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The Virgin of Guadalupe Comes to Mississippi: Social Stressors and Ways of Coping Among Hispanic Im/Migrants

Mary Rebecca Read

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THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE COMES TO MISSISSIPPI:
SOCIAL STRESSORS AND WAYS OF COPING
AMONG HISPANIC IM/MIGRANTS

By

Mary Rebecca Read

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of
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in the Department of Anthropology and Middle Eastern Cultures

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This mixed-methods study uses ritual analysis, key informant interviews, and a semi-structured questionnaire to explore stressors and coping among Hispanic im/migrants to rural Mississippi. The study applies Turner's model of ritual analysis to the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* for insight into the values, concerns, actions, and motivations of the community. Results from ritual analysis suggest the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* unites the multi-national community and empowers the participants through their faith in God and *la Virgen de Guadalupe*. Results from the semi-structured questionnaire identify stressors among the Hispanic community relating to separation from family and friends, job shortage, transportation barriers, and language barriers.

Key words: Hispanic Migrants, The Virgin of Guadalupe, Social Stress, Coping, Rural Immigration, Religious Ritual

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Hispanic Im/migration to the Rural U.S.

Increasingly, the rural South has emerged as a new settlement area for Hispanics, people within the United States who are of Latin American origin. From 2000 to 2006, the five states in the U.S. with the highest Hispanic growth rate were the Southern states of Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and North Carolina (NASTAD, 2007). Massey and Durand were among the first noted in the early 1990's this pattern shift away from the gateway states of California, Arizona, and Texas into new settlement throughout the rural United State (Durand, Massey, & Charvet, 2000; Durand & Massey, 1999; Massey, 1996). Though Mississippi is not among the rapid growth states, some locations in Mississippi have experienced a similar boom of immigrants and migrants from Latin American countries, primarily from Mexico, but also Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, and Colombia. The term *im/migrant* is used by Worby and Organista to refer to “those who have come to the United States to work, regardless of intentions toward remaining temporarily, staying permanently, or migrating back and forth” (2007, p. 414). The term is used throughout this paper because it encompasses the various residency status and intentions of Hispanics in this study.

The intensive manual labor associated with these jobs along with the pressure of being in a foreign country and away from family may result in increased stress. Existing studies addressing social stress among Hispanic im/migrants focus primarily on seasonal laborers and farmworkers in the Western United States. These studies highlight a number of social stressors that are repeatedly reported by Hispanic im/migrants throughout the U.S. The main social stressors include: (1) separation from family and community of origin (Grzywacz, Quandt, Isom, & Arcury, 2006; Hovey & Magaña, 2002; Magaña & Hovey, 2003; Villalba, 2007; Worby & Organista, 2007); (2) extreme working and living conditions (Kim-Godwin & Bechtel, 2004; Magaña & Hovey, 2003; Sabia, 2007; Worby & Organista, 2007); (3) difficulty or apprehension accessing social services because of cultural and language barriers (Kim-Godwin & Bechtel, 2004; Pew Hispanic Center, 2007; Pew Hispanic Center, 2004); and (4) fear of being targeted by immigration officials (Berk & Schur, 2001; Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Pew Hispanic Center, 2007; Sabia, 2007).

An emerging body of literature on Hispanic im/migration to rural areas of the Southern U.S. suggests that the lack of resources typically available in metro areas creates additional disparities for im/migrants to rural areas (Berk & Schur, 2001; Jensen, 2006; Kandel & Cromartie, 2004; Kochhar, Suro, & Tafoya, 2005; Villalba, 2007). These studies also show a demographic profile of Hispanic im/migrants to this region that is distinct from other regions of the U.S. (Jensen, 2006; Kandel & Cromartie, 2004; Kochhar et al., 2005). When compared to the U.S. Hispanic population as a whole, im/migrants to the rural South tend to be undocumented young males of Mexican origin

(Jensen, 2006). The availability of low-wage and unskilled jobs in the rural South, the relaxed regulations for employers, and the tendency of im/migrants to network with friends and family from their city/state of origin are all contributing factors. Despite this demographically distinct group, there are few published studies addressing social stress and ways of coping among Hispanic im/migrants to the rural South, and none addressing this population in Mississippi.

Study Aims

This research will focus on Hispanic im/migrants within the community of Forest, Mississippi, and will use multiple methods to address the three aims of this study: (1) To determine to what extent Forest's procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* operates to express the values and concerns of the community and to transform the actions and motivations of the community, (2) To identify the social stressors faced by Hispanic im/migrants to the community of Forest, and (3) To identify how Hispanic im/migrants to the community of Forest cope with social stressors. The term *stress* is defined as "a physical, chemical, or emotional factor that causes bodily or mental tension and may be a factor in disease causation," and the term *cope* is defined as "to deal with and attempt to overcome problems and difficulties" (www.merriam-webster.com). In this study, the "factors that cause bodily or mental tension" and the "problems and difficulties" of interest are those associated with being an im/migrant to the community of Forest, Mississippi.

Analysis of the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* is guided by Turner's model of ritual analysis. According to Turner, rituals operate to express values and concerns, build group cohesion, motivate, and elicit change, key factors in coping with social problems (Turner, 1975; 1980). Observation of Forest's procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* potentially offers information about this community that could not be gained through other methods. To study a community that pays homage to *la Virgen de Guadalupe*, and not consider this relationship, may be to fall short of fully understanding the community. By combining these three study aims, this research considers the social stressors identified independently of the procession in addition to the values and concerns expressed during the procession. Likewise, the study considers the ways of coping identified independently of the procession in addition to the transformative actions and motivations resulting from the procession.

Forest, Mississippi

The community of Forest is located in rural Scott County, approximately fifty miles east of Jackson, the capital city of Mississippi. Scott County has the largest percentage of Hispanic residents in Mississippi at seven percent of the population, as compared to less than two percent for entire state of Mississippi (U.S. Census, 2006). Nearly thirteen percent of Forest's population of 6,000 is Hispanic, and five percent are of Mexican origin (U.S. Census, 2006). The neighboring, smaller town of Morton also reports thirteen percent of its 3,500 residents as Hispanic, with six percent of Mexican origin.

In his article titled, “What’s Driving Hispanic Population Growth in Rural America?,” Kandel (2008) concludes that the U.S. meat processing industry— in particular, the poultry industry in the rural South— is the driver for Hispanic immigration to rural America. Forest, Mississippi exemplifies this pattern, with a majority of Hispanic im/migrants to Forest and Morton employed in the poultry processing industry. As of 2007, Scott County poultry industries employed a total of 5,000 workers (Mississippi Development Association, 2007).

Although the majority of Forest community members are Protestant, St. Michael’s Catholic Church is a vital outlet for the Hispanic community and offers Mass in English and Spanish. Recent Hispanic im/migrants to Scott County look to St. Michael’s for help with both routine and emergency needs. St. Michael’s affiliates serve the Hispanic community in a variety of ways, such as providing Spanish/English translators, English instructors, transportation to the nearby state capitol, and legal guidance, and by acting as informal cultural brokers. In addition, St. Michael’s offers a sense of social unity that is important to im/migrants far from home and separated from families, as well as a place for Hispanics to continue the traditions of their home countries and a place to share them with other member of the community.

The neighboring community of Morton is home to EXCEL, a community center operated by the Catholic Church. Community members seek assistance at EXCEL for a variety of services, such as: English-language classes; after-school tutoring for children; communications with bill collectors; translators to assist with doctor’s appointments; and food distribution for the needy. The community recently established its own Catholic

Church, San Martin, in a vacant store on the main strip of the town. Though the two communities continue to be closely involved, the need for a second parish resulted from the difficulties people in Morton experience traveling the 15 miles to Forest to attend Mass, as well as the small number of people that Saint Michael's can comfortably hold, about one-hundred people.

La Virgen de Guadalupe in History

To put the present study into context, there are two cultural/historical points that should be discussed. First, Latin American cultures are often noted for their intense, public, vibrant religious and spiritual expressions, especially in contrast to the more rigid and somber approach to religious worship typical of U.S. Christians (Goizueta, 2004). This contrast is especially apparent when Mexican Catholicism is compared to U.S. Catholicism. The version of Catholicism practiced by many in Mexico is frequently referred to as "Popular Catholicism" because it incorporates many regional and "folk" elements (Elizondo, 2000; Goizueta, 2004). The faith is rich with symbol and ritual, and celebrations are frequently conducted in the streets and town squares, "breaching the boundary between private life and public life" (Goizueta, 2004, p. 127).

Second, the widespread devotion to *La Virgen de Guadalupe* by both the religious and non-religious people of Mexico has been well documented over time (Elizondo, 2000; Goizueta, 2004; Lafayé, 1974; Matovina, 2002; 2003; 2005; Rodriguez, 1994; Wolf, 1959). *Guadalupanos*, people who are devoted to *la Virgen de Guadalupe*, are found within communities throughout the world that are destinations for Mexican

immigration. According to Mexican-American religious scholar Elizondo, “devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, the queen, empress, and mother of the Americas, expresses the deepest nationality of our people” (2000, p. 58). Though Mexico remains her home, *la Virgen de Guadalupe* was officially named patroness of all of the Americas by Pope Pius XII in 1946 (Poole, 1995).

December 12th is the feast day of *la Virgen de Guadalupe*, who is believed by her Christian followers to be an apparition of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ. She is also referred to as *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Our Lady of Guadalupe), *La Virgen de Tepeyac* (The Virgin of Tepeyac), *La Reina de México* (Queen of Mexico), *La Morena* (The Brown One), *La Lupita* (Little Lupe), *La Virgencita* (The Little Virgin), *La Madrecita* (The Little Mother), and The Empress of the Americas.

The first official record of the legend of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* is the ancient Nahuatl text *Nican Mopohua* (Here is Recounted). The original author of *Nican Mopohua* is unknown, though the text is often associated with Antonio Valeriano (Poole, 1995). Another early version of *Nican Mopohua* is published in the book *Huey tlamahuiçoltzin* (The Great Happening) by Luis Laso de la Vega in 1649 (Poole, 1995). According to the text, on December 8, 1531, a young woman appeared to Juan Diego, a simple *indígena* and recent Christian convert, on Mount Tepeyac in Mexico. Speaking to him in his native Aztec language of Nahuatl, she told Juan Diego that she was the Virgin Mary. She told him to go to the bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga and tell him to build a cathedral in her honor at Tepeyac.

Being a peasant, Juan Diego was turned away twice by the bishop and instructed not to return until he had physical proof of the apparition. Hesitantly, Juan Diego encountered the apparition for a third time. The Virgin told Juan Diego to gather the roses that had bloomed in her presence despite the cold of winter, and take them as a sign for the bishop. When Juan Diego appeared again in front of the bishop, he opened his *tilma* (cloak) and the roses tumbled out, revealing a life-size image of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* on the cactus-fiber cloth of his *tilma*. Realizing that a miracle had taken place, Bishop Zumárraga built a cathedral on Mount Tepeyac so the *tilma* could be displayed for public devotion. The image on Juan Diego's *tilma* remains on display today in the Nacional Basílica de Santa María de Guadalupe in Mexico City (Poole, 1995).

Theoretical Context

Turner refers to his own version of symbolic anthropology as “comparative symbology” (Turner, 1974), and is strongly influenced by the works of Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, van Gennep (Grimes, 2007). Turner's model for the analysis of rituals remains foundational in the fields of ritual and symbolic studies (Grimes, 2007) because it focuses on the mechanism of social change within ritual performances, which differs from the oral and textual analysis common to the structural approach (see Lévi-Strauss, 1966) or the interpretive approach found in the American branch of symbolic anthropology (see Geertz, 1973).

Turner identifies two operations of rituals and their symbols: (1) to express the values and concerns of a particular group, and (2) to transform the actions and

motivations of the group. The current study will use Turner's model to analyze the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* to determine to what extent it works to "express the values and concerns," and to "transform the actions and motivations" of the community (Turner, 1968, p. 2).

Turner describes ritual as a flowing process (1974). Within this context, defining the term *procession* as "the sequential and ceremonial movement of a group" (www.merriam-webster.com) is fitting, and the term will be used throughout this paper to refer to the entire series of events relating to Forest's annual celebration of the Feast Day of *la Virgen de Guadalupe*. Forest's procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* exemplifies Turner's definition of a ritual as a "stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests" (1977, p. 183). In addition, Turner defines rituals as, "storehouses of meaningful symbols" (Turner, 1968, p. 1).

With the ritual as a "storehouse," the symbol acts as a "storage unit" for large amounts of social and cultural information (Turner, 1968, p. 2). Likewise, just as the procession of *Virgen de Guadalupe* exemplifies Turner's definition of a ritual, *la Virgen de Guadalupe* exemplifies Turner's definition of a ritual symbol. The symbol is "the smallest unit of ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior" and may take the form of objects, activities, words, relationships, events, gestures, or spatial units (Turner, 1967, p. 19). The symbol reveals *themes*, or "ideas inferred by an observer

from the data of a given culture,” that address the crucial values of a community (Turner, 1967, p. 2).

Beyond simply revealing the important themes of a community, symbols can "anticipate, even generate, change" by transforming the attitudes and behaviors of the community (Turner, 1980, p. 163). Turner explains that social transformation occurs via the fusion of the energy inherent in the persons, objects, relationships, events, and histories represented by ritual symbols (Deflem, 1991; Turner, 1957). The ritual holds the generating source of culture and structure, and, therefore, is associated with social transition (Grimes, 2007; Turner, 1967). It is this ability to transform attitudes and behaviors that potentially operates as a way of coping with the social stress experienced by the im/migrant community of Forest.

Turner gives special attention to *dominant symbols* which are at the center of the ritual. Dominant symbols appear in many different contexts and have many themes, but the themes remain encapsulated within the symbol across contexts. Even though some of the themes may seem conflicting, they are able to work together within the same dominant symbol. Turner identified these three specific traits of a dominant symbol, and called these traits multivocality, bipolarity, and unification (1967). *Multivocality* refers to the quality of a single dominant symbol to represent many different things; *bipolarity* is the ability of a dominant symbol to possess two distinct poles of meaning; and *unification* refers to the interconnectedness of the essentially distinct meanings.

La Virgen de Guadalupe is perhaps best described as a dominant symbol by Wolf when he when he uses the term “master symbol” (1958, p. 32). He recognizes the multi-

dimensionality of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* as a master symbol which links a wide array of socio-political relationships that encompassed the family, the nation-state, and the Church. According to Wolf (1958), *la Virgen de Guadalupe* operates as a master symbol that:

Validates the Indian's right to legal defense, orderly government, to citizenship; to supernatural salvation, but also to salvation from random oppression... In this ultimate extension of the symbol, the promise of life held out by the supernatural mother has become the promise of an independent Mexico, liberated from the irrational authority of the Spanish father-oppressors and restored to the Chosen Nation whose election had been manifest in the apparition of the Virgin on Tepeyac. The land of the supernatural mother is finally possessed by her rightful heirs. The symbolic circuit is closed. Mother; food, hope, health, life; supernatural salvation and salvation from oppression; Chosen People and national independence --all find expression in a single master symbol. The Guadalupe symbol thus links together family, politics and religion; colonial past and independent present; Indian and Mexican. It reflects the salient social relationships of Mexican life, and embodies the emotions which they generate. (p. 37-38)

One shortcoming of Turner's work, which extends to the broader discipline of ritual and symbolic studies, is the inconsistent terminology. Rituals and symbols are intertwined to the point that it is difficult to determine where the ritual ends and the symbol begins. Throughout his writings, Turner describes ritual as the manipulation of symbols, as being made up of symbols, and symbols as the nucleus of a ritual. Another issue with Turner's model is that it stops short of offering a clear framework for observation and interpretation. Turner "depends less upon formal qualities of the performance itself than upon the connection of a ritual enactment with a social drama" (Grimes, 2007, p. 165). It is this blurring of terminology and lack of methods that Grimes identifies as barriers to the development of a ritual theory.

Grimes' work, which is strongly influenced by symbolic anthropology, hermeneutics, and dramatisic sociology, highlights and attempts to overcome the lack of methods within the field of ritual studies. He describes his struggles to apply the foundations of ritual studies (1976), which were formulated in exotic, small-scale tribal societies to the modern, urban setting of the annual fiesta in Santa Fe, New Mexico:

So I faced a crisis of theory. I had gone into the field loaded with the theorizing of Victor Turner, along with the writings of Mircea Eliade, C.G. Jung, Paul Ricoeur, Clifford Geertz, and Robert Bellah, but I was still unsure what one was supposed to do with them when studying ritual. I did not know in what sense these theorists had provided me with methods. All I had was a piecemeal vocabulary riddled with myth and metaphor. (2007, p. 10)

From his observations, field notes, photos, and interviews in Santa Fe and other field experiences, Grimes formulated a 'map', a series of categories with corresponding questions to aid his students in the field (Grimes, 2007). Grimes cautions that "a map can either inhibit or facilitate interpretive goals", and "the result depends as much on the user as on the instrument" (2007, p. 24). He points out that these questions are geared toward an *emic*, insider perspective and adds that, "interpreting requires, in addition, that *etic* (participant-observer) categories come more fully into play" (p. 65). These *etic* categories emerge as researchers describe the ritual from their own perspective.

La Virgen de Guadalupe in Research

In a 1989 study, O'Connor uses *la Virgen de Guadalupe* as a lens through which to explore ethnic identity in a village located in the Mexican state of Sonora. O'Connor uses observation and participant observations to explore how two distinct ethnic groups,

the Mestizo and the Mayo, utilize the celebration of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* to both reaffirm their separate ethnic identities and to symbolically reunite their community. The celebration of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* is the only event that involves both Mestizo and Mayo in this particular village. O'Connor found that the Mestizo and Mayo celebrants conduct the first stages of the celebration (which actually extends over several days) with separate ritual performances. During the final stage of the celebration, the Mestizo and Mayo join together in a final Mass that ceremonially reunites the community. According to O'Connor, this particular ritual performance "confirms Turner's proposition that ritual dramas provide a means of both expressing and overcoming conflicts and contradictions in society" (1989, p. 108).

Matovina's (2002; 2003) research on the celebration of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* in San Antonio, Texas, and his description of how the public procession flows into the streets, is evocative of Turner's work. The public celebration "reminds both participants and onlookers that the sacred is present even in the midst of the racism, poverty, and alienation" (2002, p. 15). Matovina connects Juan Diego's humiliation and rejection by the bishop of Mexico with the experiences of the predominately working-class Mexican-American parishioners such stressors as, "polite disdain or outright hostility they have met in their dealings with sales clerks, bosses, co-workers, teachers, police officers, health care providers, social workers, government employees, professional colleagues, and civic and church leaders" (2003). Matovina describes how the San Fernando parish emphasizes *la Virgen de Guadalupe* as "the mother of all the Americas" and her association with human dignity, ethnic pride and group solidarity (2003).

Peña's (2008) research in the neighborhood of Des Plaines, Chicago, examines the transnational sacred space of the "Second Tepeyac of North America," a community center beside a replica of the shrine on Mount Tepeyac in Mexico where *la Virgen de Guadalupe* first appeared to Juan Diego. Here the author finds *Guadalupanos* from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras united in their "allegiance to *la Virgen de Guadalupe* and their determination to rise above the xenophobic realities of life in *el Norte*" (Peña, p. 723).

Peña echoes Turner's concept of liminality as a state of being neither here nor there (Turner, 1974), when describing how the community transforms a "place" into "sacred space" by creating "multicultural and multilingual environments thriving under a singular vision" (Peña, 2008, p. 744). Although ethnic, class, generational, and citizenship differences abound at Second Tepeyac, the strengths of the *Guadalupano* community is its determination to recognize, respect, and celebrate these multicultural roots by creating, "a space in which devotees may retain their individual affiliations" and combat social issues like "securing workers' rights, health care, and legal documentation" (Peña, 2008, p. 744). By celebrating the shrine's place within a global context via "the blessing of the five continents of the world," by employing an international themed decorating strategy, and by publicly recognizing that the Guadalupan community is a mix of various nationalities and histories, they make it clear that the shrine is not solely a Mexican or Latino phenomenon (Peña, 2008, p. 723).

La Fiesta de la Virgen de Guadalupe is an annual three-day celebration in Tortugas, New Mexico that links a community's past and present by sharing family

recipes and sharing a devotion to *la Virgen de Guadalupe*. Through an analysis of recipes and ingredients, Wessel (2008) pays special attention to the meal served at the community kitchen, *La Casa de Comida*, as a part of this celebration. According to Wessel, the meal, “provides more than just sustenance for the event” (Wessel, 2008, p. 4) through a cultural exchange in which traditional recipes are altered to accommodate local produce and the local environment. Recipes passed down through the generations, “provide a link between the past and the present” (Wessel 2008, 2). The volunteers who work behind the scenes to prepare the meal at the *Casa de Comida* hold a primary role in the celebration, because “in serving food, the women serve the Virgin by serving her devotees” (Wessel, 2008, p. 6).

Public rituals and celebrations, like those honoring *la Virgen de Guadalupe*, often take on new significance in the context of accelerated im/migration. Rivera-Sánchez discusses how a public ritual, such as the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe*, has simultaneously serve as a protest to the hostility confronted by im/migrants in their places of destination, a reaffirmation of values, practices, and religiosity, and a claim of “belonging to a vital space under construction beyond the borders of both nations” (2005, p. 20).

Rivera-Sánchez is especially interested in the way in which public religious ceremonies can involve im/migrant communities in civic action, such as petitioning for the right to use public streets for religious processions, fair treatment and fair wages for workers, access to rental property and public services, and equal rights for the children of im/migrants within the educational system. Such issues, when left unresolved, can have

multi-dimensional negative consequences for im/migrants, particularly as sources of social stress.

Stress and Coping among Hispanic Im/migrants in Rural U.S.

Rural Southern communities are often economically and culturally unprepared for the strain on housing, school systems, and social services they face when their populations increase, and even more so when those relocating to the community are ethnic minorities (Berk & Schur, 2001; Jensen, 2006; Kandel & Cromartie, 2004). Community leaders and local residents in rural areas may have little experience with people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Kandel & Cromartie, 2004). As a result, “newcomers speaking a different language, eating different foods, attending different churches, and rearing children differently can spark fear, hostility, and indignation in rural populations that have remained stable for generations” (Jensen, 2006, p. 8).

In their 2002 study among Hispanic im/migrants to the Midwestern U.S., Hovey and Magaña (2002) find a significant relationship between ineffective social support and high scores on anxiety scales, and suggest that establishing effective support systems may aid in coping with anxiety. In a follow-up study, Magaña and Hovey (2003) asked a sample of male and female Hispanic im/migrants to name the most significant source of stress in their lives. The top ten sources of stress reported by their respondents included: (1) being away from family or friends; (2) rigid work demands; (3) unpredictable work/housing and uprooting; (4) low family income/poverty/poor pay; (5) poor housing

conditions; (6) language barriers; (7) education for self or child; (8) hard physical labor; (9) lack of transportation/unreliable transportation; and (10) exploitation by employers.

Over fifty percent of males in the study reported “being away from friends and family” as their primary stressor. Nearly fifty percent of females in the study reported “poor housing conditions” as their primary stressor. Almost forty percent of the entire sample reported, “being away from friends and family,” “rigid work demands,” or “unpredictable work/housing and uprooting” as their primary stressors (Magaña & Hovey, 2003). Villalba also identified loss of social support system from their home country as a significant stressor among a sample of Hispanic im/migrants in North Carolina (Villalba, 2007). Likewise, Worby and Organista (2007) found that Hispanic im/migrants without strong social support and/or a close kin network in the U.S. face significant emotional stressors compounded by the high cost of living in the U.S., the strain of remittances, and adapting to a new language and culture.

In another study of stress among Hispanic im/migrants in North Carolina, Kim-Godwin and Bechtel (2004) identified four primary “extreme stressors,” including long working hours, insecure employment and legal status, financial constraints, and language barriers. The study considered a factor to be an “extreme stressor” if a majority of participants rated it four or higher on a five-point scale. In terms of language barriers, the Pew Hispanic Center (2007) found that language is one of the most common causes of discrimination against Hispanic im/migrants, followed by im/migration status, income and educational issues, and “skin color.” The Pew Hispanic Center (2004) has also identified that language skills have an important effect on accessing healthcare. For

example, the study finds that Hispanics who primarily speak Spanish are more likely to be uninsured, to experience communication problems with health care providers, and to encounter “race”/ethnic discrimination when accessing healthcare, as compared to Hispanics who primarily speak English (Pew Hispanic Center, 2004).

According to a study by Berk and Schur, “lack of documentation—and the fear associated with it—is a powerful deterrent to people obtaining care and services they need” (2001, p. 155). They found that thirty-nine percent of undocumented Hispanic im/migrants were apprehensive in regards to seeking medical services due to their undocumented status (Berk & Schur, 2001). It is important to note that many Hispanic im/migrants with legal status may have one or more family members in the U.S. who are undocumented (Sabia, 2007). Indeed, a Pew Hispanic Report (2007) found that over half of all Hispanics in the U.S. worry that they or a friend or family member could be deported. Not surprisingly, foreign-born Hispanics, accounting for over half of all Hispanic adults in the U.S., report high levels of anxiety related to legal status and deportation issues – regardless of their own legal status. Finch and colleagues (2003) found similar results among a sample of U.S. citizens of Hispanic ethnicity. The participants reported high levels of stress associated with being subjected to questions about their legal status from law enforcement, im/migration, and other officials despite the fact that “these stresses should be irrelevant to them” as U.S. citizens (Finch et.al., 2000, p. 310).

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODS

Methods Overview

The purpose of this research project is to explore the challenges faced by Hispanic im/migrants in Forest, Mississippi and to investigate the ways they cope with these challenges. The study employs triangulated research methods (ritual observation, key informant interviews, and semi-structured questionnaire) to address the following research aims: (1) To determine to what extent Forest's procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* operates to express the values and concerns of the community and to transform the actions and motivations of the community, (2) To identify the social stressors faced by Hispanic im/migrants to the community of Forest, and (3) To identify Hispanic im/migrants to the community of Forest cope with social stressors. All study methods and instruments have been pre-approved by the Internal Review Board of Mississippi State University. I initially gained entry into the Hispanic community of Forest by volunteering during the summer of 2005 at EXCEL. I also attended the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* on two previous occasions, in 2005 and 2006.

Ritual Analysis

To analyze the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe*, I use a series of questions supplied by Grimes to aid his students in the field (Grimes, 2007). He identifies six observable categories of rituals: (1) ritual space, (2) ritual object, (3) ritual time, (4) ritual sound and language, (5) ritual action, and (6) ritual identity. For each category, Grimes offers multiple questions, some of which are only applicable in certain rituals. For the current study, I have selected the most applicable questions for each category, and use them to guide my analysis of the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* as observed and documented on December 14th, 2009 in Forest, Mississippi.

Ritual Space

Ritual space is the first category discussed by Grimes, and the following questions are linked with this category: “Where does the ritual enactment occur?”; “Is the ritual place permanently or temporarily set aside?”; “Is the space portable or stationary?”; “Are journeys to and from the place ritually elaborated?”; “Is the space duplicated or extended, are there shrines at home which replicate motifs elsewhere?”; “What is the history of the use of the place?”; “What size is the space?”; “How are boundaries and thresholds marked?” (Grimes, 2007, p. 26-27).

Ritual Objects

Ritual objects, forming the second category, are addressed by the following questions: “What, and how many, objects are associated with the ritual?”; “What are their

physical dimensions, shape, weight, and color?"; "Who handles them?"; "Is a power associated with the object?"; "Is its power animate or personified?"; "Has the object a significant name?"; "Is it valued more for what it means or for what it does?"; "What skills were involved in its making?"; "Is it considered a work of art?"; "Has it a 'home' spot?" (Grimes, 2007, p. 29).

Ritual Time

Ritual time is the third category, and it contains the following questions: "On what date does the ritual occur? At what season?"; "Does it always happen at this time?"; "Is it a one-time affair or a recurring one?"; "Does the rite commemorate historical eras or recall paradigmatic events?"; "Is it essential to remember things, events, or persons of the past?"; "Does it have phases, interludes, or breaks?"; "What elements are repeated within the duration of the rite?" (Grimes, 2007, p. 30-31).

Ritual Sound and Language

Ritual sound and language is the fourth category and addresses the following questions: "What musical sounds and instruments predominate?"; "Does it depend more on written texts or oral lore?"; "What forms do words about the rite take--narrative, expository, confessional, systematic?"; "What styles of language appear in it--incantation, poetry, narrative, rhetoric, creeds, invective, dialogue?"; "Do people use books during the rite?"; "To what extent is the language formulaic or repetitious?"; "How much of the language is spontaneous, how much is planned?" (Grimes, 2007, p. 32-34).

Ritual Identity

Ritual identity is the fifth category, and it will be addressed by considering the following questions: “What ritual roles and offices are operative--teacher, master, elder, priest, shaman, diviner, healer, musician?; Which roles extend beyond the ritual arena, and which are confined to it?; What kinship metaphors are important in the rite, for instance, brother, mother, grandfather?; Who is the audience, and how does it participate?; Does the rite cross ethnic, national, or regional boundaries? If so, how adapted is it to the present locality?” (Grimes, 2007, p. 35-36).

Ritual Action

Ritual action is the final category and will be analyzed by addressing the following questions: “What kinds of actions are performed as part of the ritual, for example, sitting, bowing, dancing, lighting fires, touching, avoiding, gazing, walking?”; “In what order do they occur?”; “What actions are regarded as especially meaningful and therefore symbolic?”; Which actions are repeated?”; “How do the social and environmental contexts influence the actions?” (Grimes, 2007, p. 37-38).

Key Informant Interviews

Interviews were conducted using open-ended questions to address the research hypotheses (see Appendix A). I conducted key informant interviews with Sister R. and

Sister N., two Catholic nuns who serve as directors of the community-based organization, EXCEL. The main questions asked in the qualitative interview include: “In what ways are you involved with the Hispanic members of the community?” “What kind of assistance do you offer to Hispanics within the community?” and “What problems do Hispanic community members come to you for help with?” The key informant interviews were audio-taped and transcribed, and themes were identified.

Semi-structured Questionnaire

The semi-structured questionnaire developed for this study includes a sociodemographic section and two previously validated measures, the forty-item Hispanic Women’s Social Stressor Scale (HWSSS) (Goodkind, 2008), which was adapted for both male and female participants, and the 24-item Brief COPE Inventory (Carver, 1997). The questionnaire was reviewed and/or translated by a native Spanish-speaker. The Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level of readability for the English-language questionnaire was 4.7. I was unable to obtain a Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level for the Spanish-language version of the questionnaire, but expect it to be within a similar range as the English-language version.

Recruitment Procedures

Respondents were recruited into the study using convenience sampling. This method of sampling is often used to recruit transient populations such as migrants and tourists (Bernard, 2005; Ragsdale, Anders, & Philappakos, 2007). For the current study,

participant observation was conducted from December 2008 to April 2009 surrounding three community activities. I attended Forest's 2008 procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe*, participated in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, and attended Spanish-language Masses at St. Michael's Catholic Church from January to April 2009.

Respondents were recruited either prior to or following community events such as the procession of *la Virgen of Guadalupe*, Spanish-language Mass at Saint Michael's Catholic Church, and ESL classes at EXCEL. Potential respondents were given a brief description of the study and asked if they would be willing to participate. In some cases, other by-standers would approach to inquire about the study and possibly to participate. Typically, groups of two to eight people answered the self-administered questionnaire at once, individually or with my assistance as needed. Some participants could only spare enough time to answer the first section of the survey, the sociodemographic section. Others had enough time to answer most or all of the second page, the stressor and the coping measures. For this reason, the sample size varies for each of the three sections of the survey, the sociodemographic section, the stressor measure, and the coping measure.

Those who assented were given an eligibility screen to confirm that they meet the eligibility criteria. Eligibility criteria included: (1) 18 years of age or older; (2) self-identify as Hispanic im/migrant to the U.S.; (3) having lived in U.S. for a minimum of three consecutive months; (4) reside/work in Mississippi. All participants gave verbal informed-consent after reviewing a consent form approved by the institutional review board at Mississippi State University (Appendix B). In order to protect participant anonymity, no personal identifiers were collected. The quantitative data were analyzed

using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 16. See Appendix C for the complete questionnaire.

Sociodemographic Characteristics

Demographic variables addressed in the questionnaire include age, country of origin, marital status, level of education, time spent in the U.S., number of dependents (in the U.S. and in the participant's country of origin), type of employment, hours worked per week, and religious participation.

Open-ended Questions

This section of the questionnaire included the following three questions related to *la Virgen de Guadalupe*: (1) Did you celebrate the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe before you came to the U.S.?; (2) Do you think participating in this celebration helps with your problems in the US? If yes, how?; and (3) What is different or special about Forest's celebration of the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe?

Hispanic Women's Social Stressor Scale (HWSSS)

The HWSSS was originally designed for a study of Mexican and Mexican American women (Goodkind, 2008). For the present study, the HWSSS is adapted for administering to Hispanic men and women. Examples of statement modifications include from "being a single mom" to "being a single parent" and from "being concerned about the welfare of family and friends in Mexico" to "being concerned about the welfare of

family or friends in your country of origin” The final questionnaire retains four of the six subscales of social stressors: (1) im/migration; (2) socioeconomic; (3) parental; and (4) employment, all previously reported areas of stress for Hispanics im/migrants in U.S. (Berk & Schur, 2001, Jensen, 2006; Kandel & Cromartie, 2004; Kochhar, Suro, & Tafoya, 2005; Villalba, 2007). Reliabilities for the four subscales ranged from excellent to reliable, with Cronbach’s alpha coefficients (α) of 0.94 for the immigration scale, 0.82 for the socioeconomic scale, 0.73 for the parental scale, and 0.74 for the employment scales. Cronbach’s alpha is a standard statistical measure used to confirm the reliability of a psychometric scale in terms of how well it measures a set of variables pertaining to the particular construct of interest. A Cronbach’s alpha of .7 or above is considered to indicate that the scale is reliable.

The original HWSSS measure asked participants to rate stress on a five-point Likert scale with 0 = did not occur; 1 = did not cause stress; 2 = caused a little stress; 3 = caused some stress; and 4 = caused a lot of stress. Due to the small sample size obtained for this pilot study, the final responses of the HWSSS were recoded into the following two categories: (1) did not cause stress (responses 0 or 1); and (2) caused stress (responses 2, 3 or 4). For purposes of the present study, I will refer to the adapted HWSSS scale as the Revised Hispanic Social Stressor Scale (R-HSSS) (see Appendix C).

The Brief COPE Inventory

The Brief COPE Inventory (Carver, 1997; Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989; Carver et al., 1993), which consists of fourteen separate scales, is used to assess dysfunctional

and adaptive coping methods for particular life stressors among the general population. As the Brief COPE has not been previously tested among a Hispanic im/migrant population, the Brief COPE was also adapted for the present study to include the following subscales: (1) self-distraction ($\alpha = .71$); (2) emotional support ($\alpha = .71$); (3) active coping ($\alpha = .68$); (4) positive reframing ($\alpha = .64$); (5) planning ($\alpha = .73$); (6) behavioral disengagement ($\alpha = .65$); (7) religion ($\alpha = .82$); and (8) acceptance ($\alpha = .57$). Participants ranked their coping strategies on a four-point Likert scale with 1 = I usually don't do this at all; 2 = I do this occasionally; 3 = I do this about half the time; 4 = I usually do this a lot. Due to the small sample size obtained for this pilot study, the final responses of this measure were recoded into the following two categories: (1) I don't usually do this (responses 1 or 2); and (2) I usually do this (responses 3 or 4). The adapted Brief COPE Inventory will be referred to in this study as the R-BCI (see Appendix C).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Ritual Analysis

An analysis of Forest's procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* reveals, as Turner may have expected, a deeper understanding of the traditional and moral fibers of the community. Certain themes are apparent throughout the procession, such as: the multiple nationalities represented in the community, the important role of children in the community, and the empowerment found in God and La Virgen de Guadalupe. While Grimes' ritual categories and corresponding questions were helpful in reaching a thorough and organized description of the ritual, attempting to break the elements of the ritual into the six categories, which repeatedly overlapped, proved to be difficult and limiting. For this reason, observations and analysis of the ritual are presented in a narrative form without specifically identifying Grimes' six ritual categories.

For over a decade, the Hispanic communities of Forest and Morton, Mississippi, have been celebrating the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* on or around the twelfth of December of each year. Unlike Mexico, where December 12th is recognized as a national and a religious holiday, the exact date of the celebration at Saint Michael's is adjusted to the nearest weekend, as the work week in the U.S. can't be interrupted. The procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* unites Forest's multinational Catholic community

with origins from Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama.

Participants meet in Morton on the morning of the celebration to decorate cars and trucks for a vehicle procession from Morton to the courthouse in downtown Forest. At the courthouse, people join the procession on foot as it continues to St. Michael's. They carry flags from their country of origin along with iconic images of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* as she appeared on Juan Diego's *tilma*. Call-and-response cries of '*¡Viva Guadalupe!*' are overt public display of solidarity. Participants read aloud from the *Rosario Guadalupano*, a book of songs and prayers designated for this celebration. They recite Spanish phrases that translate to: "Like Juan Diego, we are poor and living in a foreign land," "like Juan Diego, we have left our homeland to look for a better life," "like Juan Diego, we also have Maria de Guadalupe, she is our mother; We also believe in her," and "like Juan Diego, our lives are full of anguish, worries, and illness. Pray for us."

In the meantime, people begin to gather at St. Michael's to prepare for an outdoor Mass that will begin upon the arrival of the procession. Inside a special room in St. Michael's an altar dedicated to *la Virgen de Guadalupe* has been decorated with miniature flags from around world reminding everyone of her message of equality, unity, and social justice. Immediately after Mass, a traditional Mexican meal is served in the Hall that adjoins St. Michael's. Later that night, people meet again in Morton to sing traditional *Guadalupe* songs and offer *novenas* (special prayers) to *la Virgen de Guadalupe*.

Like in Mexico, at the heart of the celebration are the children. Young girls dress in traditional native dresses and *huipils*, and young boys dress as a miniature Juan Diego with painted-on mustaches and *tilmas* displaying the image of *la Virgen de Guadalupe*. Guests of honor at the procession and Mass are girls representing *la Virgen* and boys representing Juan Diego. Even the “stars” of the parade, *la Virgen of Guadalupe* and Juan Diego, are represented by children from the community. Along with the Mexican children representing *la Virgen de Guadalupe* and Juan Diego, there is also a set of Guatemalan children representing *la Virgen de Guadalupe* and Juan Diego. Guatemala follows Mexico as the second most populous nationality among Forest’s Hispanic immigrant community. The children inhabit the set of Mount Tepeyac built in the back of a pick-up truck that leads the procession through town.

Key Informant Interviews

From the interviews with Sister N. and Sister R., as well as informal interaction with the Hispanic community, it became clear that the August 2008 raid in a nearby town of Laurel, Mississippi, has elevated the anxiety levels of the im/migrant community. What is reported to be the largest workplace raid in recent U.S. history resulted in the arrest of 600 workers at the Howard Industries plant in Laurel, Mississippi (Nossiter, 2008). The Homeland Security Act passed by the Bush Administration following the September 11, 2001 World Trade Center attack resulted in a drastic increase of raids across the U.S. (Ainslie, 2009). Sister R. describes the steps they took to help their community prepare for a possible raid: “Right after the raids, we were asking ‘How does

a community get ready?’ EXCEL hosted a workshop with help from local school personnel and pastors [on] community preparedness... should an immigration raid occur.” She added that there is a need for follow-up workshops.

Another major concern of the community is clearly expressed by Sister N., “Since last year, Mississippi employers have to use the E-verify System to verify that [workers] are in the country legally, and if they ever knowingly hire someone who is illegal, there are some serious fines.” On February 12, 2009, Mississippi implemented the E-verify system, an internet-based, joint effort of the Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service, and the Social Security Administration. This system makes it more difficult for illegal im/migrants to be employed. Jensen (2006) reports that, when compared to other regions, the Southeastern U.S. has a higher number of undocumented Hispanic im/migrants, and Mississippi is no exception. However, with the passing of S.B. 2564 Mississippi joins the ranks of Arizona, Colorado, Georgia and Oklahoma to become the fifth state with laws requiring this background check (Mississippi Management and Reporting System, 2008).

The E-verify system is closely related to a third topic that appears to be of great concern to the community, job scarcity. As Sister R. explains, “The jobs are fewer, so people are leaving the community. At least three couples recently moved to Virginia or North Carolina. They are like the Biblical migrants on the move. They take only what they can carry, because they go by bus.” The job situation in Forest is likely a reflection of the current U.S. economy (Bucks, Kennickell, & Moor, 2009). Though im/migrants are experiencing more stringent background and legal status checks as a result of the E-

verify system coming to Mississippi, the lack of jobs in Forest is a relatively new concern of the im/migrant community, who were drawn to Forest originally because of the demand for workers.

Semi-structured Questionnaire

Sociodemographic Characteristics

As Table 3.1 indicates, eighty-five percent of the sample (n=27) was male. The sample population ranged in age from nineteen to fifty-nine years and averaged twenty-nine years, with an educational level that ranged from fourth grade to four years of college, with an average of nine years of education. The majority of the sample, eighty-two percent, was of Mexican origin, and the remaining respondents originated from Guatemala, Honduras, and Peru. Less than half of the respondents, forty-one percent, reported being married, and fifty-six percent of the sample reported having children. The average number of children reported was three, and the number of children reported ranged from one to six. Fifty-six percent of respondents also reported having additional dependents, primarily mothers, parents, and younger siblings. Eighty-five percent of the sample reported being uninsured, although most respondents were employed full-time (40 hours per week). The most frequently reported occupation was in the poultry industry at thirty-three percent, and the second most frequently reported occupation was in construction at fifteen percent.

There was a discrepancy with the way that participants interpreted questions 13 (a-c) and 14 (a-c) on the semi-structured questionnaire. Question 13 is as follows: (a) Do you have children?; (b) *If yes*: How many children do you have?; and (c) How many of your children currently live with you in the U.S.? Question 14 is as follows: (a) Do you have other dependents?; (b) *If yes*: What is their relationship to you?; and (c) How many of your other dependents are currently living with you in the U.S.? Some responses to part (c) of either questions were inconsistent with the responses for parts (a) and (b) of their corresponding questions. For example, one respondent reported having no dependents, but three living with them in the U.S.; another respondent reported having no children but four living with them in the U.S.; and another respondent reported having one child, but six living with them in the U.S.

Table 3.1. Sociodemographic Characteristics

Variable	n=27 (%)	Mean	Range
Gender: Male	23 (85)	—	—
Age (years)	—	29	19-59
Education (years)	—	9	4-16
Mexican Origin	22 (82)	—	—
Married	11 (41)	—	—
Children	15 (56)	—	—
Number of Children	—	3	1-6
Other Dependents	15 (56)	—	—
Uninsured	23 (85)	—	—
Occupation			
Poultry	9 (33)	—	—
Construction	4 (15)	—	—
Other	5 (18)	—	—

Upon questioning one of the respondents about their interpretation of the question, I learned that it had been misinterpreted to mean the number of persons living

under the same roof. The number of people sharing a household may be an important factor in the stress levels of some im/migrants. The living conditions of some members of Forest's im/migrant community have repeatedly been mentioned in conversations with the Catholic Church staff. During her interview, Sister R. talked briefly about the overcrowded conditions of the trailers rented by some of the Hispanic im/migrant workers. She explains, "Father B. was talking about seven guys living together in a trailer— and that's not new either, you know, the living conditions, or the circumstances, so that they can send their money back home."

Border Crossing into the U.S.

As Table 3.2 indicates, among the entire sample (n=27), the average age at the first border crossing into the U.S. was twenty years, with a range of twelve to thirty years of age. The majority of respondents, sixty-seven percent, reported that they had only crossed the border into the U.S. one time. Thirty-four percent reported that they had crossed the border into the U.S. two or more times, ranging from two to three; twenty-five percent reported that they experienced unsuccessful attempts to cross the border into the U.S., with the number of unsuccessful attempts ranging from one to five times. Among the total sample, the average number of years lived in the U.S. was six years, with a range of one to fourteen years. Among the total sample, the average number of years lived in Mississippi was four years, with a range of one to ten years.

Table 3.2. Border Crossing into the U.S.

Variable	n (%)	Mean	Range
Age at first border crossing	—	20	12-30
One border crossing	16 (67)	—	—
Two or more crossings	8 (34)	—	2-3
Unsuccessful crossings	6 (25)	3	1-5
Years in U.S.	—	6	1-14
Years in MS	—	4	1-10

Literature suggests that a major source of stress among Hispanic im/migrants to the U.S. is caused by traumatic experiences crossing the U.S. border. Results of the series of questions about border crossing revealed that six of the sixteen respondents have attempted to cross the border but been unable to, some as many as five times. This study's results highlight a second type of border crossing experience that can lead to increased social stress, the inability to return home. Several participants have been in the U.S. for over ten years and report crossing the border only once, presumably to enter the U.S.

It appears that some people in the community have not returned home for the entire time they have been in the U.S. Though a common reason for not returning to one's country of origin to visit family or friends is legal status, in some cases, even people who are in the U.S. legally may not be permitted to re-enter with certain work permits or visas. Some visas only allow one-time entry, and renewing a visa in some countries can take months, with a number of possibilities for further delay (Bhattacharjee, 2003). Other factors that could prevent im/migrants to make trips home include the lack

of funds for travel, the inability to take time off work due to a strain on income or a risk of losing one's job, and the expense and hardship of traveling with young children.

Open-ended Questions

The majority of respondents of Mexican origin, ninety-five percent, reported celebrating the Feast day of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* prior to arrival in the U.S. In response to question 19 (a and b), "Does participating in the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* help you with your problems in the U.S.?" and "If so, How?," typical responses included themes of spirituality, uniting the community, and empowerment. Some examples include, "The community is more united," "We are united as Christians," and "It helps me to be a better person, to have fewer problems." For question 20, "What is different or special about Forest's celebration of the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe?" typical responses suggested a continuum of old and new traditions. For example, responses included, "It's special because it's done like in Mexico," and "It's very special, but some things are different," to "There are flags from all countries, and the procession."

Revised Hispanic Social Stressor Scale (R-HSSS)

The R-HSSS includes four subscales, and the results for each subscale are presented below in Table 3.3 by percentage of respondents (n=18) who reported that each event was a stressor. It is interesting to note that parents consistently reported lower level of stressors on all sub-scales by parents.

R-HSSS Immigration Stressors Subscale.

For this subscale, seventy-two percent of respondents reported that being concerned about welfare of family and friends in their country of origin is a stressor, making this the most frequently reported stressor for the immigration subscale. Sixty-seven percent reported that feeling the need to learn English is a stressor. Sixty-one percent reported that deportation concerns related to self and family members is a stressor. Sixty-one percent also reported that a spouse or partner having a hard time finding a job or being forced to accept a low paying job as a stressor. Fifty-six percent reported that missing the help and support of family in their country of origin is a stressor. The remaining items in this subscale are reported in Table 3.3.

R-HSSS Socioeconomic Stressors Subscale.

For this subscale, seventy-two percent of respondents reported difficulty finding a job or being forced to accept a low paying job is a stressor, making this the most frequently reported stressor for the socioeconomic subscale. Sixty-seven percent reported that depending on others for transportation is a stressor. Only seventeen percent reported that not having enough money for basic necessities is a stressor. The remaining items in this subscale are reported in Table 3.3.

R-HSSS Parental Stressors Subscale.

Percentages reported in this subscale only include the thirteen respondents who identified themselves as parents (n=13). Among this subsample, the most significant stressor, reported by forty-six percent, is not being able to spend as much time their children as they wanted due to work. Only seven percent reported stress over their children being influenced by bad kids, and only fifteen percent of respondents reported that their children being exposed to drugs or alcohol was a concern.

R-HSSS Work Stressors Subscale.

Job stress was low in comparison to the other subscales. Only thirty-three percent of the respondents reported stress from their job. Likewise, only thirty-nine percent reported stress from negative stereotypes about Hispanics from coworkers or bosses. The highest reported source of work stress, having trouble balancing work and family, was reported by fifty-six percent of respondents.

Revised Brief Cope Inventory (R-BCI)

The Revised Brief Cope Inventory (R-BCI) addresses the following ways of coping with stressors: (1) self-distraction (i.e., turning to work/activities to take mind off the stressor), (2) seeking emotional support, (3) active coping (i.e. taking action to make the situation better), (4) positive reframing (trying to see a positive side to the stressor), (5) planning (i.e., coming up with a strategy to address the stressor), (6) behavioral disengagement (i.e., giving up attempt to cope with the stressor), (7) religion (i.e., finding

comfort in religious or spiritual beliefs), and (8) acceptance (i.e., learning to live with the stressor). This measure had a low response rate as compared to other sections of the questionnaire (n=10), possibly due to the position of the scale at the end of the survey. The most commonly reported coping method among the subsample of respondents was “Trying to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive,” which was reported by seventy-one percent of respondents (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.3. Revised Hispanic Social Stressor Scale (R-HSSS) Responses

Variables	Total N=18 (%)	Parents N=13 (%)
Immigration Stressors Subscale		
Feeling the need to learn English	67	62
Not being understood in public due to not speaking English	56	39
Losing status or independence you had in your country of origin	44	31
Worrying that you/family members will be deported	50	39
Thinking of what might happen if you/family were deported	61	46
Not having the same job opportunities as Anglos	39	23
Receiving poor service because you don't speak English well	56	46
Concerned about family/friends in country of origin	72	62
Missing the support of your family in your country of origin	56	46
Not understanding U.S. values and culture	50	39
Someone threatening to report you/children to INS	50	31
Spouse/partner difficulty finding job/accepting low paying job	61	61
Socioeconomic Stressors Subscale		
Feeling lonely and isolated	50	39
Not having enough money to pay debts	56	46
Lack money for basic necessities (for food, etc)	17	23
Depend on others for transportation	67	62
Not knowing who to trust for good information or help	44	39
Hard time finding a job or forced to accept a low paying job	72	62
Not being able to afford to live in the neighborhood you want	44	39
Parental Stressors Subscale		
Being a single parent	–	39
Your children receiving poor school reports or grades	–	23
Your children being influenced by bad friends	–	7
Your children not respecting you as they should	–	31
Your children being exposed to drugs or alcohol	–	15
Feeling your children were not safe in your neighborhood	–	23
Not being able to spend time with children because of work	–	46
Concern over paying for medical care for your children	–	31
Work Stressors Subscale		
Your job	33	31
Coworkers/supervisors' negative stereotypes about Hispanics	39	31
Trouble balancing work and family	56	39

Table 3.4. The Revised Brief Cope Inventory (R-BCI) Responses

Variable	n=14 (%)
Turning to work or other activities to take my mind off things	42
Getting emotional support from others	36
Taking action to try to make the situation better	57
Trying to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive	71
Trying to come up with a strategy about what to do	57
Giving up the attempt to cope	36
Finding comfort in my religion or spiritual beliefs	50
Learning to live with it	50

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Study Limitations

The results presented in this paper need to be considered in the context of several methodological limitations. From the beginning of this study, being a non-native Spanish speaker and conducting field research among a group with limited English language abilities, language barriers were an important factor when developing research methods, data collection procedures, and key-informant interview choices. In addition, the study was conducted among a small convenience sample recruited at Catholic community-based events in rural Mississippi, so the findings may not be generalized to a broader sample, such as urban or non-Catholic Hispanic im/migrants. Additionally, the majority of the questionnaire respondents were male (n=24), and therefore it must be considered that responses do not fully represent female respondents. Furthermore, questionnaires data was self-reported, which is subject to social desirability biases that can result in over- and under-reporting, poor memory recall, and response refusal. Indeed, response refusal was relatively high on a number of questionnaire items.

Because data collection methods were modified for recruiting participants during available windows of time, refusal rates are difficult to estimate. To increase response rates, the HWSSS was reduced from six to four scales questions and the COPE was reduced

from twenty-four to eight questions. Questionnaire modifications improved the rate of questionnaire completion; however, the number questionnaires collected remains low, at twenty-seven respondents for the sociodemographic characteristics, eighteen respondents for the HWSSS, and fourteen respondents for the COPE.

Regarding response refusal, as recruitment was conducted at community-based event during time that is typically reserved for specific forms of social interactions, it may be that respondents were in a hurry to complete the questionnaire. Further complicating the issue of response refusal was that the average level of education for participants was nine years, and this low level in combination with the data collection techniques of this particular study, might have contributed to response refusal. Previous research experience suggested that the two-page questionnaire should have take respondents no more than fifteen minutes to complete. However, the length of time that it took participants to read through and respond to the questionnaire was substantially longer than expected, with some respondents taking more than thirty minutes to complete the survey. Grzywacz et.al. (2009) discusses some of the difficulties of conducting research among Hispanic agricultural im/migrants. The author associates a lower level of education found among this group with a reduced reading level and a “corresponding inexperience responding to highly structured instruments (132).

Implications

Although a limited sample size and the exclusive focus on rural Hispanic im/migrants recruited at Catholic community-based events renders the conclusions

tentative, the data suggest several areas of particular interest for continued research. Observation of the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* revealed important themes of (1) being in a foreign land, (2) being poor, (3) looking for jobs, and (4) being separated from family and friends. Observation of the procession also revealed some potential ways that participants increased coping, such as; (1) uniting the community, (2) emotional and spiritual well-being, (3) faith in God and the Virgin, and (4) receiving the blessings of God and the Virgin. As Sister N. explained, “the number of people who are involved in processions and the enthusiasm, I think it’s that kind of community support. So that’s a big plus for counter-acting stress.” However, further qualitative research is needed to fully explore the embedded meanings and significance of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* to her followers in Forest, Mississippi.

Questionnaire respondents reported stressors across the following categories in order of importance: (1) concern about family/friends in country of origin and (2) having a hard time finding work or being forced to take lower wages were both reported by seventy-two percent; (3) access to transportation and (4) the need to learn English were both reported by sixty-seven percent; (5) Worrying about you or your family being deported and (6) worrying that your spouse may not find a job or may have to accept low wages were both reported by sixty-one percent. Contrary to previous research, this study found that stress related to: (1) job-related negative stereotyping of Hispanics (39%); and (2) job or place of employment (33%) was significantly low among respondents.

Research Recommendations

Results of questions relating to the stresses of raising children were low in comparison to the other sub-scales on the R-HSSS. When the overall responses of parents were compared to the total sample, stress for each subscale of the R-HSSS were consistently lower for respondents who reported being parents, suggesting that parents may have additional ways of coping with stress, or that being a parent is a protective factor against the stressors associated with im/migration. This finding merits further research.

Further research is needed to fully understand stress and coping among Hispanic im/migrants in Mississippi and other rural areas of the U.S. Applying a transnational perspective could aid in a clearer understanding of the cultural-specific meaning of “stressors” and “coping”. Likewise, considering the role of the procession of *la Virgen de Guadalupe* among other im/migrant communities and among sending communities would give a stronger transnational perspective to this research.

The issue of transportation has been consistently identified as a stressor among im/immigrants to rural areas (Cristancho, Garces, Peters, & Mueller, 2008; Hovey & Magaña, 2002). This is a stressor with far-reaching consequences, for example: lack of transportation to work results in job termination, and lack of transportation to hospitals or clinics results in untreated illnesses and injuries. A lack of public transportation is not unique to im/migrants in rural areas, but is a common dilemma for many rural U.S. residents. One transportation issue that is specific to im/migrants is the difficulty in obtaining a driver’s license, which requires proof of legal residency along with other

documents. This results in a large number of im/migrants driving without a license, which can lead to arrest and deportation. The issues of rural public transportation and the ability to obtain a driver's license are areas that could greatly benefit from research geared toward policy change.

Immigration is linked to the economic and the political situations of both the sending and receiving nations, and patterns emerge and subside over time (Durand, et. al., 1999). The Pew Hispanic Center released a report in 2008 showing that Mexican and Central American im/migration to the U.S. was on a decline since 2007 and is projected to keep declining. Since this report was released, the United States has entered an economic crisis that is reducing job availability in the industries that employ im/migrant labor. Im/migration rates may be on the decline, but many im/migrants remain in the United States and have started families, creating a growing need for research aimed toward assisting im/migrant families and the new generation of Hispanic U.S. citizens.

This 'second generation' Hispanic youth (Rumbaut, 2007) who immigrated as young children or are born in the U.S. to im/migrant parents, who may become innocent victims of workplace raids (Capps, Castañeda, Chaudry, & Santos, 2007), increasingly merit the attention of researchers. Some specific issues have been identified among the "second generation' in rural settings. When compared to rural non-Hispanic youth as well as urban youth, rural Hispanic youth face specific health disparities like lapsed vaccinations, high rates of teen pregnancy, and poor dental and vision care (Villalba, 2007), all of which can interrupt educational achievement.

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APPENDIX A
CONSENT FORM

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: The Virgin of Guadalupe Comes to Mississippi

Study Site: Forest Mississippi

Name of Researcher(s) & University affiliation:

- Mary Rebecca Read, Primary Investigator, Mississippi State University
- Dr. Kathleen Ragsdale, Faculty Advisor, Mississippi State University

What is the purpose of this research project?

The purpose of this research project is to understand the challenges of Latin American migrants in Forest, Mississippi and to investigate the ways they cope with these challenges.

How will the research be conducted?

You are being asked to participate in an anonymous face-to-face interview conducted by the primary researcher. You will be asked to talk about issues and experiences related to the migrant community in Forest, Mississippi. Interviews will last 30-60 minutes. With your permission, the interview may be audiotaped. This will help the researchers accurately record your thoughts and responses. You may request that all or part of the audiotapes be erased at any time. All audiotapes will be transcribed and erased within one year of the interview. To protect your confidentiality, you will be assigned a unique Research Identification Number (RIN). Only your RIN will be attached to your audiotapes and transcripts. Your RIN cannot in any way be linked back to your name or identity. All information that you provide will be kept strictly confidential to the extent permitted by law. In general, none of the information that you provide will be shared with anyone outside of the research team. However, there are laws that require the researchers to tell others if you tell them that you are going to hurt yourself or another specific person, or that a child or older person is being hurt or abused. In these cases, the researchers may have to tell someone to protect the person.

How long will my participation take?

Your participation will take about 30 minutes. You may be asked to participate in a more in-depth interview. This in-depth interview should also take 30-60 minutes and will be arranged ahead of time.

Are there any risks or discomforts to me because of my participation?

No risks are anticipated. If any emerge, you may withdraw from the study.

Does participation in this research provide any benefits to others or myself?

You may not directly benefit from being in this study. The study may benefit other recent immigrants to the United States since the information you provide may be used to develop programs and to improve services.

Will this information be kept confidential?

Yes (Please note that these records will be held by a state entity and therefore are subject to disclosure if required by law).

Who do I contact with research questions?

If you should have any questions about this research project, please feel free to contact Mary Rebecca Read at 662-312-9666. For additional information regarding your rights as a research subject, please feel free to contact the MSU Regulatory Compliance Office at 662-325-3294.

What if I do not want to participate?

Please understand that your **participation is voluntary**, your **refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits** to which you are otherwise entitled, and you **may discontinue your participation** at any time without penalty or loss of benefits.

You will be given a copy of this form for your records.

FORMA DE CONSENTIMIENTO

Título de Estudio de Investigación: La Virgen de Guadalupe viene a Mississippi

Lugar de Estudio de Investigación: Forest, Mississippi

Nombre del Investigador(s) y Afiliación Universitaria:

- Mary Rebecca Read, Investigator Principal, Mississippi State University
- Dr. Kathleen Ragsdale, Consejero Universitario, Mississippi State University

¿Cuál es el objetivo de este proyecto?

El objetivo de esta investigación es entender los retos de los inmigrantes Latino Americanos en el condado de Forest del estado de Mississippi, e investigar las maneras a las que superan y/o se acostumbran a estos retos.

¿Cómo se llevará a cabo esta investigación?

Se le pedirá participar en una entrevista personal, la cual es anónima y será llevada a cabo por el investigador principal. Se le pedirá que hable acerca de asuntos y experiencias relacionadas a la comunidad de inmigrantes de Forest, Mississippi. Las entrevistas podrían durar de 30 a 60 minutos. Esto ayudará a los investigadores a tomar notas de sus respuestas y de lo que usted piensa de una manera más precisa. Usted tiene todo el derecho de pedir que toda la conversación o partes de ella sean borradas o no se graben en cualquier momento si así lo desea. Todos los audios serán borrados dentro del periodo de un año una vez que se recolecte la información de los mismos. Para proteger su confidencialidad, a cada persona se le dará un número único, llamado Número de Identificación para la Investigación (RIN, por sus siglas en inglés). Su RIN no se podrá ligar de ninguna manera a su nombre verdadero o identidad. Toda la información que usted nos proporcione será estrictamente guardada de manera confidencial hasta lo que sea permitido por ley. En general, ninguna de la información que usted nos proporcione será compartida con ninguna persona que no se encuentre en nuestro equipo de trabajo. Sin embargo, existen leyes que requieren que los investigadores compartan datos si usted menciona o manifiesta que va a lastimar o piensa lastimar a una persona en específico, o a un niño(a), o si usted menciona que alguna persona mayor está siendo abusada o lastimada. Los investigadores pueden compartir esta información para proteger a dicha persona.

¿Cuánto tiempo tomará mi participación?

Su participación tomará aproximadamente 30 minutos. Tal vez se le pida que participe en una entrevista aún más profunda, la cual puede durar de 30 a 60 minutos, pero esto se le preguntará con anticipación y será planeado si usted acepta.

¿Existen algunos riesgos o incomodidades para mí, debido a mi participación en este estudio?

Ningún riesgo está anticipado. Si alguno surgiera, usted puede salirse del estudio en cualquier momento.

¿Mi participación en este estudio de investigación traerá beneficios para otras personas o para mí?

Puede ser que no se beneficie usted directamente de este estudio. Este estudio puede ser beneficioso para los inmigrantes recién llegados a los Estados Unidos, ya que la información que usted nos está proporcionando podría ser usada para crear programas y mejorar servicios.

¿Esta información será guardada de manera confidencial?

Si, (por favor note que esta información será guardada por una entidad estatal, y por lo tanto podría ser requerida de sacarla por ley).

¿A quién contacto si tengo preguntas sobre la investigación?

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre esta investigación por favor, siéntase libre de contactar a Mary Rebecca Read al teléfono 662-312-9666. Para información adicional sobre sus derechos de ser un sujeto participante en una investigación, por favor siéntese libre de contactar a MSU Regulatory Compliance Office en el teléfono 662-325-3294.

¿Qué pasa si no quiero participar en el estudio?

Por favor que le quede claro que su participación es voluntaria, su negación a participar no tiene ninguna penalidad o pérdida de ningún beneficio que usted tenga o que tengan otras personas, usted puede negar su participación en cualquier momento sin ninguna consecuencia.

Se le dará una copia de este documento para que usted la guarde.

APPENDIX B
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

APPENDIX B

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

In what ways are you involved with the Hispanic members of the community?

Classes
Resources
Services
Translation
Transportation

How long have you lived in this community?

How has the community changed in the time that you have been here?

Demographics
Attitudes of locals towards migrants
Attitudes of the migrants towards the community
Services available to migrants (health, education, legal, religious, recreational)
Key problems in the community

What are the main problems faced by Hispanic migrants in this community?

Language and cultural barriers
Access to healthcare
Education
Legal status
Work related issues (hours/pay/injury)
Separation from friends and family

How are people coping with these problems?

What is the city of Forest doing to confront these issues?

How do organizations like the Catholic Church meet the needs of the Hispanic community?

Have you attended Forest's celebration of Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe?

What does the celebration of the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe mean to the community?

Do you think participating in this celebration helps people cope with their problems?

APPENDIX C
SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographics: Please answer the following questions by writing in a response and by circling the answer to the right. All information is confidential, and all questions are optional.

1. How old are you?
2. What was the last grade in school you completed?
3. Are you comfortable communicating in English?
4. What is your country of origin?
5. What state and/or city of origin?
6. How old were you the first time you crossed the US border?
7. How many times have you crossed the US border in your lifetime?
8. Have you ever attempted to cross the US border, but not been allowed?
If yes: How many times?
What year(s) did this happen?
9. How many years have you lived in the US?
10. How many months have you lived in Mississippi?
11. What is the name of the town where you live in Mississippi?
12. Do you have a spouse /main partner?
If yes: Does your spouse /main partner currently live with you in the US?
13. Do you have children?
If yes: How many children do you have?
How many of your children currently live with you in the US?
14. Do you have other dependents?
If yes: What is their relationship to you?
How many of your other dependents are currently living with you in the US?
15. Do you currently work?
If yes: What type of work do you do?
About how much do you earn per week?
Are you employed year-round or seasonally?
Do you work full-time or part-time?
How many hours per week do you usually work?
16. Do you have any other sources of income?
If yes: What are your other sources of income?
17. Do you currently have health insurance in the US?
If yes: Are you insured through your workplace in the US?
Is your whole family covered?
18. Did you celebrate the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe before you came to the U.S.?
19. Do you think participating in this celebration helps with your problems in the US?
If yes: How?
20. What is different or special about Forest's celebration of the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe?

Stress: Please indicate how stressful each of the following situations has been during the past year. If you have not experienced the situation in the previous year, choose zero (0).

0= Has not occurred
1= Not at all stressful
2= A little stressful
3= Somewhat stressful
4= Very stressful

1. Feeling the need to learn English
2. Not being understood in stores or offices because you could not speak English well
3. Losing the status or independence you had in your country of origin
4. Thinking you or family members might be deported
5. Thinking about what might happen if you or a family member were deported
6. Not having the same job opportunities as Anglos
7. Having to wait longer than others or being treated poorly because you do not speak English well
8. Being concerned about the welfare of family or friends in your country of origin
9. Missing the help and support of your family in your country of origin
10. Not understanding U.S. values and culture
11. Someone threatening to report you or your children to the Immigration & Naturalization Service
12. Your spouse or partner having a hard time finding a job or being forced to accept a low paying job
13. Feeling lonely and isolated
14. Not having enough money to pay debts
15. Having to depend on others for transportation or to get simple errands done
16. Not having enough money for basic necessities like food for your family or shoes for your children
17. Being a single parent
18. Your concern about not being able to pay for medical care for your children
19. Not knowing who to trust for good information or help
20. Having a hard time finding a job or being forced to accept a low paying job
21. Your children receiving poor school reports or grades
22. Your children being influenced by bad friends
23. Your children not respecting you as they should
24. Your children being exposed to drugs or alcohol
25. Feeling your children were not safe in your neighborhood
26. Not being able to spend as much time with your children as you wanted because you had to work
27. Your job
28. Having to deal with coworkers' or supervisors' negative stereotypes about Hispanics at your job
29. Having trouble balancing work and family
30. Not being able to afford to live in the neighborhood you want

Coping: The following are some ways of coping and adapting to difficult situations. Think about some difficult situations you have faced in the past year. Please indicate how often you used the below ways of coping

1= I don't usually do this 2= I do this occasionally 3= I do this about half the time 4= I do this a lot

1. Turning to work or other activities to take my mind off things
2. Getting emotional support from others
3. Taking action to try to make the situation better
4. Trying to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive
5. Trying to come up with a strategy about what to do
6. Giving up the attempt to cope
7. Finding comfort in my religion or spiritual beliefs
8. Learning to live with it

CUESTIONARIO

Demográficos: Por favor responda a las siguientes preguntas. También encierre en o circulo las respuestas de la derecha. Recuerde que toda la información se mantendrá confidencial y todas las preguntas están opcionales.

1. ¿Qué edad tiene?
2. ¿Hasta qué grado escolar estudio?
3. ¿Usted siente confortable comunicándose en inglés?
4. ¿Cuál es su país de origen?
5. ¿En qué ciudad y estate nació?
6. ¿Qué edad tenía cuando cruzó por primera vez la frontera de los Estados Unidos?
7. ¿Cuántas veces en total ha cruzado la frontera de los Estados Unidos?
8. ¿Alguna vez trató de cruzar pero no pudo o lo agarraron las autoridades de EE.UU.?
Si así fue: ¿Cuántas veces pasó por esta situación?
¿Recuerda en qué año(s) le sucedió esto?
9. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en los Estados Unidos?
10. ¿Cuántas mesas ha vivido en Mississippi?
11. ¿En qué ciudad de Mississippi vive usted?
12. ¿Tiene esposo(a)?
Si tiene: ¿Vive aquí con usted en los Estados Unidos?
13. ¿Tiene usted hijos?
Si tiene: ¿Cuántos son?
¿Cuántos viven con usted en los Estados Unidos?
14. ¿Tiene alguna otra(s) personas que dependen de usted?
Si tiene: ¿Qué parentesco tienen con usted?
¿Quiénes o cuántos de ellos viven con usted en los Estados Unidos?
15. ¿Trabaja usted?
Si trabaja: ¿Qué tipo de trabaja hace?
¿Cuál es su salario s la semana?
¿Está empleado al año o por temporadas?
¿Trabaja tiempo complete o parcial?
¿Cuántas horas a la semana usted trabaja normalmente?
16. ¿Tiene alguna otra fuente de ingreso?
Si tiene: ¿Cuales son?
17. ¿Tiene seguro medico en los Estados Unidos?
Si tiene: ¿Está asegurado por parte de su trabajo?
¿Toda su familia está también asegurada?
18. ¿Usted celebraba la fiesta de la Virgen de Guadalupe antes de llegar a los EE.UU.?
19. ¿Usted cree que participando en la fiesta de la Virgen de Guadalupe le ayuda con sus problemas en los EE.UU.?
Si cree: ¿Cómo?
20. ¿Qué es diferente o especial la fiesta de La Virgen de Guadalupe aquí en Forest?

Estrés: Durante los últimos 12 meses, ¿cuánto estrés le causó cada una de las siguientes experiencias?

- | |
|--|
| 0= No ocurrió
1= No causó estrés
2= Causó un poco de estrés
3= Causó bastante estrés
4= Causó mucho estrés |
|--|

1. El haber sentido la necesidad de aprender inglés
2. El no haberse dado a entender en tiendas u oficinas por no poder hablar bien el inglés
3. El haber perdido la posición socio o independencia que disfrutaba en su país
4. haber pensado que usted o sus familiares podrían ser deportados
5. El haber pensado en lo que pasaría si usted o algún familiar fueran deportados
6. El no tener las mismas oportunidades en el trabajo que tienen las personas blancas no hispanas
7. El haber tenido que esperar más tiempo que otros o haber sido tratado(a) mal por no poder hablar bien el inglés
8. El estar preocupado(a) por el bienestar de la familia o de las amistades en su país
9. La falta de la ayuda y el apoyo de su familia en su país
10. El no entender los valores y la cultura de EE.UU.
11. El que alguien la hubiera amenazado con reportarlo(a) a usted o a sus niños al INS
12. Las dificultades que su esposo(a) o compañero(a) haya tenido para encontrar trabajo a haber tenido que aceptar un trabajo con un sueldo muy bajo
13. El sentirse solo(a) y aislado(a)
14. El no haber tenido lo suficiente para pagar sus deudas
15. El haber tenido que depender de otros para transportarse o para hacer cualquier mandado
16. El ser padre soltera
17. El no haber tenido suficiente dinero para las necesidades básicas, tales como alimentos para su familia o zapatos para sus hijos
18. La preocupación de no poder pagar por la atención médica para sus hijos
19. El no haber sabido en quién confiar para pedir información correcta o para pedir ayuda
20. Las dificultades que usted haya tenido para encontrar trabajo o haber tenido que aceptar un trabajo con un sueldo muy bajo
21. El hecho de que sus niños hayan estado recibiendo malas calificaciones en la escuela
22. El haber sentido que las amistades de sus niños son malas influencias
23. El que sus niños no lo(a) respeten como es debido
24. El que sus niños hayan estado expuestos a las drogas y al alcohol
25. El haber sentido que sus niños corren peligro en su vecindario
26. El no haber podido dedicarle a sus hijos el tiempo que desearía por tener que trabajar
27. Su trabajo
28. El tener que lidiar con compañeros o supervisores en el trabajo, los cuales tienen un concepto negativo de las personas hispanas
29. El haber tenido problemas para equilibrar el trabajo y la familia
30. El no poder vivir en el vecindario que quisiera

Adaptación: Las siguientes son algunas maneras de enfrentarse y adaptarse a situaciones difíciles. Piense en las situaciones difíciles que enfrentó en el año pasado. Nos gustaría a saber cómo lo hizo.

1= No hice generalmente esto
2= Hice esto con cierta frecuencia
3= Hice esto un poco
4= Hice esto con mucha frecuencia

1. Yo me enfoqué en el trabajo u otras actividades para distraer mi mente.
2. Yo recibí apoyo emocional de otras personas.
3. Yo tomé acciones para poder mejorar la situación.
4. Yo traté de verlo con un enfoque distinto para que pareciera más positivo.
5. Yo traté de crear una estrategia para saber qué hacer.
6. Yo dejé de enfrentar la situación en la que estaba.
7. Yo traté de encontrar apoyo en mi religión o mis creencias espirituales.
8. Yo aprendí a vivir con mi si