997).

When looking at the acculturation process and how this plays into rural communities and the Latino population the authors suggest that in order for Lexington to become successful they need to incorporate newcomers or in this case immigrants, into the community. This incorporation process needs to include the support of employers who are hiring immigrants and community members who are trained and knowledgeable about the culture and language of immigrants.

Not only is it important to educate community members about newcomers and their culture, but the authors also suggest that Lexington must continue to allow open participation by Latinos in political, economic, and civil society spaces. Latinos need to be involved in policy development and political decision making. This will assist in reducing racism, discrimination, and anti-immigrant sentiments that undermine equitable public policy and practice.

The literature shows that social acceptance and the explanation of laws and requirements in the home language of the immigrant can be a significant predictor of use of community services. In fact, policies restricting questions which reference immigrant status and requiring culturally appropriate materials builds trust and improves immigrant usage of services. In addition, the literature revealed that social capital improved access to health care. However limited government assistance and irregular documentation requirements adversely impacts access. Policy makers have been quick to assist immigrant-dependent industries (e.g., with tax rebates and other location incentives) but have done little to assist the immigrant workers themselves, leading to a
cycle of marginalization. Concurrently, this keeps wages down and is a point of contention among new immigrants and long time residents. There is no research that inventories methods of assistance for immigrants or the perceptions of how accessible resources of the dominant group are to a subordinate group. This research will fill the gap and present information that will inform policy makers in the efforts to improve resource accessibility for new immigrants within the community.
Chapter 3. Methodology

The methodology has been organized into two parts. First, a brief explanation of research collaboration on the Impact of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Raid on Marshalltown, Iowa project and how it relates to this research. Second part pertains to the design of this study and strategy for data analysis.

*Impact of Immigration and Customs Enforcement Raid*

The largest immigration raid on a single company in U.S. history was conducted on Tuesday, December 12, 2006 by ICE. As a result 90 people were arrested in Marshalltown, Iowa and were either deported or transferred to out-of-state federal detention centers. The impact in Marshalltown was significant. As briefly discussed previously a research team, led Jan L. Flora, Professor of Sociology and Extension Community Sociologist at Iowa State University, sought to assess the impact of Immigration and Customs Enforcement Raids in Marshalltown, Iowa (Flora et al, 2011). This research team consisted of the principal investigator, one administrative staff, two volunteers, and three graduate students including myself. This project took place in the spring of 2008. Forty-one structured interviews, 10 short structured interviews, and one key informant focus group were conducted. A community capitals approach was utilized as an organizing framework for each interview question. The assessment relied upon qualitative and quantitative data to measure changes to community capital before and after the raid (Flora et al, 2011). This raid study is important because it used an identical

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5 Raids were also conducted simultaneously on Swift plants in Cactus, Tex.; Grand Island, Neb.; Greeley, Colo.; Hyrum, Utah; and Worthington, Minn.
framework for studying each capital as this study and may provide similar insight on bonding social capital particular to communities under duress.

**Research Questions**

The primary focus of this research is to understand the following question:

1. Do Latino immigrants and institutional informants perceive access to community services differently? If so, does that result in less than optimal service to the Latino clientele?

**Study Design**

This study occurred concurrently with the larger project previously presented. The general objective of this longer study was to assess the impacts of ICE raids on Midwestern meatpacking plant communities. Community capitals were used as an organizing framework to explore questions pertaining to the immigrant access to resources and ICE raid protocols. Since Latino immigration and settlement within rural Midwestern communities is a relatively new phenomenon, qualitative tools were used for their ability to probe little known subjects or processes (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). This approach allowed the specific context of how Latino immigrants access community services to be studied in greater detail so as to obtain knowledge that is interesting and useful. It was important for this study to obtain information from the natural setting so as to identify human interaction that may have played a significant role in the settlement and integration of recent Latino immigrants. In addition, it allowed for greater flexibility and gave the researcher the ability to make adjustments to the study if necessary in light of new information.
The qualitative tools used include open-ended interviews with key institutional actors, focus groups with Latino community representatives, and secondary sources. Open-ended interviews with key institutional actors within Latino and Anglo serving institutions were conducted (see Appendix: A). The institutions included: health institutions, recreation institutions, police department, and general community services institutions. Interviews with each of these institutions allowed for: (a) understanding the general requirements for accessing social and community services in Marshalltown; and (b) understanding the information dissemination process about these services to Latino immigrants. A total of 17 interviews were conducted. A focus group with recent Latino immigrants from Mexico now living in Marshalltown was conducted in Spanish (see Appendices B and C). This allowed for cross-analysis with data and information collected from key institutional actors. In particular, it increased the understanding of (a) general requirements for accessing social and community services in Marshalltown as understood by Latinos; (b) the availability of information about these requirements among Latinos; and (c) immigrant experiences in accessing social and community services. Review of records and brochures of institutions were used to supplement data gathered through open-ended interviews and focus group discussion (see Appendix D). This included the collecting of outreach materials pertinent to the objective and purpose of this study such as brochures, public announcements, fliers, and posters. These documents provided other specific details that may not be covered in interviews, as well as allowing me to identify evidence which might be contrary to the information collected via interviews or the focus group. Observation was used to record each location where these materials were visibly displayed (apart from websites) or posted in town.
**Strategy for Data Analysis**

The interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed into English. The focus group was also digitally recorded, transcribed into Spanish, and then translated into English. The qualitative data analysis software, HyperRESEARCH, aided the data analysis process. HyperRESEARCH was designed to support MAC OS X and Windows platforms, both of which were used in this project. This was due to having transcribed all recordings and building graphs and tables on MAC operating systems while using Windows for writing the thesis. The HyperRESEARCH product was first used in 1991 and has been used by researchers in the social sciences and other fields to code and retrieve data for analysis and the construction of theory. Before utilizing the HyperRESEARCH tool, Excel was utilized for rudimentary code creation which was refined using HyperRESEARCH. Summaries of information coding and sorting started with categories and a theoretical framework derived from current literature on Latino acculturation, immigrants and community capitals, and barriers in meatpacking communities. Transcripts were read several times and coded into themes of language, eligibility requirements, knowledge of services, trust, and social cohesion. Although themes reflect previous studies, new themes were allowed to emerge from the data. Themes are expressed by words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs.

Content analysis began during the course of data collection, rather than being conducted in total at the end. This gave flexibility during research development, data collection, and allowed for the ability to increasingly refine the data being collected in order to obtain more meaningful results. A final result of the content analysis is a
comparison of the common themes and practices found in the interviews and the focus group.
Chapter 4. Data Analysis

The community capitals framework was used to explore how Latino immigrants and institutional informants perceive differently the accessibility of essential community services. Emergent themes from this exploration present a snapshot of the relationship between mechanisms which immigrants commonly confront or are used to promote the availability of services by service providers. Representative quotations provide clear illustrations of the relationship between new immigrants, the public institutions, and the systems these service providers use to transfer service or knowledge of services. The first part of the data analysis focuses on the service provider perceptions (see Table 1). The second part of the data analysis utilizes an immigrant focus group to confirm agreement or discover discrepancies between how service providers perceive techniques used to facilitate immigrant access to resources as described in the interviews (See Table 2). Researcher observations and a review of documents related to services were also used to triangulate the information found in the service provider interviews and focus group portions of the data analysis.

Institutional Strategies for Facilitating Access to Health Care Services

One of the most important functions of a healthy community is to provide for the general health and welfare of its residents. Perceptions of how immigrants access resources may be different for the service providers, than for Latinos using those resources. These differences may affect the overall health and cohesion of the community. Careful interviews with health professionals from the Marshalltown Primary Health Clinic (MPHC) and the Marshalltown Medical and Surgery Center (MMSC) inform us about Latino’s awareness of health related resources. Access to these services
for both documented and undocumented immigrants is important because immigrants are often employed in industries with a high risk of on-the-job injuries. These individuals are then dependent upon a safety net of health related services that serve the uninsured or underinsured but which in turn is seen as a burden by the dominant group. At the MPHC I interviewed an interpreter and the executive director. The interpreter explained that she provides Spanish language interpretive services which include translation of documents, doctor to patient interpretation, and formal communication between the clinic and the client. The executive director stated that she was responsible for employee supervision, financial and organizational operations, as well as many other executive duties. At the MMSC I interviewed a social worker and interpreter. The interpreter explained the services she provides which are similar services as noted above with the inclusion of home visits and emergency on-call services. The social worker provides many services which include patient discharge planning, chronic illness, trauma counseling, and financial and payment assistance, as well as many other duties. In each interview, I targeted 3 themes: (1) language and interpretation services for non-English speaking residents; (2) privacy and eligibility for services, including whether service providers must inquire about or require citizenship status for a client to be served; and (3) knowledge of services and cultural and legal knowledge by both provider and client.

Language

Language is a key resource immigrants need to access health systems. For this research I asked each of the workers mentioned above from the MPHC & MMSC 3 questions: (1) "What provisions are there for interpretation if the patient does not speak
English?; (2) How long does it take for an interpreter to arrive under normal circumstances?; and (3) What languages are covered?"

Both the MPHC and the MMSC provide bilingual services and have made exceptional progress in their efforts to serve Spanish speaking clients. Based upon the interview with the executive director of the MPHC, it was clear that they had significant daily interaction with non-English speaking immigrants legitimizing their requirement that all support staff be bilingual (see Table 1). Additionally the social worker for the MMSC indicated a full-time staff person, a backup staff person, on-call personal, and a Language Line are always available (see Table 1). The Language Line provided by the MMSC is a commercial interpreting provider which provides over the phone interpreting services in over 170 languages. The language line may play an important role in the expansion of services to Latino immigrant groups and, at minimum, is a good precautionary measure for expanding services to new immigrant groups but may not build trust between patient and service provider. The continued use of language line on the behalf of MMSC reflects a growing awareness of the need to bridge services through a competent language services program. One drawback of the backup interpreter identified in the interview with the MMSC social worker is that this person worked in environmental services and was not a health related professional or trained interpreter. This raises numerous red flags in terms of the quality of interpretation as it relates to medical terminology and doctor to patient confidentiality. Response times for interpreter services between these service providers ranged from immediate response to a 10 to 15 minute wait time.
Eligibility Requirements

The fear of citizenship requirements has been a barrier for many undocumented immigrants seeking health related services. Focus group participants confirmed hearing rumors that the hospital will not provide services without a social security card. Even though this is not true the fear remains for those who do not know differently. Both the MPHIC & MMSC indicated having practices which allow them to gather patient information needed to provide services while maintaining client confidentiality regarding documentation status. Providing medical services without requesting documentation such as a social security card or birth certificate should be a priority for all health service providers. The director of the MPHIC indicated that they will often accept an employment alias used by immigrants for accessing services while the MMSC only ask what language the patient speaks (see Table 1). Sharing employment aliases without the fear of being reported by health institutions is a big step in building trust between the immigrant community and these institutions but there is one problem. The director of MPHIC mentioned that when the client requests a release of confidential information after they have received citizenship under their given name, the patient history cannot be released. As the patient’s health history reflects the employment alias for which they were previously insured and treated, the information legally cannot be transferred to the patient once they are insured under their given name (see Table 1). At this point, the patient will need to be re-diagnosed before any additional treatment will be given. The director at MPHIC further noted that this affects any client seeking a health related work release or a transfer of confidential information from one doctor to another. The social worker at MMSC expressed that they are only able to issue a work release based on the given name
on file at the health institution which, once again, may not necessarily be the same name as the alias used for employment (see Table 1). The establishment of trust between the immigrant community and these institutions may expedite a reasonable solution to this problem but it is clear that an alternate method as to how client information may be tracked and transferred would be advantageous.

**Knowledge of Available Services**

The interviews revealed that knowledge of services within the Latino community occurs by word of mouth and that the MPHC and MMSC have been proactive in reaching out to this community. What health institutions do to ensure that bilingual clients have adequate information will have a significant impact on preventive health services, proper use of medical treatments, and affects their ability to make sound decisions. Efforts by health institutions in Marshalltown to reach the Latino population include providing community outreach materials and translation of patient information forms into Spanish and making them culturally relevant. The director of MPHC stated that having language appropriate materials is very important but that word of mouth continues to significantly influence how immigrants hear about the clinic (see Table 1). The director further indicated that the MPHC brochure has been at the print shop for months and there doesn’t appear to be a sense of urgency to have these printed (see Table 1). The social worker at the MMSC stated that they have responded to this need by translating into Spanish up to 90 percent of the informational brochures available for patients. Even though MPHC did not have an agency brochure available, each institution had many brochures and outreach materials about programs, preventive health services, prescriptions, and other resources available in Spanish. Upon visual inspection of the waiting areas and examining rooms, I
noted that many of these items were visibly available. Brochure racks were well stocked with handouts available in Spanish. See Table 4 for a listing of these materials. Focus group participants confirmed results found in the interviews of health institutions. They identified seeing brochures in Spanish and having access to interpreters at the health care facilities.

Both the MPHC and MMSC encourage Latino access to services by providing a significant amount of bilingual services which includes bilingual support staff and interpreters, on-call interpreters, and a language line. Focus group participant confirmed these findings and stressed that the hospital has a lot of interpreters. In addition, these organizations encourage and support access to their services by providing culturally appropriate materials in Spanish which help spread the knowledge of services available to Latino immigrants. The use of alternative identification methods by both institutions allows for immigrant privacy by omitting documentation screenings which might be viewed as intrusive or lead to a heightened sense of fear. This alleviates anxiety felt by new immigrants and builds trust needed for sharing personal information. The following focus group statement is indicative of the importance of this practice and how one institution addressed this concern.

There is a clinic for medical care. If you don’t have a social security number, you pay around $10.00 per person. They give you the service. The department of Healthy Families Abuse Prevention brings information to all Hispanic families. How they have to fill in applications, make referrals.

However, one focus group participant stressed that despite these efforts, there are still holes in the health system which include the importance of knowing ones legal rights to access health care and in particular, children’s rights to access healthcare. Another
participant mentioned that not knowing the cost of medical procedures before treatment was administered was another concern. As the cost can be in the thousands of dollars for a simple medical treatment, this was extremely distressing to the participant who was still uncertain how to navigate such a situation. The cost of dental and vision coverage was mentioned as a barrier by all focus group participants.

**Institutional Strategies for Facilitating Access to Recreation Systems**

The importance of community parks and recreational systems are vastly underestimated in that they contribute immensely to social inclusion and communal cohesion. When considering how to overcome structural barriers conversations often focus on health, public safety, or financial systems. However, parks and recreation have considerable impact in the areas of life long health and learning achievements, thus affecting the growth of social and cultural capital. Interviews with the Executive Director of the Marshalltown Community Y and the Director of the Marshalltown Parks and Recreation Department (MPRD) inform us about Latino’s awareness of recreational activities within Marshalltown. The Executive Director of the Community Y is responsible for the day to day operations of the organization, including the management of staff, management of the budget and finances, and representing the organization. The organization serves primarily Marshall County and the surrounding counties providing recreational facilities and social programs that build healthy communities. The Director of the parks and recreation department is responsible for overseeing the MPRD. Duties include staff management, seasonal activity and program planning, project development, and reports to the City. In each interview, I targeted the same three themes.
Language

Language can play an important role in how effective the Community Y and MPRD are at reaching the Latino community. In general, recreation systems have struggled in their efforts to reach Latino immigrants. For instance, when the director of MPRD was asked how they assisted Spanish speaking residents (interpreters, translation, etc) with accessing their services, the response was discouraging. According to the director, funding has not been made available to provide bilingual services even though there has been a substantial growth in the Latino population in Marshalltown (see Table 1). The director of the Community Y estimates that 12% of the staff is bilingual and indicated that the membership application was available in Spanish. Based upon the interviews it was clear that bilingual staff is needed at the MPRD. This effort would create more opportunities for immigrants and the host community to engage one another in recreational activities and programs. Overall, language specific services are only being half met by Marshalltown’s recreational institutions and the barrier remains.

Eligibility Requirements

When asked “what do immigrants need to receive (or reserve) services” each institution addressed eligibility requirements differently. At the Community Y documentation of citizenship or a state issued I.D. are not required to be eligible for membership or programs (see Table 1). The MPRD does require state issued identification to reserve equipment and to participate in activities (see Table 1). The director of MPRD stated that they used to require a driver’s license but now allow other forms of state issued I.D. (see Table 1). Although this requirement has become less restrictive, the requirement for a state issued I.D. still poses a challenge for many
immigrants who do not have sufficient identification or whom feel uncomfortable about sharing this personal information. As this creates a barrier for some new immigrants, alternate methods for identification should be developed to make reservations for park rental shelters or to sign up for recreational activities, and use sports facilities. This will alleviate that pressure of immigrants finding their own methods of overcoming this barrier such as having a family member or friend reserve park shelters and equipment or forming their own recreational leagues.

Knowledge of Services

The outreach practices each institution has implemented have shown varying degrees of success but improvement is still needed. Thus far, outreach efforts remain minimal because efforts of promoting programs in Spanish or reaching the Latino community have been haphazard. For instance, the Community Y reports having Spanish outreach materials. However, they were unable to produce these materials upon request. Further, MPRD seeks to entice Spanish readers by translating titles of future programs but provides no more detailed information in Spanish. This practice requires immigrants to use friends and family members to translate information. This practice does little to build trust between the immigrant and service provider. While whole heartedly acknowledging the need for this service, the Director of the MPRD indicated they lacked the resources necessary to ensure that the need is being met. Although MPRD utilizes radio, press releases, and a summer mailer to each house each year to market their programs, none of these materials have been translated into Spanish (see Table 1). Similarly the Community Y utilizes brochures and flyers for outreach but all of these materials have been translated into Spanish (see Table 1). As these institutions continue
to implement new methods for disseminating information about services, new technologies are becoming available for translating services and information dissemination but may require a culturally appropriate implementation strategy (See Table 1). For instance, the Community Y has a website and email notification list but these materials and communications have not been translated. MPRD has utilized translating software to translate documents without cross-checking for accuracy.

The interviews revealed that the Community Y and MPRD need to increase strategies specific to language and interpretation services for non-English speaking residents in order to improve Latino access to services. These institutions either had few or no interpreters on staff. Although the Community Y had stated having several interpreters, only one focus group participant had mentioned knowing about this service and commented that this bilingual staff person was only available on Wednesdays in the exercise room. Additionally, MPRD needs to increase strategies specific to knowledge of services to increase Latino awareness of the services available. Translated applications and brochures are necessary in spreading awareness of the recreational opportunities that are available and will encourage Latino participation. Currently, Latinos have started their own recreational activities and formed their own Latino soccer league which does little or nothing to increase community-wide social cohesion. As described by Putnam, this leads to intercultural bonding and contributes to the deterioration of social cohesion within the community. The MPRD and the Community Y should make it a priority to engage new immigrants as this will build trust between immigrants and long term residents. Access to MPRD may be a challenge as alternative methods of identification can be difficult. While the Community Y allowed compromise in utilizing alternate forms
of identification to register for membership, the MPRD had certain types of identification required.

**Institutional Strategies for Facilitating Access to Police Department Services**

The goal of Marshalltown’s Police Department is "to maintain a safe and secure environment for the residents of Marshalltown to enjoy through a proactive community oriented policing philosophy” (Marshalltown Police Department, 2008, p. 1). The enforcement of this goal is premised on the ability to have strong communication and adequate presence within the Marshalltown community. Discussion of the three targeted themes follows. An interview with a Police Chief is the basis for analyzing these themes as they relate to the relationship between the Marshalltown Police Department (MPD) and Latino immigrants.

**Language**

Language poses a significant challenge for police officers and Latino immigrants. The 2000 census showed that Latino’s represent 12.6% of the Marshalltown population, however, the police chief feels that the actual percentages in 2007 are closer to 25 to 30 percent (City-Data, 2007). He stated that his estimate is based upon incidents of contact between immigrants and law enforcement action, which may be disproportionate to the actual number of Latino residents. Ironically, with information gathering a major necessity of law enforcement, the police chief claims to allocate a significant budget for interpreter and translation services but do not yet have a bilingual officer on staff (see Table 1). After several failed attempts at recruiting a bilingual police officer, the police chief believes that they have not had success recruiting Latino candidates because they lack documentation or do not have the educational background necessary for the position.
(see Table 1). The lowering of qualification standards has been mentioned as a strategy to hire bilingual officers but sacrificing quality can have detrimental consequences particularly when the police department and new immigrants are pressured to feel at odds with one another. Hiring an under qualified candidate just for the sake of having a bilingual officer may have an adverse impact on trust between MPD and the Latino community. The employment of a bilingual staff person is an important strategy to ensure that new immigrants play an integral part in community justice and share in the benefits of living in a safe environment. The police chief mentioned that using the language line in a three-way phone conversation is not practical in urgent situations and does not present the physical interaction needed for building trust (see Table 1). The people of Marshalltown would be better served by enhancing communication between the police department and non-English speaking populations. In the long run, these strengthen trust within the Latino community and will lead to a more informed police department.

**Eligibility Requirements**

Standards of identification are an area of frustration for MPD. Positive identification of non-citizens is difficult for police officers to obtain because resources for doing so tend to be limited and further complicated by the political climate. Anti-immigrant activists call for joint enforcement of immigration laws by local police departments and the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency while pro-immigrant groups call for immigration reform. Despite these efforts, local enforcement agencies must fend for themselves and may not have the resources to trace a person’s true identity to their home country. Current practices for issuing work visas or identification, and the deportation of undocumented immigrants, further disrupts the relationship
building process between new immigrants and police officers. This makes it difficult to investigate serious crimes as immigrants are afraid to work with the authorities when they do not trust these institutions. Minor traffic violations are subject to a citation and release regardless of the availability of I.D. while more serious crimes are looked at more thoroughly. Typically the suspect is subjected to further questioning and identification scrutiny but the MPD does not have access to ICE’s information system. Recently the police chief had sought access to one of Immigration Customs Enforcement top partnership initiatives, 287G, which would have made the Police Department a delegated authority for immigration within the Marshalltown jurisdiction. This would have given the MPD direct access to ICE identification and verification database and would have had considerable impact on trust with the Latino community but they were denied funding for the program.

**Knowledge of Services**

Information dissemination and relationship building is an important crime prevention activity and helps to maintain the peace. Knowing community norms, state laws, and local ordinances can be difficult even when you are a life-long resident of Marshalltown as they are subject to change. However, for new immigrants it is even more difficult as they may not have the experience or circle of knowledge which fully understands these rules. When asked "Do police officers speak at events specific to the Latino community or if there is any other outreach done on the part of the police department that is bilingual" the response of the police chief was ambiguous (see Table 1). The police chief indicated that they speak to the Latino community when they are invited but do not actively reach out to the Latino community which would help build
trust. The police chief did indicate that the annual snow ordinance brochure is a bilingual handout generated by MPD and other municipal service agencies have been useful in reaching the immigrant community (see Table 1). The police chief says that this brochure informs residents of what the legal expectations are when the snow ordinance is in effect but stops short of addressing many other legal issues that might also be addressed such as how to acquire building permits or that livestock are not allowed within city limits. In addition the snow ordinance brochure only targets individuals along particular traffic corridors and stops short of building awareness throughout the immigrant community. Particularly as the Latino population grows, adopting institutional practices on behalf of the growing diversity would increasingly benefit all Marshalltown residents and increase a general sense of safety and well being.

As language competency is essential for MPD to build trust so are culturally appropriate outreach strategies. The police chief joined a group of city officials and a professor from the University of Northern Iowa to learn more about the origination of a large number of the new Marshalltown immigrants. After participating in the educational trip to Villachuato, Mexico, City officials have become more familiar with the hometown culture and climate of Marshalltown’s newest residents. The police chief further described in the interview how this experience has shaped the development of a non-funded “Bienvenidos a Marshalltown” video in Spanish, produced by the MPD (see Table 1).

Language continues to be a significant barrier for Latino access to MPD services and was described as source of tension by the focus group participants. The police chief defended not having a bilingual officer by stating that they have not had qualified
bilingual candidates apply for their positions. Focus group participants felt differently and one believes that qualified candidates have not applied because the work environment was hostile toward immigrants and Latinos in general (see Table 3). This type of sentiment demonstrates a source of tension and that more effort to develop trust between MPD and the immigrant community is needed. These sentiments need to be acknowledged and addressed as this will further disenfranchise new immigrants and have an impact on social cohesion. Outreach is another indicator that will require some work. One focus group participant spoke highly of the Hispanic Outreach Neighborhood Advocate program in Des Moines which provides a primary contact within the police department that serves the Latino community. The participant provided the following comment on what has been done in Des Moines and how MPD is different.

There is a program that these two Spanish speaking officers go to the schools and talk to them about their rights. We don’t have that here. In the beginning of the 90’s the Hispanic population was growing and they never had a program that would help the relations between the police and the community. They only have one tape of information to give to the people that ask for it. But they don’t do anything for the police service to be more accessible. There are some handouts in Spanish but that is it.

The HONRA program mentioned above has been a successful resource for building trust between the Latino community and the City of Des Moines. HONRA officers attend community functions, are available to provide interpreter services, and are seen as leaders within the Latino community. They function simultaneously as law enforcement officers and as community liaison for new immigrants who are not familiar with local and state laws. This model of service should be considered in combination with a “Bienvenidos a Marshalltown” series which would accelerate Latino acclimation in Marshalltown. The video should be posted on the City of Marshalltown website or on
Youtube for the public to access. Spanish brochures, as mentioned by the focus group participant, are an informative practice which should be increased as they generate awareness of local laws and ordinances.

**Institutional Strategies for Facilitating Access to General Community Services**

General community service institutions provide numerous services to residents, businesses, and visitors. Various tasks include licensing and business registration, code enforcement, housing, permit and development, adult education and settlement assistance, utility and waste management, road and public transit maintenance, and general community information assistance. For the purposes of clarity, it is important to group the four institutions interviewed into two categories: (a) administrative service institutions and (b) adult education and settlement assistance service institutions. Group A includes the Marshalltown City Manager’s Office (CMO) and the Marshalltown Housing and Development Department (MHDD). Group B includes Marshalltown Community College (MCC) and Iowa Workforce Development (IWD). At the Marshalltown City Manager’s Office I interviewed the City Administrator who is responsible for carrying out the directives of the City Council and making sure the government functions properly, the city administrator is responsible for managing 11 departments. I also interviewed the Director of the Marshalltown Housing and Development Department who oversees permit and development, planning and zoning, and rental and housing assistance programs in Marshalltown. At Marshalltown Community College I interviewed the coordinator of the ESL and Business Training Center, and at the State of Iowa’s Workforce Development Center in Marshalltown I interviewed the workforce supervisor who works primarily with the Latino population.
providing them with job placement, resume, and unemployment assistance. Again, the same three themes were discussed: (1) language and interpretation services for non-English speaking residents; (2) privacy and eligibility for services, including whether service providers must inquire about or require citizenship status for a client to be served; and (3) knowledge of services and cultural and legal knowledge by both provider and client.

Language

How general community service institutions address the language barrier differs between administrative service institutions and adult education and settlement assistance service institutions. The CMO and MHDD do not consistently have bilingual staff available where as MCC and IWD had several staff members available for interpretive and translation services. When asked how services are provided to primarily Spanish speakers and if interpreters were available the CMO and MHDD was dependent upon whether or not the individual had brought an English speaking friend or family member (see Table 1). It was not uncommon to ask family and friends of the immigrants to translate. Unfortunately, this practice is problematic as family members, friends, and children may be reluctant to ask questions when they do not fully understand or when they feel embarrassed about the conversation. In addition, there might be times when these individuals may be uncomfortable acting as the default interpreter but are too afraid to ask for a qualified interpreter. Also, in certain situations the terminology may go beyond their abilities and may result in the client not receiving the appropriate information needed to obtain the service. Off and on, the CMO and MHDD have had bilingual staff but have primarily depended upon the non-English speaker to provide her
own interpreter. While the CMO and MHDD lacked qualified interpreters, MCC and IWD both have several bilingual staff on duty fulltime to address this need. In fact MCC boasted that 50% of the staff is bilingual and IWD stated that approximately 25% of its staff of 40 in Marshall County is bilingual. The number of bilingual staff employed at these institutions demonstrates that they understand the needs of immigrants by providing the resources that they require.

**Eligibility Requirements**

Documentation and citizenship requirements remain a barrier for immigrants trying to access some general community resources. Of the service providers, MHDD and the CMO were the only institutions which directly prohibited access to specific programs for immigrants who could not provide a United States social security number or birth certificate. For instance, MHDD prorated housing assistance based upon the number of legal residents living within the households (see Table 1). Unfortunately, children of undocumented immigrants are often inadvertently punished by the policies which seek to deny resources to non-citizens. Further probing of this practice revealed that in many situations the entire family is rendered ineligible for assistance (see Table 1). Although MCC tracks demographic information they do not require a social security card or birth certificate to enroll in classes. Similarly IWD does not require these documents but do require a check stub as program eligibility is income based. Additionally they accept the practice that some individuals have two names, one for which they are employed and their birth name (see Table 1). An open enrollment process which doesn’t penalize or restrict access to services based upon citizenship is beneficial to immigrants needing specific services. The alternative method used by MCC for tracking students within their
system rather than mandating the use of a social security number will help immigrant students feel more comfortable with providing documentation information (see Table 1). As students may feel uneasy about providing personal information that could jeopardize themselves or their families, this is a beneficial strategy.

**Knowledge of Services**

Like the language and eligibility barriers for these institutions, outreach efforts to the Latino community is polarized but not in the same fashion previously shown. The representative of MHDD was uncertain as to how their institution reached out to new immigrants. Admittedly, they were not alone as the MCC interview revealed that under recent evaluation, outreach to new immigrants had been determined to be a serious problem and extensive efforts were being made to reach Latinos (see Table 1). Surprisingly while MCC and MHDD need to improve outreach, the CMO and IWD have made reasonable efforts to increase exposure within the immigrant community. Their efforts included Spanish news and radio advertisements, bilingual mailings, and informational brochures. For immigrants, these strategies are beneficial for expanding their knowledge of services available to them and help build their confidence and trust in the institutions that provide them. An evaluation of the effectiveness of these techniques would be beneficial but knowing that these strategies are being implemented is an important finding.

The CMO and IWD facilitated immigrant knowledge of services available by providing numerous brochures and handouts in Spanish. The bilingual materials covered such programs as the Lead Hazard Control Grant, Cleaniac: Take Pride in Marshalltown, and the Medical and Surgery Center Volunteer Program. Although this study does not
reveal if these materials alone generate immigrant participation, being involved in these programs will build trust and expedite social cohesion between them and the long term residents. Of the general community service institutions interviewed, the only institutions that had bilingual staff were IWD and MCC. Having bilingual staff is a reasonable expectation of all service institutions, particularly as Spanish brochures explaining other programs such as tax abatement, permit and development, public nuisance, rental assistance, and eligibility requirements, are not available. The lack of bilingual staff and the translated materials will limit immigrant participation in these programs and allow neighborhoods and neighbor relationships to deteriorate as resources are disproportionately underutilized in areas with high concentrations of new immigrants.

**Focus Group: A Latino Perspective**

A focus group of recent Latino immigrants who settled in Marshalltown was used to analyze Latino perceptions of resource accessibility. The intention was to understand how immigrants learned to access, leverage, and utilize community resources that were set up and designed to serve the dominant group. Participant experiences in some cases reinforced, and in other instances, were contrary to the findings obtained from the institutional interviews.

Marshalltown Parks and Recreation Department did not perform well on any of the three strategies targeted within the interviews. Focus group participants expressed concerns regarding recreational services, noting the creation of a separate Latino soccer league. Only one participant expressed having knowledge of a bilingual staff person one day a week in the exercise room of the Community Y. Other than that, no favorable connection to any recreational service was described. The experiences presented by the
focus group participants didn’t reflect a strong sense of comfort in utilizing recreational services despite each institution reporting high levels of Latino youth participation. This may indicate that Latino youth are accessing these resources while Latino adults are finding their own activities or simply do not have the time. As recreational opportunities can play an important role in establishing close relationships, the ability to establish trust is restricted by not having services that facilitate Latino participation. As these opportunities can help Latinos overcome barriers to social and cultural capitals, quick implementation of culturally appropriate strategies should be considered to generate immigrant interest in the parks system and community recreational programs. If the focus group is representative of the Latino population, opportunities to build social capital are considerably restricted.

The MPD is another example of an institution that did not perform well on any of the strategies assessed. On top of not having bilingual staff or a significant outreach effort to the immigrant community, focus group participants did not provide any indication that the police department was a trusted resource (see Table 3). In fact the police department was not viewed as accessible and one participant described it as having a bad reputation amongst Latinos. Substantial efforts by the police department are necessary to reclaim trust among Latinos. As described in the literature review, policies which restrict the questioning of an individual’s citizenship and the implementation of a culturally sensitive inquiry and reporting process may provide a significant vehicle for building trust.6

6 Unfortunately, policies of the Obama administration have made it difficult for local law enforcement to not have a relationship with ICE (see footnote #4). Strict rules against racial profiling and a focus on community policing could, however, strengthen ties with the Latino community.
The Marshalltown Primary Health Clinic and MMSC are health institutions which performed very well on each of the strategies assessed. The Latino participants expressed considerable knowledge and usage of MPHC and MMSC services (see Table 3). These institutions differ from MPD and MPRD because they provide life saving services. Life saving services may contribute to people’s willingness to subject themselves to the language, eligibility, and outreach barriers in order to obtain treatment. This may alleviate the need for bureaucratic policies to be amended which are often slow to change and can be controversial. However, policy makers are beginning to make the shift from simply providing assistance to programs that actively support immigrants. In the past, local and state policymakers recruited low-wage industries which contributed to the labor shortage and need for immigrant labor. Iowa Work Force Development (IWD) is one example of this shift as they provide many services to immigrants who support Iowa’s economy. As this assistance includes job placement assistance, job training, and resume writing, IWD effectively utilizes language, eligibility, and outreach methods appropriate for targeting all types of Latino immigrants (see Table 3). Marshalltown Community College’s (MCC) education and training center is another example of this change as citizenship and language proficiency classes, as well as career achievement and GED classes in Spanish are offered to new immigrants (see Table 3). Both MCC and IWD were described in the focus group as helpful institutions. One participant described it this way, “we talked to the lady and they help you with any information from the Times Republican newspaper. They speak Spanish and told us it was for Latinos. She was trying to help us gather information” (see Table 3). This participant showed a sense of appreciation and trust in describing this institution. It was clearly apparent that a bilingual
staff person was instrumental in developing this relationship. It is worth noting that these institutions receive state or federal funding which may be a contributing factor but the private sector has similarly responded to some immigrant needs. Multiple focus group participants gave examples of how banks and real estate agencies have added bilingual staff but this occurred over time.

The CMO and MHDD did not perform as well as other general community service providers (see Table 2). It is interesting that the organizations that consistently performed well on the assessment criteria were those not directly or substantially supported by the local government. For instance, MCC, IWD, MPHC, and MMSC are institutions that receive funding from the state and federal government. Local government receives some support from them as well but property taxes are used to support the primary operating budgets for CMO, MHDD, and MPD. Interestingly, as the CMO begins to include bilingual outreach strategies in for collecting City water bills and through an annual bilingual flier night, an expectation is beginning to take hold (see Table 2). The annual bilingual flier night is intended to inform all residents, from both dominant and subordinate groups, about the snow ordinance. It is clear from the focus group data that those institutions which support immigrants are positively influencing the lives of Marshalltown’s newest residents. Simple efforts to inform the public as provided through a bilingual insert in the water bill will make a difference and building trust is mutually beneficial to the dominant and subordinate groups.

Institutions that demonstrated multiple weaknesses in the institutional assessment would provide benefits to the entire community if they adopted similar practices as their progressive counterparts. Currently there is neither accountability for these institutions
nor incentive for funding the strategies needed to better serve new immigrants. This creates a problem for immigrants who must advocate on behalf of themselves as it creates resentment by the dominant group. In one interview the following concerning a rally for immigrant rights was noted as having adverse impacts on the community:

“There was a gathering up town at the courthouse. My daughter-in-law spoke at that; it was a rally or whatever you call it. Anyway, my daughter said, “Mom, let’s go.” I was hesitant but we went. That was really, really a rude awakening for me. There were Caucasians across the street who said everything derogatory under the sun, derogatory comments. Then we had to leave so I told my daughter, “Let’s not drive down Main Street.” She said, “Oh, yes, let’s drive down Main Street.” I thought, “Oh, gosh!” They must have called me and said to me, “Go back to your country! Go home!”

Intentions are easily misunderstood when immigrants begin to stand up for their rights. As explained by Putnam, this leads to a “hunkering down” of the life-long residents if efforts aren’t made to bridge these populations; otherwise the building of social cohesion will stall. In another interview it was explained that immigrants “attend church, they make use of the parks, they attend community celebrations and events but to actually engage them in clubs, engage them in government at any level has been a struggle.” The tone of this interview coupled with the fact that this institution performed poorly on the institutional assessment demonstrates a trust deficit. From this perspective it is easy to come to the conclusion that some institutions will simply not respond to culturally appropriate strategies due to personal bias. The successful integration of new immigrants is predicated on the availability of tools that will facilitate their access to community resources. Communities that deprive new immigrants of these tools are erecting barriers to the civic and social engagement of these residents and most certainly are depressing the social capital of the subordinate groups – and of the community as a whole.
Chapter 5. Conclusions

*How to Better Serve Immigrants and Increase Social Cohesion*

Four important strategies should be adopted to better serve immigrants as it will help them quickly acclimate and possibly squelch hunkering down in the greater community. These are: (1) do not deny services based upon the inability to produce state or federal identification; find an alternate identification system; (2) be flexible in providing services that reasonably respond to cultural norms such as work schedules or large families; (3) do not overlook the need for interpretation and translation services and make funding these services a priority; and (4) provide and make mandatory continued cultural competency training for all supervisory and support level staff.

*Limitations of the study*

It is important to note the challenges when trying to put together a focus group of new immigrants within Marshalltown. Based upon appearances alone, many immigrants were friendly and receptive to talking with me even though I am outsider to their community. I am a 3rd generation Latino male who was born and raised in Iowa which may be an influencing factor why some immigrants were willing to speak with me about issues of a sensitive nature. However, the fact that English is my primary language made data gathering a challenge. As accuracy is important part of research, I was dependent upon the assistance of others to establish connections to the immigrant community. For this reason, I address my second challenge which is relying heavily on local service providers to provide participants for my focus group. This too is a challenge as local service providers may not be as motivated as the researcher to find focus group participants.
Local service providers and leaders within the Latino community were very helpful in assisting me with this study. First, they helped me find a neutral location for holding the focus group so that participants would feel comfortable and relaxed. Next, they found several participants that accepted to participate in the focus group, of whom which we agreed to pay $20.00. However, the problem with this process became evident when only four of the seven focus group participants showed up to the meeting. In hindsight, this may have been avoided if courtesy calls had been made a day in advance to remind each participant of the meeting time and location. This was reflected in informal conversations with a few of the participants at their arrival to the meeting. A few noted they had forgotten about this meeting or had trouble finding the location. Another issue had to do with giving each participant the money for their time. These participants were very proud and were happy to participate in the study. Accepting money seemed to be a challenge for many of the participants and should be worked out in advance. This may help to alleviate feelings of being put on the spot. This might be done by placing the money in a research packet that explains the program and thanks them for their participation.

The third, possibly unavoidable challenge is that within small communities it is likely that individuals will know each other and in my case even be related to one another. Of the four focus group participants, two were related. Once again, this is partially to be expected in small towns and should be recognized as it may have some bearing on the data that is being gathered. For example, one focus group participant was very vocal about the experiences of another participant as that person was telling their own story. There seems to be a tendency for the more vocal participants to attempt to talk
over or for the other participants that they know well. This may be alleviated in the future by simply screening the participants.

**Suggestions for Future Research**

One researcher argues that trust and reciprocity among citizens as well as civic engagement help service providers to be more efficient, but does increased usage of community resources mean greater social cohesion (Hendryx, 2002)? If it does in fact have a positive impact on social cohesion shouldn’t we utilize social capital strategies to improve immigrant access to resources and to build trust? Further study should elaborate on the findings that demonstrate that social capital does improve immigrant access to resources as well as builds social cohesion between dominant and subordinate groups. Thus we can conclude that when social capital is strong in immigrant communities, immigrant access to community resources will be strong as well. Researcher Hendryx, asks a final question in his study: if social capital does contribute to more effective community accountability, how can we focus it to improve health care services? However the question should be, how can we enhance social capital to improve social cohesion because it may not at all be what’s happening in our communities that leads to a hunkering down but rather what is not (shared recreation, involvement in the local decision making process, responsible civic and media dialogue, etc.).

The study, as is, provides some valuable information. There is a positive correlation between immigrant access to community resources and overcoming structural barriers which include language, eligibility requirements, and knowledge of services. Institutional strategies do influence Latino access to community and can play a significant role in building trust between members of the community. This could be a key
strategy for local governments on how to better serve their community by better serving its growing diversity. After all, such institutional strategies may help communities expedite social cohesion in the context of increased ethnic diversity.
References


Appendix A

*List of Protocols by Institution*
List of Protocols by Institution

Parks and Recreation Protocol

1. Have you seen any change in park usage since the Swift Raid occurred on Dec. 12, 2006? Do you keep a registry of complaints about behavior in City parks? (Ask if and how we might have access to the info.)

2. What percentage of parks & recreation organized program participants are Latinos? Latino children?
   Probe: Are demographics of participants available for each activity/sport, can we have access? [If not, ask if could this be done by counting the names of sign-ups for each sport that are Spanish surnames and those that are not for comparable months in 2006, 2007, and 2008.]

3. What Information must the client provide to sign up for parks and recreation programs? May we have a copy of the forms?

4. Do you have outreach materials or programs made available in Spanish, i.e. announcements, recreation programs, rules, brochures, etc? Do you have Spanish speakers on your staff? In what positions?
   Probe: Do you make other special efforts to advertise your services to Latinos or to directly recruit them? If yes, please give a couple of examples.

Community Y Protocol

1. Have you noticed a change in participation of Hispanics/Latinos in your programs since the Swift raid? Immediately after the raid? Six months after? Now? Do you keep any statistics on participation? May we have access to this information?

2. What information must participants provide in order to sign up for a membership? Ask if we may have a copy of the membership forms?

3. What outreach materials or resources do you have available in Spanish, i.e. announcements, programs, rules, brochures, website, etc? Do you have Spanish speakers on staff?

4. Do you make other special efforts to advertise your services to Latinos or to directly recruit them? If yes, please give a couple of examples.

Primary Health Clinic Protocol

1. What provisions are there for interpretation if the patient does not speak English? Do you have Spanish speakers on your staff? In what positions?
Probe: How long does it take for an interpreter to arrive under normal circumstances? What languages are covered?

2. What service brochures/outreach materials/patient care rules, etc. do you have in Spanish? Where are they distributed? Ask if we may have a copy? [Observe to see if they are laid out for patients to see and pick up.]

3. Do you have an application form we may look at? Is it the same application form for all programs? [Ask if it is OK to keep.]

Probe: Are your services available to all persons, regardless of their immigration status? Do you have a sliding fee scale, or are all services free? How do you handle provision of medicines to low-income patients?

What are your greatest challenges in serving the Latino/Hispanic population? In serving undocumented immigrants?

**Marshalltown Medical and Surgery Protocol**

1. What kind of documentation do patients have to provide in order to be served? Would it be possible to look at an intake form? [Ask if we may have a copy.]

Probe: How do you deal with persons who come to the emergency room with an ailment that is not a true emergency?

2. What provisions are there for interpretation if the patient does not speak English? How long does it take for an interpreter to arrive under normal circumstances? What languages are covered?

Probe: What service brochures/outreach materials/patient care rules, etc. do you have in Spanish? [Ask if we may have a copy.]

3. Was there a change in utilization of the emergency room by Latinos following the Swifts raid of December 2006?

Probe: Immediately following the raid? Six months after the raid? When did utilization return to normal?

**Community College Protocol**

1. What are the eligibility requirements to take regular classes? May we see an enrollment application? (once they show form, ask if it’s OK to keep.)

Probe: If the form asks for social security number, what are the options if the person is undocumented?
2. What financing options are available for Latino Immigrants?

Probe: How many scholarships are specifically for or give preference to Hispanics/Latinos or immigrants? Are tuition scholarships available? Have you provided tuition scholarships for any graduates from Marshalltown High School who are immigrants? With documentation? Without?

3. Are brochures and outreach materials available in Spanish? Do you have Spanish speakers on staff? If so, what positions.

4. What percentage of your student enrollment are Latino immigrants? [Ask if they have demographic reports for 2006, 2007, 2008 that we may access.]

Probe: Were there changes in student enrollment immediately after the raids (6 months later, now)? Changes in ESL classes? Spanish classes?

**Marshalltown Education and Training Center Protocol**

1. What are the eligibility requirements to take regular classes? May we see an enrollment application? (Once they show form, ask if it’s OK to keep.)

Probe: If it asks for social security number, can they supply a different piece of identification?

2. How do Latino immigrants learn about your services? i.e. announcements, programs, rules, brochures, etc? Do you make other special efforts to advertise your services to Latinos or to directly recruit them? If yes, please give a couple of examples.

3. Have there been changes in enrollment since the Swifts raid? Changes in ESL classes? Changes in citizenship class enrollment? Changes in enrollment in Spanish classes? [Try to get actual figures, if possible. Ask the questions about immediately after, 6 months later, and now.]

**Public Library Protocol**

1. What documents should I bring with me if I wanted to get a library card and have access to the services of the library?

Probe: Would it be possible to look at an application form? [While you are looking at it, ask if you could keep it.] [If the form requests a social security number, ask if there is an alternative source of identification that could be presented.]

2. What adult, youth, and children programs are available? Are any of these programs available in Spanish? What was Latino participation like before the raid, after the raid, now?
Probe- E.L.L. & Literacy.

3. What are the requirements for computer and internet usage at the library? What was Latino participation before the raid, immediately after, now?

Probe: Has checking out of Spanish language books changed since the Swift raid? [Ask if they could check figures for December 2005 or January 2006, May 2006, the first month after the raid (December 2006 or January 2007), May 2007, and January 2008.]

Housing and Community Development/City Clerk Protocol

1. How do Latino immigrants learn about municipal ordinances? Do you have outreach materials or programs made available in Spanish, i.e. announcements, recreation programs, rules, brochures, etc? Do you have Spanish speakers on your staff? In what positions?

2. Can you describe any municipal ordinances that have adversely impacted the immigrant community?

Probe: Are there ordinances that restrict multi-generational families from living in a single dwelling? Restrict the number of vehicles per household? Restrict poultry or live stock within city limits?

3. Can you mention any resources that restrict access to those living with extended family.

4. Can you give a couple of examples of how Latinos/immigrants were brought into the local public decision making process? Did they end up playing a significant role in the particular decision?

Probe: Are nuisance complaint forms available in Spanish? If so may we see one? Ask if you can keep it. Applications for city council.

Mayor Protocol

1. Can you give a couple of examples of how Latinos/immigrants were brought into the local public decision making process? Did they end up playing a significant role in the particular decision?

City Administrator Protocol

1. Please describe how a new Spanish-speaking person who comes to town gets settled (finds a place to live, figures out where to shop, gets transportation, looks for a job, etc. How is it different if s/he does not already have relatives in the community? (Hispanic
Ministries, Swift, Ministers, New Iowans, etc.) Please briefly describe the City of Marshalltown’s [New Iowans Center’s] role in the settlement process of new immigrants.

Probe for city administrator: Are settlement services reflected in specific program budgets (i.e. housing, economic development, public health, & recreation)

2. What settlement services are available? i.e. community orientation, service referrals, interpretation and training, or employment services.

3. Can you think of resources that restrict access to those living with extended family? If so, please explain.

**Police Department Protocol**

1. Do police officers attend and speak at meetings in the Latino community? If so, please explain? Do they have a Latino outreach coordinator? Do they offer a citizen’s police academy in Spanish?

2. When you stop someone, say, for speeding, what documents, besides their driver’s license, do you ask for?

3. Do police officers work with the Latino community to determine specific challenges and to improve service provisions?

4. Would you say that there was a change in crime or traffic violations following the raid? If so, did they increase or decrease? How long did it take for the statistics to return to normal? [Here is a good place to ask for access to the statistics.]
Appendix B

Protocolo para Conocer el Uso que los Migrantes Latinos Hacen de los Servicios

Prestados por las Instituciones Públicas en Marshalltown: Grupo Focal con Emigrantes Latinos
Protocolo para Conocer el Uso que los Migrantes Latinos Hacen de los Servicios Prestados por las Instituciones Públicas en Marshalltown: Grupo Focal con Emigrantes Latinos

Estamos estudiando el uso que la comunidad de migrantes latinos o hispanos hace de los servicios que prestan las distintas Instituciones públicas en Marshalltown. Nuestro objetivo es proveer un análisis exacto sobre los servicios que prestan estas instituciones públicas a los nuevos inmigrantes, para desarrollar estrategias que ayuden a promover la integración de los mismos y para mejorar las oportunidades de la comunidad Latina dentro de Marshalltown. Esta conversación está diseñada para informar a las autoridades y encargados de hacer políticas públicas sobre los retos de un re-asentamiento dentro de las comunidades rurales.

1. Servicios Generales de la comunidad

A. Pedir a un par de emigrantes que recién han llegado que expliquen cómo llegaron a establecerse y después pedir a los demás que den sus comentarios.

- Sondear: “¿Cómo encontró su vivienda, cómo consiguió la conexión con los servicios de teléfono, agua, luz? ¿Cómo consiguió trabajo? ¿Cómo matriculó a los niños en la escuela? ¿Cómo supo dónde hacer las compras? ¿Cómo conoció a los vecinos? ¿Cómo se enteró de las actividades de recreación y de deportes?” Orientación sobre la comunidad, referencias a servicios básicos, intérpretes, capacitación, servicios de empleo.

B. ¿Hay organizaciones o agencias que han hecho un buen trabajo particularmente sirviendo a latinos?

1. Sondear: ¿Qué sabe acerca de los [agentes inmobiliarios/ de bienes y raíces,] dueños de casas, agencias de servicio social, negocios locales? (Si mencionan negocios, averiguar si hablan de dueños latinos o dueños anglos o ambos) ¿Qué sabe sobre Swift, organizaciones latinas, oficina de Extensión, la biblioteca, las escuelas, Centro de educación y entrenamiento, el Community College, New Iowans Center, las iglesias?

C. En general, puede mencionar en qué forma las organizaciones o agencias pueden mejorar los servicios prestados a emigrantes latinos recién llegados.

2. Explicación: al decir ‘pueden mejorar los servicios’, nos referimos a mejorar el conocimiento bilingüe y cultural, hacer los requisitos de selección más flexibles, distribuir información específica a emigrantes, incrementar el número de servicios

7 Nota para el facilitador. Empezar esta sección preguntando a un emigrante recién llegado para poder obtener información actualizada.
específicos a emigrantes, crear una guía de servicio de establecimiento de emigrantes o un programa, etc.

3. Sondear: ¿Puede dar ejemplos acerca de los agentes inmobiliarios, dueños de casas, agencias de servicio social, negocios locales? (Si mencionan negocios, averiguar si hablan de dueños latinos o dueños anglos o ambos) ¿Qué sabe sobre Swift, organizaciones latinas, oficina de Extensión, la biblioteca, las escuelas, Centro de educación y entrenamiento, el Community College, New Iowans Center, las iglesias?

2. Información sobre los servicios de salud

A. [Pedir a una pareja de emigrantes recién llegados que expliquen cómo tienen acceso a servicios médicos para sus familias y después pedir que otros comenten]:

1. Sondear: ¿puede decírnos qué programas relacionados a la salud están disponibles para los emigrantes indocumentados? ¿para los nuevos emigrantes con menos de 5 años in los Estados Unidos con la Green Card? ¿para los emigrantes de varios años con la Green Card? (State Children’s Health Insurance Program (SCHIP), cuidado prenatal, asistencia con alimentación, emergencias de Medicaid) ¿Cuáles son los requisitos para entrar?

B. ¿Conoce algún inmigrante que haya llegado recientemente y que haya utilizado cualquiera de estos servicios? Si lo conoce, describa lo que sabe.

2. Sondear: ¿Cómo llegó a conocer acerca de estos servicios? (Familia, amigos, de boca de otros, anuncios, folletos, trípticos, de la agencia misma,, etc.) Si mencionan folletos o anuncios, ¿dónde los encontraron? ¿habían traductores? ¿fueron amables en el servicio?

C. En general, ¿puede mencionar en qué formas se pueden mejorar los servicios de salud dirigidos a emigrantes latinos? Explique, por favor.

3. Sondear: Casos en los que se negó servicio a la gente y porqué (en la sala de emergencia, hospital, consultorio, salud pública, centro de salud mental, clínica gratis, farmacia), ¿Falta de intérprete?

3. Información sobre la participación política

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8 Nota para el facilitador: Excluye servicios de salud y del gobierno, estos están incluidos en la sección 2 y 3. Si alguien los menciona, indíquenle que serán tratados mas adelante.
a. Podría describir como las autoridades locales han apoyado a los emigrantes Latinos que tienen una posición de liderazgo dentro de la comunidad?, Cómo y dónde ocurrió? Estos líderes, están aún activos como tal?

b. Puede decirnos si los emigrantes latinos han sido invitados a participar en el proceso de toma de decisiones. ¿Cómo y dónde ocurrió? ¿Terminaron realizando un papel significativo? ¿Son activos en el papel de toma de decisiones? Tiene algunos ejemplos?

c. [Pedir a un par de emigrantes recién llegados que expliquen como aprendieron acerca de las leyes, regulaciones y ordenanzas en Marshalltown y después pedir a los demás opinen.] ¿Cómo ha trabajado el Departamento de Policía con los emigrantes latinos para asegurarse de que exista más inclusión social y mejor calidad de servicios a la comunidad? ¿La planificación y urbanización?

4. Sondear: ¿Puede mencionar ejemplos de cómo la Policía colabora con la comunidad latina? ¿Asiste la policía a las reuniones que tiene la comunidad latina, ofrecen material de servicios a la comunidad en español o frecuentan lugares con una alta presencia de latinos? ¿Hay un intérprete disponible?

D. ¿Puede mencionar alguna regulación que restrinja a los emigrantes latinos de acceder a los recursos públicos, a la participación política o a la integración? Explique.

5. Sondear: ¿Puede mencionar algún reglamento ú ordenanza que ha impactado o continúa impactando de forma negativa a los emigrantes latinos tales como no poder estacionarse en la parte frontal de casas, límite de dos carros por vivienda o una ordenanza para que vivan solamente miembros inmediatos de una familia en una vivienda? ¿Sabe si existen servicios a los cuales no es fácil tener acceso si hay personas que están viviendo con familiares indirectos (no son familia en primer grado)? ¿Qué restricciones hay en relación al tener animales o aves de corral dentro de los límites de la ciudad?

E. ¿En general, piensa que los emigrantes recién llegados participan de lleno en la vida de la comunidad en su ciudad?

6. Explicación: al decir ‘participan en la vida de la comunidad’, nos referimos a visitar restaurantes locales, unirse a clubes sociales y cívicos, ir a la iglesia o mezquitas, participar en las funciones de la escuela (Asociación de padres y profesores PTA, conferencias de padres y profesores, eventos deportivos, etc.) o pasan tiempo en parques y otros lugares de reunión social?

F. ¿Existen organizaciones de latinos o emigrantes que sean efectivas en Marshalltown? ¿Qué contribuciones han hecho a la comunidad?
7. Sondear: ¿Cómo se enteraron acerca de estos servicios? (Familia, amigos, de boca en boca, anuncios, folletos de agencias, servicios administrados de oficinas, etc.)
Si fueron anuncios o folletos de agencias, ¿dónde los encontraron?
Appendix C

To Know How Immigrants are Using Public Institutional Resources in Marshalltown:

Focus Group of Latino Immigrants
To Know How Immigrants are Using Public Institutional Resources in Marshalltown: Focus Group of Latino Immigrants

We are studying the accessibility of public resources in the settlement of Latino/Hispanic immigrants in Marshalltown. Our objective is to provide an accurate analysis of how public and community institutions serve recent immigrants, develop strategies for enhancing opportunities within the municipality, and provide for the integration of Latino immigrants. The discussion is intended to inform city planners and policy makers about the challenges of resettlement within rural communities.

1. General Community Services

A. Ask a couple of very recent immigrants to explain how they got settled and allow others to comment.

Probe: How did you find housing, learn how to get utility hookups, find a job, get children enrolled in school, learn where to shop, get to know your neighbors, learn about recreational opportunities, etc? i.e. public assistance, service referrals, interpretation, employee training, or employment services.

B. Are there particular organizations or agencies that have done a particularly good job in serving Latinos?

Probe: What about realtors, landlords, social service agencies (agencias asistenciales), local businesses (if they indicate businesses, ascertain whether they mean Latino-owned or Anglo-owned or both), banks, Swift’s, Latino organizations, Extension, public library, schools, Educational and Training Center, Community College, churches?

C. In general, can you think of ways in which agencies or organizations can improve services provided to recent Latino immigrants?

Probe: What about realtors, landlords, social service agencies (agencias asistenciales), local businesses (if they indicate businesses, ascertain whether they mean Latino-owned or Anglo-owned or both), banks, Swift’s, Latino organizations, Extension, public library, schools, Educational and Training Center, Community College, churches? [Exclude health services and government in general; they are included in sections 2 and 3. If someone brings them up, indicate that will deal with that topic later.]

Explanation: By ‘can improve services,’ we mean improve bilingual and cultural knowledge, make eligibility requirements more flexible, distribute information specific to immigrants, increase the number of immigrant specific services, create an immigrant settlement services guide or program, etc.
2. Health Services Inquiry

A. Ask a couple of very recent immigrants to explain how they access medical services for their families and allow others to comment.

Probe: Can you tell us what health-related programs are available for undocumented immigrants? New immigrants with less than 5 years in U.S. with Green Cards? Longer-term immigrants with green cards? (SCHIP, emergency prenatal care, emergency food assistance, emergency Medicaid). What are the eligibility requirements?

B. Do you know of any recent immigrants who have had experience utilizing any of these services? If so, please describe their experience.

Probe: How did you learn about services? (Family, friends, word of mouth, announcements, agency brochures, office administering service, etc.) If agency brochures or announcements, where did you find them? Were interpreters provided? Was service provided courteously?

C. In general, can you think of ways to enhance health services provided to Latino immigrants? If so, please explain.

Probe: For instances were people refused care and why (in the emergency room, hospital, doctor’s office, Public Health, mental health center, free clinic, pharmacy.)

3. Political Participation Inquiry

A. Can you describe how local officials have supported Latino immigrants in leadership roles? How and where did this occur? Are they still active in this role?

B. Can you give examples of when Latino immigrants have been invited into the public decision making process? How did this occur? Did they end up playing a significant role? Are they still active in this decision-making role/group?

C. Ask a couple of recent immigrants to explain how they learned about the laws, regulations, and ordinances in Marshalltown and allow others to comment. How has the Police department worked with the Latino immigrants to ensure more inclusion and better quality of services to the community? Planning and Zoning?

Probe: Can you give examples of Police outreach to the Latino community? Do they have a presence at Latino meetings, offer outreach materials in Spanish, or frequent locations with a high Latino presence? Is an interpreter readily available?

D. Can you think of any regulations that restrict Latino immigrants from accessing public resources, political participation, or integration? If so, please explain.
Probe: Can you think of ordinances that have or continue to adversely impact Latino immigrants such as a no parking in the front lawn ordinance, a two car limit per single dwelling household or immediate family members only under a single dwelling ordinance? How about resources that restrict access from those who are living with extended family member? Restrictions on having animals or poultry within city limits?

E. In general, do you think that recent immigrants participate fully in community life in your town?

Explanation: By 'participate in community life,' we mean visiting local restaurants; joining social and civic clubs; going to churches and mosques; participating in school functions (PTA, parent-teacher conferences, sporting events, etc.); or spending time in local parks and other social gathering spots?

F. Are there Latino/immigrant organizations that are effective in Marshalltown? What contribution have they made to the community?

Probe: How did you learn about their services? (Family, friends, word of mouth, announcements, agency brochures, office administering service, etc.) If agency brochures or announcements, where did you find them?
Appendix D

List of Brochures by Institution
# List of Brochures by Institution

<table>
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<tr>
<th>System of Resources</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<td>Plan de Seguridad para Victimas del Abuso y Malos Tratos en el Hogar</td>
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<td>Pasos que usted puede tomar ahora para prepararse para una emergencia de salud publica</td>
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<td>Recreational Services</td>
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<td>Human Capital</td>
<td>Que Peligros Estan en Nuestra Casa?</td>
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<td>Natural Capital</td>
<td>Programas de Reciclamiento Y Desecho</td>
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<td>Human Capital</td>
<td>Lead Hazard Control Grant Program Preliminary Application Form</td>
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<td>Cleaniac-Take Pride in Marshalltown</td>
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<td>Social Capital</td>
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<td>Human Capital</td>
<td>Guia para transportar en forma segura a ninos en un vehiculo</td>
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<td>General Community Services</td>
<td>Social Capital</td>
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<td>Built Capital</td>
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<td>Community Y of Marshalltown 2007 Annual Report</td>
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<td>General Community Services</td>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>New Iowans Center: New to Iowa assistance</td>
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Appendix E

Tables
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<tr>
<th>Institutional Services for Addressing Barriers</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Eligibility Requirements</th>
<th>Knowledge of Services</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marshalltown Medical &amp; Surgical Center</td>
<td>We have one full-time staff person who is here all day Monday through Friday. Then we have another girl who works in environmental services so that when our staff person is busy she backs up for her and then we have one person on call the rest of the time. So if we need an interpreter on the weekend or the evening we always have someone available. They have all been through competency and through training. We have about 12 people on call as interpreters. So we have one full-time interpreter, one backup, and probably 12 on call.</td>
<td>None, really. SSN is not required for service. We don't ask for documentation. We ask what language they speak but not social security. This changed and I'm not sure if it was due to HIPAA or ID theft. However, they must have a certified I.D. to put the dad's name onto a Birth Certificate. So now when they want to get those papers and they want to get their husband, spouse or children documented it is difficult, and it is getting more difficult. They might follow into a problem when they say my name is Ross Maria Hernandez but now they want to get there papers and their real name is Carminale Espinosa and they want a copy of their chart. Well hello! We can't do it because it is a different name. And, so then they are stuck, it is a catch 22.</td>
<td>All of our consent forms are in Spanish. We have almost everything else in Spanish almost 90%. Also, we just opened a heart lab and have to have all those materials translated. Our lead interpreter is a teacher who does most of the translating (of materials). The motivation for doing this translation is demand; it's not directive driven.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marshalltown Primary Health Clinic</td>
<td>From the moment we open to the moment we close. All my staff is bilingual that are for my support staff and one provider is bilingual. All my front desk people are bilingual, they have to be for my financial. I am basically useless, I just push my people around because I can't speak Spanish. I get out there and really can't help you. I just answer the phone anyway.</td>
<td>We don't ask any questions about whether they are documented or not. We just ask financial information and when they register it is all on there end. If they are employed we will ask for check stubs to put them on the side. They might say my name is Juan Vasquez but where I work my name is Pedro Flores. Ok, bring in the check stubs for Pedro Flores.</td>
<td>Our brochures? (Yes) We don't have it. It is at the printer for seven months. It will be in English and Spanish (brochure). It is the general one for the clinic. But I think it is word of mouth (how people hear about the clinic). You would be amazed at how many people say I didn't know you guys were there.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marshalltown Parks &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>The translation issue comes down to money. You have to be a translator to do that and timeliness, the time. Staff have found somebody that's willing to do some things in Spanish. I think one of our staff does when we are in a crunch time and everyone is hurting to get things out. We never budgeted for a Spanish translator.</td>
<td>Name, address, phone number, basically what the function is for and if they are going to have alcohol they will have to have a state issued I.D., we need to see drivers license but that got to be a problem. So some (form of) state issued ID for age.</td>
<td>The summer brochure is mailed to every home, we have lots of handouts in the schools (in English only). We use press releases and the radio and the newspapers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Y</td>
<td>We have Spanish speaking people on staff. I think our membership application is in Spanish. We have staff that translates our materials in Spanish. (How many bilingual staff do you have?) Well 4 or 5 are coming to mind but there are probably one or two more. Maybe 5 to 6. There could be more. we have 150 staff and 100 of those are part time.</td>
<td>Citizenship information or state issued identification are not required to sign up for membership.</td>
<td>I know we have outreach materials in Spanish but I don't know if we have any at the desk. We give information to parents that are interested in English. We have Spanish available. Most of our, I mean many of our school form one side is in English and one side is in Spanish... and when we send fliers to the school about things coming up at the Y. On getting youth program information we rely heavily on fliers to schools. I don't know that I have any right now to hand you but we try to have Spanish materials. We have an email distribution system for getting emails to members. We have talked about having our website in Spanish as well but we have not done that. Our full brochure is not in Spanish but we do have particular program information in Spanish. (Do the emails you mention contain Spanish in them?) No, we haven't had any one request for it. If we had a request we certainly could accommodate them.</td>
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<td>Police Department</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Language</strong></td>
<td>We spend several thousand a year on translators. We have a list of on-call people that are bilingual. We also subscribe to a language line through AT&amp;T and they have dozens of languages that are bilingual and you make a three way conversation on the phone. We sent a couple police officers to some Spanish programs. I forget the name of it. It is a Spanish emergency course maybe two or three days. Quite frankly I have reservations if it is going to work. It is a perishable skill and at what level of competency are we going to pay you for it. Then, we will have to measure that but at least it is a step in the right direction. We have recruited for years trying to get Hispanic officers or at least bilingual officers, unsuccessfully. I have intentionally kept our standards the lowest the state allows. For a short time we had a Puerto Rican guy but he got hired away to a bigger city.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Eligibility Requirements</strong></td>
<td>When asked to (speak at Latino events), yes. We try to accommodate every request that is made. Also, we have a number of brochures with a variety of topics from crime prevention to identity theft that are bilingual. We publish a flier about emergency snow routes and snow route ordinances that say where you can’t park on snow routes on certain nights when it snows and we have that translated into Spanish and English. Every fall we go out at night and put those fliers on cars parked along those snow routes so that people know before the first snow. So that when it snows you have to move your car or it will get towed. I think the community or at least city government knows that when we do this, you have to get those translated. When I came back from my Mexican trip, one of the issues that we saw was that a lot of people don’t know what the laws are here and we created a welcome to Marshalltown video in Spanish. We asked it to be used at swift for orientation. We’ve given copies to anybody that wants it. We’ve given it to St. Mary’s, churches, and businesses. Most people will obey most of the laws most of the time if they know them. So this video is short and amateurish as it was made on zero dollars budget. We explained the facts that cops don’t take bribes. You can’t park in the front lawns because there is a law that prohibits that. You can’t drink in the parks. Also, what a tornado sirens is because that is probably a pretty scary sound to an immigrant. That was something we did to improve relations. Now we made it on zero budget and UNI (University of Northern Iowa) duplicated it for us on a couple dozen copies and cd’s.</td>
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<td><strong>Knowledge of Services</strong></td>
<td>Not directly, we offer parks and recreation, public library services, offer some services that new comers use but we don’t directly allocate dollars for settlement services. I think the biggest thing that we struggle with goes back to that 1st question, how do people find out about information? Especially when you have an immigrant population that is not used to the same expectations because the communities that they are from do not have those expectations. Getting that information to them is the part we struggle with the most. We did mailings out in the water bills hoping to get the information out. We will hand it (brochures) out at community fairs and do articles and just have it out there but it is a tough part. It is just how to get out initial expectations.</td>
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<td>Language</td>
<td>Eligibility Requirements</td>
<td>Knowledge of Services</td>
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<td>Marshalltown Housing &amp; Development</td>
<td>It makes it really hard. A lot of the time they bring their children in with them. Which is a hard thing to because some of the things we are trying to explain are difficult enough for an adult to understand, and then for a child to understand and then have to translate that can be difficult and you wonder how much of it is being translated as it needs to. We’ve been fortunate to have staff off and on that was bilingual, and hopefully we will have an administrative assistant on staff that will make a huge difference and that is how we get our forms translated.</td>
<td>I don’t know that I have the answer to it. It is a question we ask ourselves, how do people find out about the stuff? It is one of the biggest questions we ask as well because we would like to reach those same people but it is very difficult. I would guess church, workforce development for a job. I think most of the people coming here already have somebody here they know. I think they have family. They’ve got a connection, and that person kind of helps them to get the rest of the way. Because we don’t see huge numbers of people that come to city hall to find out information. So I got to imagine that most of it is through there already established network of family or friends already here.</td>
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<td>Marshalltown Community College</td>
<td>In continuing ed there are several (interpreters). At the credit program in Marshalltown maybe two so not very many. At our other campus I don’t know. (What percentage of the people in continuing education are Spanish speakers?) Of our full-time employees it would be 50%.</td>
<td>None. I would say generally speaking there are no qualifications, no requirements. They do use an enrollment form so we can have some demographic information age, gender, previous education level. Again generally speaking we ask for name, address, telephone number, and will you give us your social security number to register for a continuing ed class. If they don’t, we assign them a student ID number which in our program is it just how we enter them into the computer. It means nothing it is not a number that stays with them, it’s not an ID.</td>
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<td>Iowa Workforce Development</td>
<td>Almost all of our applications for all of our programs are in Spanish. The basic application, the part the parents have to fill out or family members have to fill out are in both English and Spanish. We have, again, bilingual staff that can do translation work for us but we also hold a couple of translators on retainer in case we need major projects done and we have interpreters we bring in</td>
<td>We are not an enforcement agency so we go by what the program guidelines are for either the state or federal level and we are not required to report that sort of stuff. We are just required to help people sort out what they need to do to apply for the programs. If somebody is saying I have two names, and usually, people are not completely ignorant about this. There is sometimes this sort of wrap that is put around the issue. Most of our programs, once somebody provides us with a check and says this in our income, we have that and since income eligibility is the primary indicator, like the child has to be three or four years old to be in Head Start and you have to be income eligible. So once we can establish income and this is a household that is all we need to know. State, local and federal guidelines are what you go by in terms of</td>
<td>Way, way back, when we first tried to put Spanish ads in the papers, they would refuse to take them. That has changed. We have always tried to put some ads in Spanish as well as English for our programs when we are advertising in papers or on the radio. We have all of our brochures that we use for programs in Spanish and English.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assessment of Institutional Strategies</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Eligibility Requirements</td>
<td>Knowledge of Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marshalltown Medical &amp; Surgery Center</td>
<td>Strength: 1 full-time interpreter, 1 backup interpreter, 12 on call interpreters</td>
<td>Weakness: no social security number required</td>
<td>Strength: all consent forms are in Spanish, 90% of brochures are in Spanish, seed interpreter in each center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshalltown Primary Health Clinic</td>
<td>Strength: all support staff are bilingual, 1 service provider is bilingual, all front house staff are bilingual</td>
<td>Weakness: executive director is not bilingual</td>
<td>Weakness: acquisition of bilingual outreach materials and forms are demand driven, not management directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshalltown Parks &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>Strength: seek volunteers to assist</td>
<td>Weakness: no social security number required</td>
<td>Strength: all consent forms are in Spanish, clinic brochure is being printed in Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Y</td>
<td>Strength: 4 to 5 full-time bilingual staff, approximately 25% of all staff is bilingual</td>
<td>Weakness: bilingual staff not available upon request</td>
<td>Weakness: rely heavily on word of mouth, clinic brochure has been a print shop for an excessive amount of time</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strength: no social security number required</td>
<td>Weakness: all membership forms are in Spanish</td>
<td>Strength: forms are not available in Spanish, press releases, radio and news marketing are in English only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Weakness: no birth certificate required</td>
<td>Weakness: all consent forms are in Spanish, 90% of brochures are in Spanish</td>
<td>Dependency on immigrant to find translator for all but the title of each marketing brochure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strength: functions which have alcohol require a state I.D., drivers license not required</td>
<td>Weakness: all membership forms are in Spanish</td>
<td>Strength: not able to produce membership form in Spanish on demand</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weakness: state issued I.D. needed to verify age</td>
<td>Weakness: not able to produce brochures in Spanish on demand</td>
<td>Weakness: website and email notifications not available in Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assessment of Institutional Strategies</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Eligibility Requirements</td>
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<td>Police Department</td>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>Weakness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• subscribe to a 24 hour language line</td>
<td>• police chief does not have confidence in strategies geared to serving immigrants</td>
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<td>• have a budget for translator services</td>
<td>• have lowered expectations for hiring a bilingual officer</td>
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<td>• on call interpreters</td>
<td>• have difficulty retaining Latino officers</td>
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<td>• sent 2 officers through a Spanish immersion course</td>
<td>• introductory Spanish is not</td>
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<td>• actively recruit bilingual officers</td>
<td>• language line is impersonal and will not build trust</td>
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<td>• Spanish is a perishable skill and an immersion course may not provide long term benefits</td>
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<td>Marshalltown's City Manager's Office</td>
<td>Strength</td>
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<td>• 2 employees are Spanish speakers</td>
<td>• it is left up to the applicant to bring a family member or friend to act as the interpreter</td>
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<td>• not available - eligibility is program specific</td>
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<td>• don’t directly allocate dollars for settlement services</td>
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<td>Marshalltown Housing &amp; Development</td>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>Weakness</td>
<td>Strength</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• not available</td>
<td>• depend on family members and children to interpret</td>
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<td>• private housing assistance for legal residents only</td>
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<td>• undocumented immigrants do not qualify for housing assistance</td>
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<td>• prioritized housing assistance guidelines often render eligible applicants ineligible do to the restricted amount that a family may pay out in rent based on an individual’s income</td>
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<td>• variety of brochures in Spanish</td>
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<td>• family and friends are basis for learning about services</td>
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<td>• do not have staff available to translate information brochures</td>
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<td>• no active Latino community awareness campaign</td>
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<td>• brochures are not well stocked</td>
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<td>Assessment of Institutional Strategies</td>
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<td>Eligibility Requirements</td>
<td>Knowledge of Services</td>
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<td>Marshalltown Community College</td>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>Weakness</td>
<td>Strength</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• several interpreters on staff</td>
<td>• not available</td>
<td>• no social security number required</td>
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<td>• up to 50% of staff in adult ed are bilingual</td>
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<td>• no birth certificate required</td>
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<td>• assign random student numbers for tracking purposes</td>
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<td>• not available</td>
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<td>Iowa Workforce Development</td>
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<td>• several staff are bilingual</td>
<td>• not available</td>
<td>• staff available to translate brochures</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• 2 translators on retainer</td>
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<td>• variety of forms and all applications available in Spanish</td>
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<td>• have availability to bring in more translators if needed</td>
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<td>• failed internal bilingual outreach audit, not enough promotional materials available in Spanish</td>
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<td>• all membership forms and applications are in Spanish</td>
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<td>• use bilingual advertising to promote programs on the radio and in newspapers</td>
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<td>• all brochures are in Spanish and English</td>
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<td>• not available</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Immigrant Perceptions</td>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>Weakness</td>
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<td>When I was changing my clothes at work a co-worker asked me if I heard the news about English only. Since now you only can speak English. I said I was going to try. He said to tell the employers too. Then another countryman said, “what did he say Pancho?” They are going to sign a new law that is English only. He said, “what are we going to do?” I told him you have to get your things together and move. The guy just looked at me and said, “are we going to leave Pancho?” I told him with this circumstance there is no excuse. But honestly to me and believe me, it has been hard. It is not an excuse but I am old and the situation that I live with my family—my problems, health—I can not learn a lot. I can learn a few things but it is hard.</td>
<td>• non Spanish speakers attempt to communicate in Spanish regardless if they have had formal training</td>
<td>• rumors perpetuate bias and misinformation regarding anti-immigrant legislation</td>
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<td>In the meat department at Fairway. They try to speak Spanish even though they don’t know. There are a lot of students that take Spanish Classes and they try to speak Spanish.</td>
<td>• hospital has lots of interpreters</td>
<td>• english only legislation perpetuates fear among immigrants</td>
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<td>I heard about some places that prohibit their employees to speak Spanish like Hy-vee. I know some youth that know I can speak English but they speak Spanish to me.</td>
<td>• college provides bilingual staff</td>
<td>• fear of language based discrimination at place of employment</td>
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<td>The hospital has a lot of interpreters.</td>
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<td>• no bilingual officers, police department not viewed as accessible</td>
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<td>We don’t have a lot of Hispanics on the police and we have a lot of trouble there. We need bilingual officers. They put a sign that they need bilingual officers but they are not so accessible. They have a bad reputation. They are racist with the Latinos. None of the young people want to apply. We need more bilingual services.</td>
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<td>• expressed need for bilingual services</td>
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<td>The educational center is one of the places that they help Latinos. That is part of the college—continuing education building. They focus on adult classes. At the department of human resources there are bilinguals.</td>
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<td>I think they need more people that speak Spanish. For example, when we get the house there were no people that spoke Spanish. They give you only one class that is in English. I think that is why a lot of Latinos don’t go and ask for this service. There is nobody that speak Spanish to explain the program. If you don’t go to the class they will erase you from the list. That is a very important class. If you don’t understand you’re lost.</td>
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<td>People can qualify without documentation. That they don’t just limit those who don’t have their papers I am diabetic. I have a lot of health problems. The eyes, heart, feet. We have been with different doctors and they have been good. We haven’t had any problems, they gave me Medicare. I even have diabetic shoes. Everything has been ok.</td>
<td>• immigrants qualify for health services without proof of citizenship</td>
<td>• dental and vision services are expensive</td>
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<td>Eligibility Requirements</td>
<td>There is a clinic for medical care. If you don’t have social security number you pay around $10.00 per person. They give you the service. The department of Healthy Families Abuse Prevention brings to all the Hispanic families information. How they have to fill the application, make referrals, keeps an eye on domestic violence. It is hard to get dental service. It is too expensive. The vision too. If there was something we could do to get those services— that would be good.</td>
<td>• program assistance immigrants in need of medical assistance</td>
<td>• english only legislation perpetuates fear among immigrants</td>
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<td>If there is a sick person and you take them to the hospital they will give you service. Even if they haven’t shown their social security. I heard they don’t give service to those with out social security. That is just a rumor.</td>
<td>• rumors perpetuate misconception that a person cannot obtain medical assistance without a social security number</td>
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### Table 3: (Continued)

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<th>Knowledge of Services</th>
<th>Strategies to Improve Accessibility to Resources</th>
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| The newspaper is an important fountain of information. I am trying to get the Hispanics to read the newspaper in English. Because they don’t just learn English; they are informed about what is going on. When I came here, the Des Moines Times Republican was talking negative about Hispanics. That we were drug dealers, bad people, be careful of them. I was walking on the street and people would look at me bad. I started a campaign against the newspaper with my little English and dictionary. | *job placement and resume assistance for immigrants*  
*improved banking services, most provide bilingual services* |
| There is the New Town’s Center. We talked to the lady and they help you with any information from the newspaper. They speak Spanish. If someone is looking for a job they pull the ads from the newspaper. We really didn’t use it. We just went to see what they had to offer. But they told us it was for Latinos. She was trying to help us with the information. If you need to fill out an application they will do it for you. | |
| Years ago, there were no people that speak Spanish. When I went to ask for a loan for my house, it was hard. But now, mostly all the banks have bilingual people. They have documents in Spanish. That service has improved. I have noticed that the stores here have more signs in Spanish. The advertising for the stores and garage sales put Latin music in the background- Mariachis. Not every day but when they want us to go. | |
| There is only an immigration lawyer here and he is an Anglo. He doesn’t speak Spanish. It would be a privilege to have an embassy [consular office FAD] here. That way we wouldn’t have to go to Omaha or Chicago. It is a waste of time. Sometimes you don’t have the right documents or you don’t know how much time it is going to take. You need more information because we don’t always have all the information we need. | |
| Newspapers seen as perpetuating stereotypes  
few local brochures are available in Spanish  
the only immigration lawyer in town does not speak Spanish | |