

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT TO THE OREGON LAW FOUNDATION
ON THE LEGAL NEEDS OF OREGONIAN SEASONAL FARMWORKERS

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Supplemental Report on the Legal Needs of Oregonian Seasonal Farmworkers

INTRODUCTION

This document is the supplemental report to the Oregon Law Foundation's (OLF's) Legal Needs of Poor Oregonians survey conducted in 2018, focusing specifically on the legal needs of Oregon's population of seasonal farmworkers, a population composed predominantly of Latinx immigrants or guest workers. The original survey used as its sampling universe Oregonians earning 125% of the poverty rate or below. Using a methodology of an initial mailing, a web option, and a follow up phone contact yielded a sample of 1,017 respondents of which 51 (5%) considered themselves farmworkers. Given the investment that Oregon Legal Aid societies have made in the farmworker population in Oregon, more comprehensive data was required. By visiting housing locations with high numbers of immigrant farmworker occupants based on locational and demographic data provided by Legal Aid Services of Oregon (LASO) we gathered surveys from 111 farmworkers and farmworker adjacent persons. This is a report on these supplemental research activities.

METHODS

Sampling Approach

The original survey produced a low response rate (increasingly common in survey research) and almost certainly undercounted farmworkers. Due to high residential turnover, temporary housing, the seasonal nature of the job, and fear of official contact, the mailing approach proved ineffective for accessing this population. Most farmworkers in Oregon are Latinx immigrants and this produces additional difficulties regarding language and trust. Given these constraints, accessing such a population required several modifications from the original approach, including abandonment of a random sample. Instead, we employed intercept surveys targeted at particular individuals in specified geographies; that is, explicitly choosing sites and knocking on doors. Such an approach is advised when the population of interest is difficult to find and/or skittish of official involvement. One risk to such an approach is reaping significant redundancies in response, while the benefit is the inverse—an in-depth exploration of a particular subgroup.

According to our consultation with the Oregon Law Center (OLC) farmworker staff and LASO, seasonal farmworkers in Oregon labor beginning in the spring until late September. We decided to collect data throughout the month of August to take advantage of a peak labor time and a workforce that had, at the very least, experienced a good portion of a whole labor season. Our assumption was that most would be Spanish speakers, or speak Spanish as a second language with an indigenous South or Central American language as a first language. We employed the services of four research assistants who spoke Spanish as a first language with a smattering of indigenous languages as well. Our reasoning was that a research staff matched as much as possible for ethnicity and language would be perceived as less threatening, as well as have an advantage in explaining the nuances of the survey.¹ We also wanted to convey an impression of rigor and gravity to reassure respondents that their anonymity would be respected and to differentiate ourselves from immigration and law enforcement authorities.

¹ It must be understood, of course, that only countries that are the end points of immigration see “Latinx” or “Hispanic” as an undifferentiated ethnicity. Ethnicity is internal to Central and South American countries as well not only in terms of national borders, but also internal indigenous communities. We simply did the best we could with our limited resources.

Our ultimate field research team, organized to be non-threatening, familiar, and language competent, was composed of five women, four of whom are Latinx immigrants from Central and South America. We issued laminated badges on lanyards declaring them to be representatives of PSU Sociology, a designation supported on the study information sheets. Researchers also carried information regarding legal aid services for distribution after the survey and to those residents of the targeted housing complexes who either did not want to take the survey or were not engaged in or adjacent to farmwork. OLF authorized the distribution of \$20 incentives to survey completers and these were issued in individual envelopes to maximize dignity and minimize danger.

Our approach required consultation and collaboration with several organizations. Although the PSU Survey Research Lab had begun shuttering its doors, we secured trainings from their former staff on administering intercept surveys. We also met with the farmworkers legal team from OLC and LASO who trained us on how to approach farmworkers so as not to alarm potential respondents, what to expect, and how to maintain the safety of all concerned. In the final analysis, we collected data from 111 individuals, of which about 107 provided useable data for nearly all modules. We documented refusals as well: approximately 126 individuals refused to take the survey, meaning that the total number approached was about 237, yielding an ultimate response rate of about 47%. The reasons proffered for refusal varied greatly, including no time, off to church, fear of robbery, cooking dinner, not a farmworker, under 18, and a simple lack of interest.

Quantitative Data

The goal of the supplementary data collection was to get a subsample of Latinx seasonal farmworkers to respond to the same quantitative data collection instrument used in the larger random sample. The Survey Research Lab provided the initial survey translation. Our research team combed through the survey and adjusted some of the wording for purposes of clarity and readability. Language modifications were minor but important, given the (likely) educational differences between the two samples as well as the (likely) language diversity of a population drawn from across South and Central America.

The other major difference is that, unlike the random sample, these responses were gathered in a face-to-face fashion. This provided the opportunity for on-site clarification of confusing questions as well as active encouragement to finish the survey. Rather than a distant possibility, survey incentives were immediate and came with actionable information regarding legal services. It is unknown what effect this might have had on the responses.

Qualitative Data

The opportunity to collect qualitative data arose from fieldwork methodology decisions. The survey was administered face to face, including the write-in portions. Every aspect of the situation required conversation between researcher and subject, from the initial intercept, to the write-in portions of the survey (which became dictations supplemented by conversation), to the final questions that we asked apart from the survey regarding the survey itself (i.e., “Is there anything related to your legal needs that we have not touched on that you would like to share with us?”). Researchers were given a basic primer on writing ethnographic fieldnotes and used this to take descriptive notes on the setting, survey refusals, and respondents’ reactions to the survey. Review of these notes indicates that qualitative data was drawn directly from about 80 participants.

Setting

The research team obtained a list of potential sites from LASO. This list included apartment complexes housing a significant numbers of immigrant farmworkers. Site locations were in the following Oregon cities: Hillsboro, McMinnville, Independence, Gresham, Sandy, Woodburn and Forest Grove. Each site was a housing complex and/or a health fair, rather than a work site, a choice made to minimize disruption of work and intimidation from employers. The quality of the housing ranged considerably, from well-kept to dilapidated. Researchers limited their visits to early evening hours—just after work, but before bedtime to minimize disruption of family time and maximize good natured responses.

Hillsboro. The North Site apartments, painted red and consisting of single and two-story units, were well-maintained and in good condition. They contained outdoor green spaces and trees where people walked about their dogs and children played and rode bikes. Residents were friendly, smiling while saying hello and asking about the purposes of the research team, but also inquisitive and watchful. For the duration of the visit, there was a heavy police presence. Two different police vehicles drove through the complex twice within a four-hour period. One officer got out and knocked on multiple doors throughout the complex. Multiple participants at this site mentioned concerns with high levels of crime.

The South Site complexes each were located on the same street and were similar in size and appearance. Both consisted of old, run down, and poorly maintained two-story units. Judging by the broken windows, multiple units appeared to have been abandoned, while trash overflowed from bins, and building exteriors sported old dirty peeling paint jobs. These complexes did not have outdoor areas with green space and lacked common areas. One researcher noted that “the atmosphere of these apartments manifested a sense of abandonment and carelessness. Without a doubt, this is not an environment for the safe development for a child... there is no infrastructure for children.” Because we visited these sites on a Sunday, many residents were not home. The impression of the researchers was that these participants were more distrustful compared with other sites. These apartments also endured a high level of policing—at least five police cars were counted during the duration of the visit moving through the street. Participants at these sites reported high levels of crime and mentioned that they restrict their children from outside play due to safety concerns.

McMinnville. Researchers administered surveys at a health fair which took place at the Brightview Health Center in McMinnville. The fair comprised about 20 tables offering a variety of information regarding health-related topics (e.g., diet and exercise, diabetes). Other tables had crafts for kids and goodies to give out. One researcher noted that there were no tables on offering information on mental health or domestic violence. Researchers learned that many farmworkers lived in [REDACTED] and proceeded to gather survey responses there. This complex was well maintained with many trees and outdoor common areas. In the center was a basketball court where children were playing and other people were relaxing. Despite this gentle ambiance, many participants at this site reported concerns regarding police non-response and high levels of discrimination from the surrounding community.

Independence. The [REDACTED] complex consisted of two-story units with ample outdoor and common spaces. There appeared to be a community garden shared by the block residents (although this was not confirmed). As one researcher noted: “What called our

attention to this apartment complex is that it had two murals with farm related themes... [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

While the appearance of this complex stood out as informed and sensitive as to its patronage, the experiences of these participants tended to resonate with those from other sites. Participants in this complex particularly reported extremely high levels of fear and distrust of both police and ICE as well as inappropriate and discriminatory pressure applied to undocumented students by local school officials.

Gresham. The [REDACTED] complex consisted of duplex houses that looked medium-sized from the outside, but were quite small once inside. The complex had many communal areas and green spaces for children to play. This site was located by a busy highway and more than one researcher noted that children were not playing outside. Respondents confirmed this fear as related to protective barriers and traffic, as well as intimidation by management. This site did offer informational courses to residents, such as parenting classes. Participants at this location suffered high levels of discrimination from the larger community, local police, immigration attorneys, and school officials.

Woodburn. Woodburn's [REDACTED] comprised a large complex with multiple well-maintained buildings. Here were multiple reports of management ignoring resident concerns as well as blatant overcharging of residents with manufactured/inappropriate fees. The respondents here appeared wary of researchers, and reported high levels of distrust, crime, and fear within the residential community. Many reported that they did not feel safe in the complex due to high levels of illegal activity (e.g., car theft, drug trafficking, drunken confrontations, prostitution, and speeding vehicles). Participants said they had no leverage to control the situation and that they did not feel safe letting their children play outside due security and safety concerns. Respondents did not know where to find resources and support.

The other Woodburn site, [REDACTED], featured deplorable conditions. As one researcher noted, "This apartment complex was something out of the ordinary. I [have never] seen a place so poor, dirty, and marginalized." This site had about 15 single-story run-down units, with a dirt road and a tiny and insufficient parking lot. Multiple units had rotting wood, chipped paint, and broken windows that had been repaired with cardboard. Many participants reported that ICE frequently terrorized the complex and that the management was also extremely racist and aggressive with tenants.

The [REDACTED] was a very large apartment complex with two-story buildings. Several residents independently mentioned that a child had recently been abducted from the complex, which induced many parents to keep their children indoors and away from the community's amenities. Numerous participants expressed their fear of ICE and local police and that this prevented them from reporting the frequent gang activity and drug dealing in the complex.

Forest Grove. The [REDACTED] were located in a quiet neighborhood next to large single-family homes. The complex was nicely landscaped with many trees, green spaces, and common areas. Residents here seemed surprised to see researchers and one man asked if the one white researcher was lost and in need of assistance. The [REDACTED] were

located on a very large site with two-story buildings. The large playground in the center was very busy with families and the visit by the researchers seemed not to catch the attention of residents. Participants at both of these sites mentioned high levels of fear and discrimination stemming from local police, ICE, schools, and the larger community as well as a lack of resources.

Observation & Analysis

Four out of the five researchers were bilingual and were the primary source of fieldnotes. Researchers kept field journals where they documented notes, thoughts, key parts of informal conversations, and patterns in responses. These ethnographic techniques help highlight points that were not captured by the survey, which many respondents found challenging, even in Spanish. We compiled these journals into one large document containing all fieldnotes, organized by date and site location.

Using this data source, we employed manual coding for the analysis. Individual pieces of writing were subject to scrutiny and classified into a coding schema that grew throughout the coding process. Focused coding was the primary form of data analysis—all notes were examined for repeated themes and concepts that reflected the purpose of the research project. Vibrant thematic categories branched out in multiple directions while those that initially appeared promising but ultimately bore little fruit collapsed into larger branches or were discarded. All of this enhanced our overall understanding of the legal needs of migrant farmworkers as well as their general reactions to the topics raised.

Eligibility

The inclusion criteria revolved around the intercept sampling strategy. Targeting housing complexes meant that we had some control over those individuals with whom we engaged. The goal of the survey was to collect responses from migrant farmworkers, most of whom were assumed to be Latinx—indeed, since this is widely understood to be the case and immigrants have distinct legal needs, a Latinx-majority sample was preferred. The sample did in fact end up comprising 100% Latinx individuals.

We also attempted to maximize the number of actual farmworkers in the sample. This meant that we pre-screened households to make sure that there was a farmworker in residence, but also means that we received a few responses from non-farmworkers. We include these responses (10.3%; $n = 11$), since these individuals are farmwork-adjacent and occupy a similar social status.

Demographics

Age

Unlike the main random sample (which skewed elderly), this sample centered on a working-age population and thus produced a middle/late middle age modal value (35-44) as Table 1 shows. Youth under 24 (4.7%) and the elderly over 65 (1.0%) were rare in our sample.

Gender Identity

The sample is composed of 60.2% respondents who identified as female ($n = 62$) as female. No respondents identified as trans* or nonbinary.²

² Note that 4 individuals marked both male and female. Since these respondents did not indicate that they were trans* or nonbinary, we removed them from this part of the analysis.

Table 1. Age distribution of survey respondents

	Percent	N
18-24	4.7	5
25-34	24.3	26
35-44	42.1	45
45-64	28.0	30
65+	1.0	1
	100	107

Language & Origin

The primary language of nearly all respondents was Spanish (96.3%), although over 11% identified an indigenous language as a primary home language as well. English was easy or very easy for just over 15% of the sample ($n = 16$), while 34.6% found it very difficult ($n = 36$) as Figure 1 suggests. Relatedly, all but 2.8% ($n = 3$) of the respondents were born outside the US.

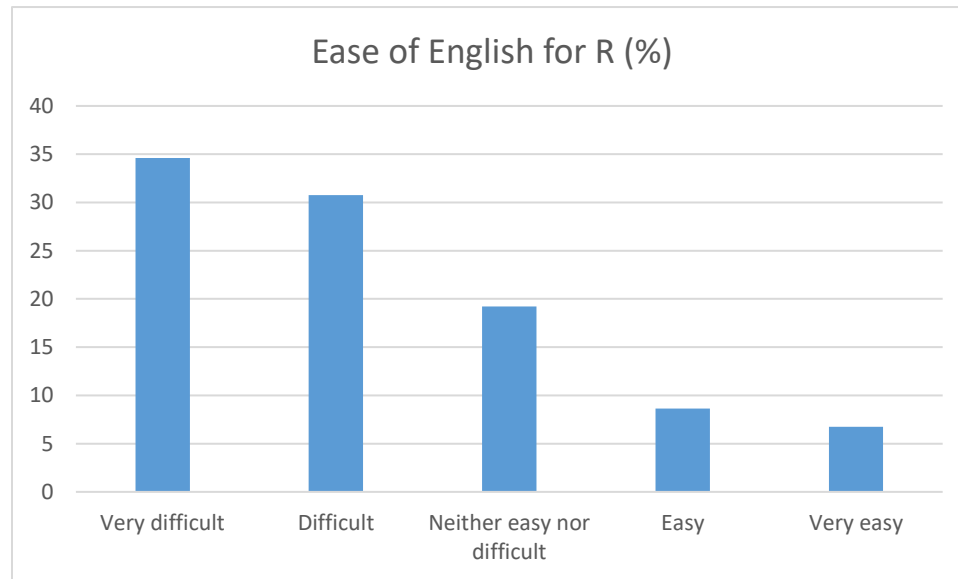


Figure 1. Histogram of English fluency

Education

Nearly two thirds of the sample ($n = 66$) had not completed high school or an equivalent, while just under one third had these credentials ($n = 33$). According to Table 2, an additional few had more education than this (3.8%), while two individuals possessed graduate or professional degrees.

Table 2. Levels of education

	Percent	N
<High school	62.9	66
High school/GED	31.4	33
Some college/AA/trade/certificate	3.8	4
Graduate/professional	1.9	2
Total	100	105

Relationships & Living Situations

Over two thirds of respondents were married ($n = 73$); if we combine that with the “living with a partner” category ($n = 11$) we account for nearly 80% of respondents ($n = 84$). Between 6 and 8% of respondents were divorced, separated, or never married. Table 3 contains these details.

Table 3. Relationships and living situations

	Percent	N
Married	68.2	73
Living w/ partner	10.3	11
Divorced	6.5	7
Separated	7.5	8
Never married	7.5	8
Total	100	107

As Figures 2 and 3 suggest there are a sizeable number of people living in each of the respondents’ households. No one lived alone and the average number of occupants was 4.7; half lived in a household with four or fewer occupants. Many of those occupants were children—the average household contained 3.3 children. No household contained zero children and more than three-quarters of respondents reported three or more ($n = 82$). Over 13% of households ($n = 14$) were headed by a single parent and two respondents indicated that one of their household occupants was not a regular household member but rather was a person who had nowhere else to go.

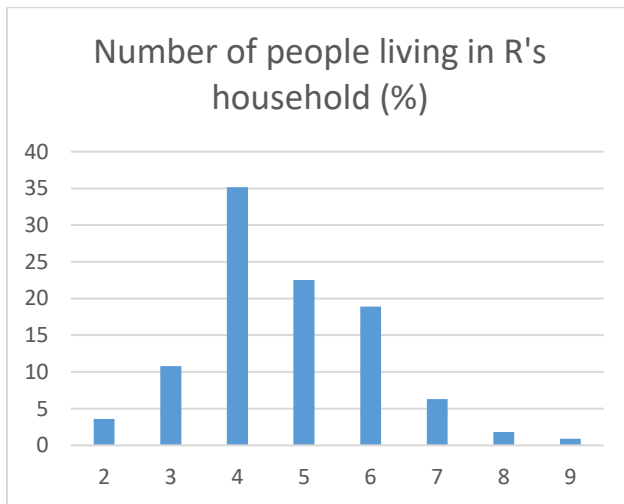


Figure 2. Number of people in household

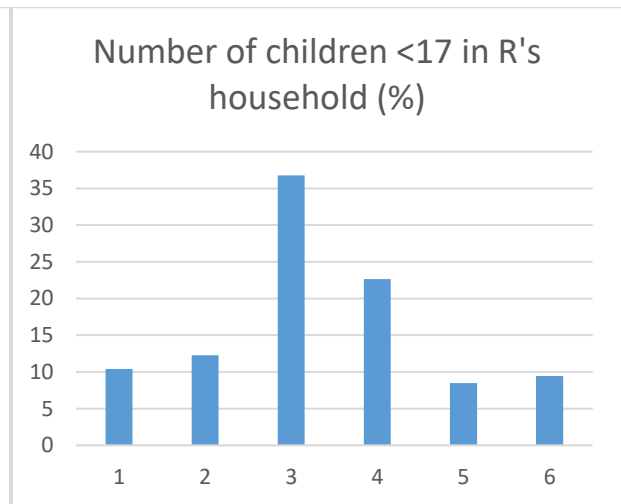


Figure 3. Number of children in household

Web Access

The vast majority of respondents reported that they had internet access (88.8%). Of these, most used the internet through their smartphones (74.8%), a few had access to a laptop or desktop (8.4%), and very few used a tablet (4.7%) as Table 4 depicts.

Table 4. Modes of internet access

	Percent	N
More than one method	88.8	95
Phone	74.8	80
Desktop/laptop	8.4	9
Tablet	4.7	5
Other method	1	1
Never	11.2	12
		107

Lawyer Affordability

Unlike in the main sample, the survey respondents were not screened directly for income, although the social situations targeted here are not noted for affluence. Table 5 demonstrates that we did capture a number of people who reported that they could afford more than \$1000 for a lawyer; over 13% ($n = 12$). Nearly 60% however could afford only \$100 or less for legal services.

Table 5. How much could you afford for a lawyer?

	Percent	Cum.	N
Nothing/No excess money	36.3	36.3	33
Less than \$100	23.1	59.3	21
\$100-\$249	14.3	73.6	13
\$250-\$499	7.7	81.3	7
\$500-\$999	5.5	86.8	5
\$1,000-\$1,999	5.5	92.3	5
\$2,000+	7.7	100	7
Total	100.0	---	91

RESULTS

Overview

Table 6 presents the absolute comparisons between respondents' legal needs categories. The first thing to note is that targeting a seasonal immigrant farmwork population obviates a number of legal needs categories completely. While one or two individuals did occupy a mobile home or have a mortgage, none indicated that they were houseless, a virtual certainty given that housing complexes were the target sites. Similarly, the sample lacked US military veterans and those with US-recognized tribal affiliations.³

Consistent with expectations, immigration concerns were the strongest set of legal needs. Two-thirds of respondents indicated at least one legal need in this category; by comparison, the next largest needs, healthcare and general employment, were just below half. The general category of discrimination was also very high (40%) and, as the results further below confirm, the largest factors in that category were race, language, and immigration discrimination (see Table 16). Rental housing (36.4%), farm/forestry employment specifically (30.8%), and government assistance (25.5%) all were concerns felt by more than a quarter of respondents. Despite the overall prevalence of fear regarding immigration enforcement and law enforcement detected in other parts of the survey, this broad overview placed those concerns at about 16%. Likely those concerns were conceptually segregated into immigration, yielding a response focused solely on non-immigration-related crime and policing.

Table 6. Absolute comparison of respondents having one or more concerns within category

Experienced concerns related to:	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Immigration	66.0	47.6	106
Healthcare	48.6	50.2	107
Employment	48.6	50.2	107
Discrimination	40	49.2	105
Rental	36.4	48.4	107
Farm/forestry work	30.8	46.4	107
Government benefits/assistance	25.5	43.8	106
Credit/debt/fraud	24.3	43.1	107
Education	20.6	40.6	107
Family, relationships, abuse	16.8	37.6	107
Crime/policing	15.9	36.7	107
Aging/disability	9.3	29.2	107
Mobile home	1.9	13.6	107
Homeownership/mortgage	0.9	9.7	107
Houselessness	0.0	0.0	105
Tribal membership	0.0	0.0	107
Veteran status	0.0	0.0	107

Tables 7 and 8 are sorted first by the total number of respondents rating the complaint (those legal needs felt by under 20% of respondents are separated from more common concerns)

³ Given the presence of respondents indicating their fluency in an indigenous language, we suspect that the phrasing of the question produced answers geared towards “tribal membership” in a US political context rather than a connection to an indigenous group in their countries of origin.

and then by percent of respondents who felt this way. Table 7 depicts the percentages of respondents qualified to rate a given category who marked the issue as impacting them “very” or “extremely” negatively, while Table 8 simply compares the means across categories (larger numbers indicate higher levels of seriousness).

When examining the perception of harm these issues generated for each respondent, we find results broadly consistent with categories from Table 6. Immigration, healthcare, employment, and discrimination are rated as among the most serious categories by the different metrics and the categories of education and rental housing are also serious concerns—education in particular only impacts a minority of respondents, but it seems to impact these respondents quite strongly.

Figure 4 depicts the negative classifications visually, but can be deceptive if not used in conjunction with Tables 7 and 8 due to the shifting response rates. Because it reports only level of concern, rather than the number of people contributing to the rating, aging and disability look clearly like the most serious concerns, but were in actuality experienced only by 9 respondents. These respondents of course found these issues very troubling.

Table 7. Strong negative (“very” and extremely”) Likert scale comparisons of the relative negative effects of legal need subcategories

Negative responses to concerns	Percent	N
Education	81.8	22
Discrimination	78	41
Immigration	77.9	68
Healthcare	76.9	52
Employment	76.9	52
Rental	76.3	38
Government benefits/assistance	66.7	27
Credit/debt/fraud	57.7	26
Farm/forestry work	45.5	33
Under 20% of respondents		
Mobile home	100	1
Homeownership/mortgage	100	1
Aging/disability	88.9	9
Family, relationships, abuse	83.3	18
Legal barriers	50	2
Crime/policing	47.1	17
Houselessness	0	0
Tribal membership	0	0
Veteran status	0	0

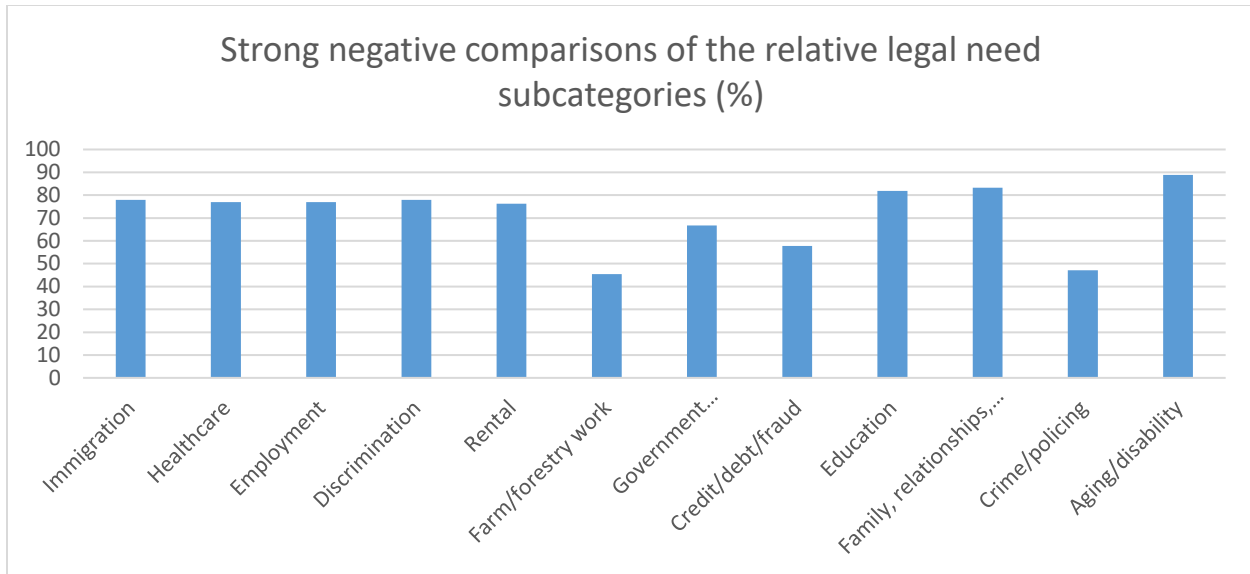


Figure 4. Strong negative (“very” and “extremely”) Likert scale comparisons of the relative negative effects of legal need subcategories with more than 2 respondents

Table 8. Likert scale comparisons of the relative negative effects of legal need subcategories

Mean response to concerns	Mean	N
Employment	3.1	52
Immigration	3	68
Education	3	22
Healthcare	2.9	52
Discrimination	2.8	41
Rental	2.8	38
Government benefits/assistance	2.8	27
Farm/forestry work	2.4	33
Credit/debt/fraud	2.4	26
Under 20% of respondents		
Mobile home	3.5	2
Aging/disability	3.2	9
Homeownership/mortgage	3	1
Family, relationships, abuse	2.9	18
Crime/policing	2.4	17
Legal barriers	2	2
Houselessness	0	0
Tribal membership	0	0

Housing

Notably, more than 96% of the sample were renters. This is consistent with the methodology, which targeted housing complexes predisposed to contain renters—indeed, the category of “seasonal farmwork” likely constrains such analyses largely to a rental population. Other modes of residence—home ownership, mobile/manufactured homes, or houselessness—are not addressed here in a systematic fashion due to exceedingly low representation.

Table 9. Legal needs of renters

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Rented in past year?	96.3	19.1	107
Landlord failure to provide	13.6	34.4	103
Retaliation for exercising tenant rights	10.7	31.0	103
Couldn't afford rent increase	6.8	25.3	103
Threatened with eviction	5.8	23.5	103
Aggressive/abusive landlord	3.9	19.4	103
Couldn't find affordable place	2.9	16.9	103
Section 8 issues	2.9	16.9	103
Landlord dispute	1.9	13.9	103
Difficulty getting deposit back	1.9	13.9	103
Problems due to violence/stalking	1.0	9.9	103
Denial of reasonable accommodation	1.0	9.9	103

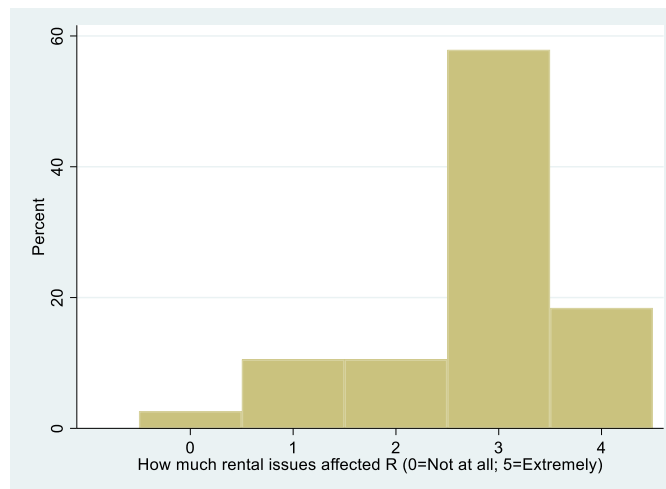


Figure 5. Likert scale of how much rental needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

Table 9 breaks out the issues felt by respondents related to renting housing. Most renters (meaning most of the sample, since nearly everyone rented) experienced no legal problems. But over 10% reported that their landlord failed to provide decent clean housing in good repair (13.6%) and that their landlord retaliated against them for attempting to exercise their tenant rights (10.7%), although only about 4% considered them abusive. More than 5% had trouble with rent increases (about 3% had trouble finding an affordable place to live) or were threatened with eviction. More information about this issue specifically can be found in the qualitative analysis section.

When asked how negatively issues of rental housing affect them, more than three-quarters of respondents (76.3%; $n = 38$) said “very” or “extremely” negatively. When cross referencing these Likert-scale ratings with the particular rental issues of concern, we find that the issues that correlate most strongly with negative ratings are eviction ($r = .32$) and rental concerns due to domestic abuse ($r = .21$). Rent increases ($r = -.21$) and the denial of reasonable disability

accommodations ($r = -.31$) were related to less negative ratings—that is, those with these concerns tended to rate rental problems as affecting them “neutrally,” “slightly,” or “not at all.”

Employment

Just under half the sample had concerns over employment (48.6%; $n = 107$) as Table 10 summarizes. This is at least partly a function of the sampling strategy which, by focusing on farmworkers, is inherently biased in favor of including those who are employed. The two issues which concerned over one-fifth of the sample include denial of wages, overtime, or benefits (23.4%) and denial of worker’s compensation (22.4%). The three categories experienced by more than 10% of the sample include unreasonable workplace rules (15.9%), exposure to unsafe work conditions (12.2%), and poorly handled grievances (12.2%). Issues related to workplace sexual harassment and work concerns relating to domestic abuse were reported at 6.5% and 1.9% respectively.

Table 10. Legal needs relating to employment

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
No employment issues applied	51.4	50.2	107
Employer denied wages/overtime/benefits	23.4	42.5	107
Denied worker's comp	22.4	41.9	107
Unreasonable workplace rules	15.9	36.7	107
Exposed to unsafe/unhealthy work conditions	12.2	32.8	107
Grievance inadequately handled	12.2	32.8	107
Sexually harassed/unfair or intimidating treatment	6.5	24.8	107
Denied unemployment	2.8	16.6	107
Unfairly terminated	1.9	13.6	107
Work problems dues to DV/sex assault/stalking	1.9	13.6	107
Denied reasonable accommodation for job	0.0	0.0	107

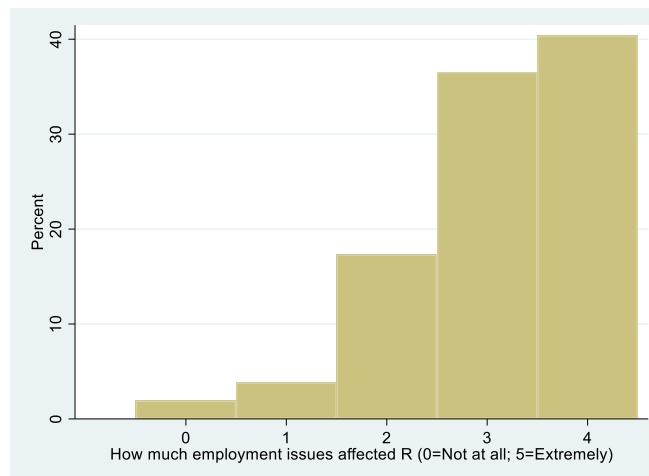


Figure 6. Likert scale of how much employment legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

The Likert scale assessment of how negatively employment issues affected the respondent shows that 77% of respondents experienced “very” or “extremely” negative impact

from these issues as Figure 6 suggests ($n = 52$). Correlations between this measure and the issues of concern yielded a very strong association with unreasonable workplace rules ($r = .41$). Other associations include harassment ($r = .26$), unfair termination ($r = .19$), and the mishandling of grievances ($r = .18$).

Farm/Forestry Work

About 90% of the sample work agriculture or forestry, attesting to the effectiveness of our sampling strategy ($n = 107$). Over 34% of respondents had legal needs related to farmwork itself, the major inclusion criteria, as Table 11 shows. Just over 10% ($n = 95$) lived in a labor camp or company housing. Since this language is borrowed from the original survey, it seems likely that targeting of housing complexes turned up several units subsidized or owned by the agricultural company employers directly.

Table 11. Legal needs regarding farm/forestry work

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Work in agriculture or forestry?	89.7	30.5	107
No farm/forestry issues applied	65.6	47.7	96
Live in labor camp or company housing?	10.5	30.9	95
No fresh drinking water	17.7	38.4	96
No training for pesticides/heat/accidents/harassment/etc	13.5	34.4	96
Problems with terms of job	11.5	32.0	96
No bathrooms	7.3	2.1	96
Denied breaks/rest	5.2	22.3	96
No cleaning (hands/clothing/shower)	1.0	10.2	96
Unsafe company housing	1.0	10.2	96
Denied company housing b/c had spouse/family/was female	0.0	0.0	96

The largest concern was a basic one; a lack of fresh drinking water (17.8%). Relatedly, 7.3% said no bathrooms were provided and 1 individual reported no cleaning facilities whatsoever. Over 10% also reported a lack of training for the dangers of the job (heat, pesticides, accidents, harassment, etc.; 13.5%) and problems regarding the terms of the work (lack of information regarding tenure, compensation, or the terms of employment changed during the work tenure; 11.5%).

When asked about how negatively these issues affected them, just over 45% reported “very” or “extremely” negatively ($n = 33$), which, in contrast to other legal needs, might suggest that respondents are somewhat resigned to the conditions of their work. In assessing the correlations, we find that the strongest relationship by far is employers changing the terms of the work itself ($r = .63$). Other relevant relationships include the provision of training ($r = .30$) and rest breaks ($r = .17$).

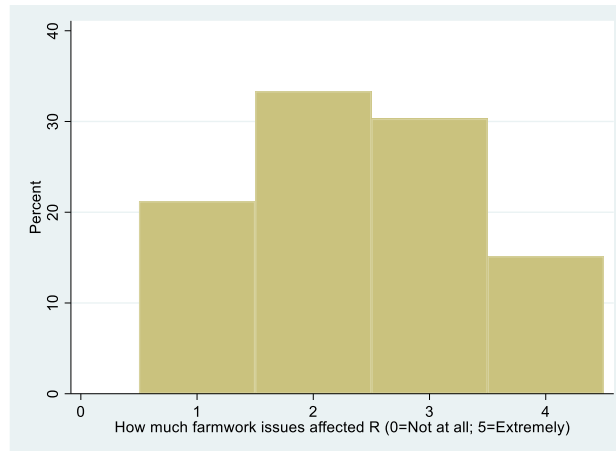


Figure 7. Likert scale of how much farmwork legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”
 $n = 33$)

Immigration

Nearly everyone in the sample was born outside the US (97.2%; $n = 106$) and only 32% of respondents reported no issues with immigration status. This was far and away the one of the biggest problems facing respondents across multiple metrics. Of the issues that composed this category, the ones experienced by the most respondents all related to fear of being caught up in immigration enforcement (ICE, and associated federal agencies and task forces): fear of going out into public (44.7%), fear of engaging with the legal system (41.7%), fear of complaining about landlords or employers (41.7%), and fear of engaging with public benefits (41.7%). While only one respondent reported actually being detained or deported by ICE (although selection bias necessarily undercounts this concern, since detained respondents had no potential for selection) and two others reported trouble reentering the US, about 8% reported having made childcare plans in case of ICE complications or deportation. Other significant problems related to not having a driver’s license (33%) or a Social Security Number or Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (21.4%). Eighteen percent of respondents needed help with becoming a citizen, legally living or working in the U.S., their DACA status, or bringing a family member to the U.S.

When asked to rate the seriousness of these concerns, 78% found these to be “very” or “extremely” negative in their impact ($n = 68$); no one considered them to have no negative impact at all. In assessing the specific affect rating alongside individual concerns, no single issue stood out substantially, which suggests that the effects of immigration issues are wide-ranging and manifest their particular negative impact in idiosyncratic ways. The largest correlation was with fear of law enforcement/ICE ($r = .28$). The rest of the strongest relationships all hover around r -value of .17 to .19; trouble returning to the US after leaving, lack of license, fear of going into public, and the fear of complaining to landlords and employers. The impacts of immigration are manifold and most of the major areas of concern, although distinct, collectively exert a strong effect.

Table 12. Immigration legal needs

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Born outside of US?	97.2	16.7	106
No immigration issues applied	32.0	46.9	103
Afraid to go to store/school/work/doctor b/c ICE	44.7	50.0	103
Afraid to call police/go to court b/c ICE	41.7	50.0	103
Afraid to complain to landlord/employer b/c ICE	41.7	49.6	103
Afraid to ask for/receive public benefits b/c ICE	40.8	49.4	103
Problems from not having driver's license	33.0	47.3	103
Problems from no SSN or ITIN	21.4	41.2	103
Needed DACA/legal living status/bring family member	18.4	39.0	103
Planned for childcare due to fear of ICE	7.8	26.9	103
Bad immigration advice from non-lawyer	2.9	16.9	103
Had TPS and needed to travel	1.9	13.9	103
Trouble reentering US	1.9	13.9	103
Detained or deported by ICE	1.0	9.9	103
Denied lawyer/interpreter during removal proceeding	1.0	9.9	103

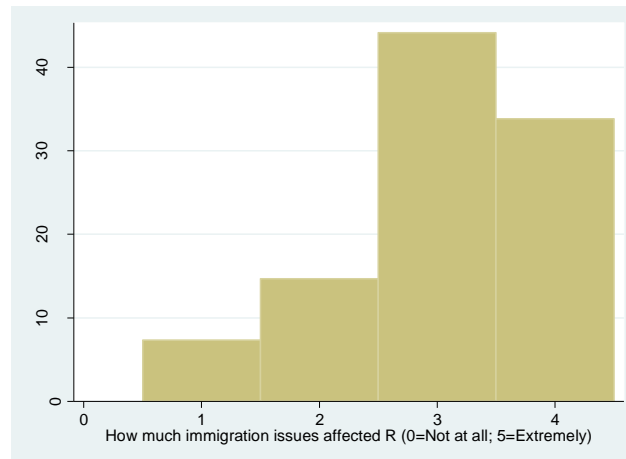


Figure 8. Likert scale of how much immigration legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

Family

Only about 17% of respondents experienced legal needs relating to family and relationships as Table 13 shows. Just under 9% of the sample had difficulties related to child support payments, while just under 4% had experienced domestic abuse or sexual violence from an intimate partner or family member or had difficulties in collecting child support payments.

Because of the small number of legal needs, only a small number of participants assessed the level of negative affect these caused ($n = 18$). Of those, the vast majority were “very” or “extremely” negative (83.3%). Of those 18 respondents, collecting child support payments ($r = .46$), divorce ($r = .40$), custody concerns ($r = .40$), and abuse from someone outside the home ($r = .27$) were the biggest drivers of negative affect.

Table 13. Legal needs regarding family and relationships

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
No family issues applied	83.2	37.6	107
Difficulties paying child support	8.4	27.9	107
Experienced DV/abuse/stalking/sex assault from IP/fam	3.7	19.1	107
Problems collecting child support payments etc.	3.7	19.1	107
Problems with child's paternity	2.8	16.6	107
Filed for divorce/legal separation	1.9	13.6	107
Trouble with child custody/visiting arrangements	1.9	13.6	107
Difficulties collecting spousal support	1.9	13.6	107
Experienced DV/abuse/stalking/sex assault from other	0.9	9.7	107
Open case with Child Welfare	0.9	9.7	107
Problems being appointed child's guardian	0.0	0.0	107
Difficulties paying spousal support	0.0	0.0	107
Aged out of foster care, no plan or support	0.0	0.0	107

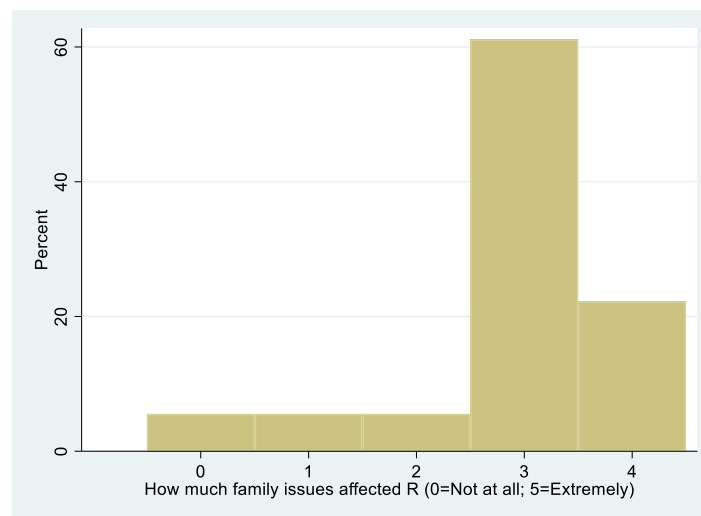


Figure 9. Likert scale of how much family legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

Healthcare

Healthcare was one of the primary areas of concern and Table 14 reports these details. About half the sample experienced such legal needs (48.6%). Relative to other categories, the percentages of healthcare needs were high, which suggests that healthcare legal needs tend to clump. Several issues which all dealt with broad coverage fell between 15 and 20%: denial or loss of government funded healthcare (20.6%), lack of information regarding free healthcare or financial assistance for healthcare (18.7%), and denial or loss of private coverage (15.0%). Several other issues ranged from above 5% to about 10%, including a lack of coverage for needed medical services (10.3%), incorrect billing (8.4%), and concerns over healthcare debt collection (5.6%). Nearly 4% of our sample were denied an interpreter in their healthcare consultations.

As Figure 10 suggests, about 77% of respondents responded to the Likert scale rating with the most negative categories of reaction ($n = 52$). Correlating the Likert scale measure with the categories of concern yields relationships with incorrect billing ($r = .35$), not being informed about financial assistance or free care ($r = .33$), and having healthcare debt in collection ($r = .22$).

Table 14. Healthcare legal needs

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
No healthcare issues applied	51.4	50.2	107
Denied/lost gov't funded health care	20.6	40.6	107
Not informed about free care/financial assistance	18.7	39.2	107
Denied/lost private health insurance	15.0	35.8	107
Lack of coverage for needed medical services	10.3	30.5	107
Billed incorrectly	8.4	27.9	107
Problems with healthcare debt collection	5.6	23.1	107
Denied interpreter in health consultation	3.7	19.1	107
Denied/restricted personal care services	2.8	16.6	107
Problems with long term care facility	0.0	0.0	107

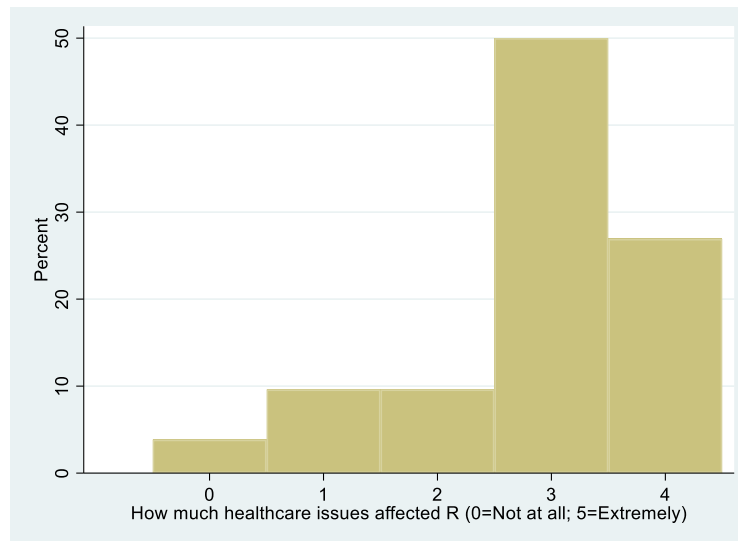


Figure 10. Likert scale of how much healthcare legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

Finances

Table 15 presents the results of the analysis of legal needs related to financial fraud, credit, and debt. Nearly a quarter of respondents experienced these concerns (24.3%). Many issues in this category simply seem to be inapplicable, including nonmortgage lending, wage garnishment, vehicle finance, and bankruptcy. This is perhaps unsurprising, as to have these concerns requires engagement with a larger financial system which fear of deportation and legal entanglement might prevent. The largest category of concern was scams perpetrated via the internet or door-to-door (13.1%). Concerns which hovered in the 3 to 6% range included

disconnected utilities, problems with tax debts or refunds, harassment by collections, and credit concerns due to identity theft.

As Figure 11 suggests, about 57.7% of respondents responded to the Likert scale rating with the most negative categories of reaction ($n = 26$), which is perhaps the most modest of all the sets of categories we surveyed. Cross referencing that measure with the categories of concern yields identity theft ($r = .36$), disconnected utilities ($r = .26$), and “credit repair” services ($r = .25$) as the big drivers of negative impact.

Table 15. Legal needs related to finance and fraud

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
No financial/credit/debt/scam issues applied	75.7	43.1	107
Door-to-door/internet/other scam	13.1	33.9	107
Disconnected utilities	5.6	23.1	107
Harassed by creditors/collections agencies	3.7	19.1	107
Problems with tax debts, EITC, tax refunds	3.7	19.1	107
Credit problems due to ID theft	2.8	16.6	107
Problems with debt reduction/"credit repair" services	1.9	13.6	107
Problems with fines from juvenile/criminal cases	1.9	13.6	107
Problems with non-mortgage lending	0.0	0.0	107
Problems with vehicle financing etc.	0.0	0.0	107
Wage garnishment	0.0	0.0	107
Bankruptcy proceedings	0.0	0.0	107

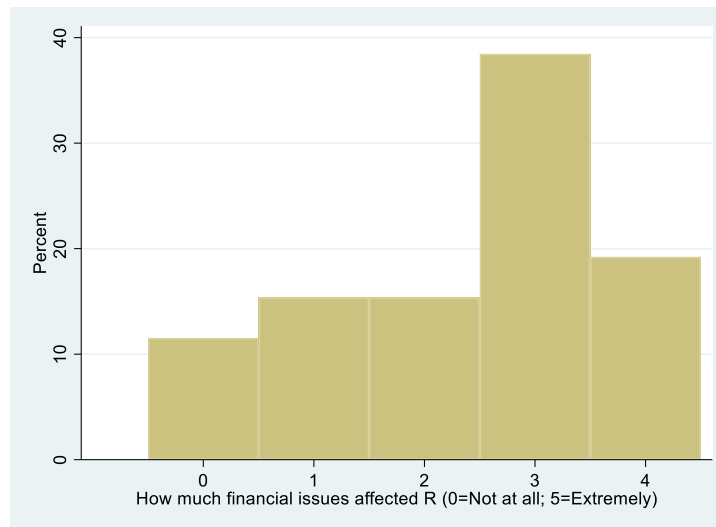


Figure 11. Likert scale of how much financial legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

Discrimination

Discrimination is one of the big categories of concern for a population that is not only increasingly racialized, but also linguistically isolated. Forty percent of respondents reported some type of discrimination over the previous year ($n = 105$). Unlike the main sample, which reported a variety of discriminations, our sample here reported in large numbers only three basic

types: Over one-third of respondents reported racial discrimination (35.2%), while nearly 22% reported language discrimination, and just over 11% reported discrimination related to their immigration status, as Table 16 shows.

Table 16. Legal needs related to discrimination

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
No discrimination issues applied	60	49.2	105
Racial	35.2	48.0	105
Language (spoken or written)	21.9	41.6	105
Immigration status	11.4	32.0	105
DV/sexual assault victim status	1.9	13.7	105
Having children in the household	1.9	13.7	105
Credit history	1.0	9.8	105
Gender	1.0	9.8	105
Disability/use of service animal	1.0	9.8	105
Religious	1.0	9.8	105
Marital status	1.0	9.8	105
Age	0.0	0.0	105
Criminal/juvenile record	0.0	0.0	105
Other	0.0	0.0	105
LGBTQ+ status	0.0	0.0	105
Homelessness	0.0	0.0	105
Veteran/military status	0.0	0.0	105

Table 17. Discrimination within institutions

Discrimination in:	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Employment	38.1	49.2	42
Shopping (stores, restaurants)	33.3	47.7	42
Rental housing	21.4	41.5	42
Healthcare	16.7	37.7	42
Government assistance	11.9	32.8	42
Other	11.9	32.8	42
Education	9.5	29.7	42
Government services	9.5	29.7	42
Credit, banks, and debt	2.4	15.4	42
Policing and the law	2.4	15.4	42
Homeownership	0.0	0.0	42
Mobile home ownership	0.0	0.0	42

Table 17 reminds us that discrimination of whatever kind occurs within institutions. Of the respondents who reported such concerns ($n = 42$), nearly two-fifths (38.1%) reported discrimination in employment and one-third (33.3%) reported discrimination while shopping. Rental housing discrimination was reported by over one-fifth (21.4%), while more than 16% experienced discrimination in a healthcare setting. Nearly 12% experienced discrimination in

governmental assistance as well as the catchall “other” category, while just under 10% experienced it in government services and educational settings.

The Likert scale assessment in Figure 12 of how negatively these issues affect the respondent tells us that over 78% of respondents found these concerns affected them “very” or “extremely” negatively ($n = 41$). In exploring how this assessment relates to the issues of concern, we find that language ($r = -.23$) actually is associated with *lower* ratings, while racial discrimination was associated with higher ratings ($r = .27$). Moreover, when performing a similar analysis on the venues in which discrimination is experienced, we find relationships with healthcare ($r = .32$), education ($r = .21$), and employment ($r = .19$).

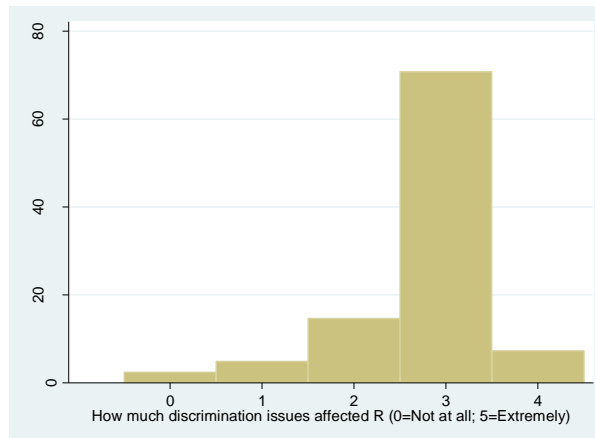


Figure 12. Likert scale of how much discrimination legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

Government Assistance

Just over a quarter of respondents reported legal needs regarding their government assistance and benefits, such as social security or food stamps ($n = 106$). Given the general wariness of engaging with government services in the first place, this number is notable. Nearly this entire category (22.6%) is attributable to denial or reduction of assistance for food, disability, housing, or other state governmental assistance. Table 18 contains further details. As Figure 13 depicts, those experiencing such needs felt strongly negatively about them—two-thirds of those with these concerns experienced them “very” or “extremely” negatively ($n = 27$).

Table 18. Legal needs regarding government assistance and benefits

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
No government assistance issues applied	74.5	43.8	106
Denied/reduced assistance for food/disability/housing etc	22.6	42.0	106
Denied SSI/SSDI/SSRI etc	2.8	16.7	106
Benefit problems b/c dv/sex assault/stalking	0.9	9.7	106
Told to pay back overpayment for gov't benefits	0.0	0.0	106

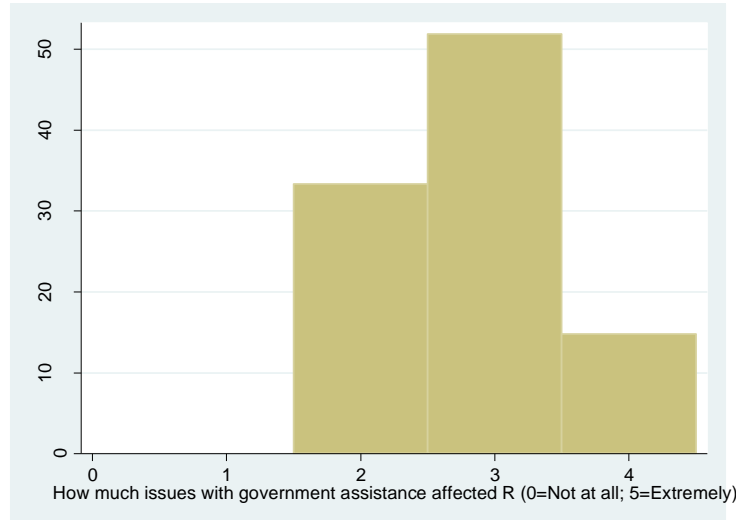


Figure 13. Likert scale of how much government assistance legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

Criminal Justice

In examining Table 19, it seems as though survey respondents conceptually separated local police and law enforcement from federal immigration officials, but this is quite a tangled issue—this section should be examined alongside the qualitative findings, which suggest much more reticence to report than the quantitative analysis allows. The wording of the survey may have inhibited a more in-depth understanding of this category. While law enforcement was a strong concern in other places on the survey, here, just over 8% said they were afraid to report experiences of crime, while just under 5% reported unfair stops/arrests or felt underpoliced.

Table 19. Legal needs relating to crime and police

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
No policing issues applied	84.1	36.7	107
Afraid to report crime experience	8.4	27.9	107
Stopped/arrested unfairly	4.7	21.2	107
Underpolicing, slow response, trivialized problems	4.3	20.3	107
Verbally/physically threatened by police	3.7	19.1	107
Needed to expunge criminal record	0	0	107

Of the 17 respondents for this section, just under half (47.1%) reported that crime and policing issues affected them “very” or “extremely” negatively, as Figure 14 depicts. Due to the small sample size, the precise correlations are not worth reporting, but these results seemed to be driven strongly by those concerned with underpolicing and threats from police.

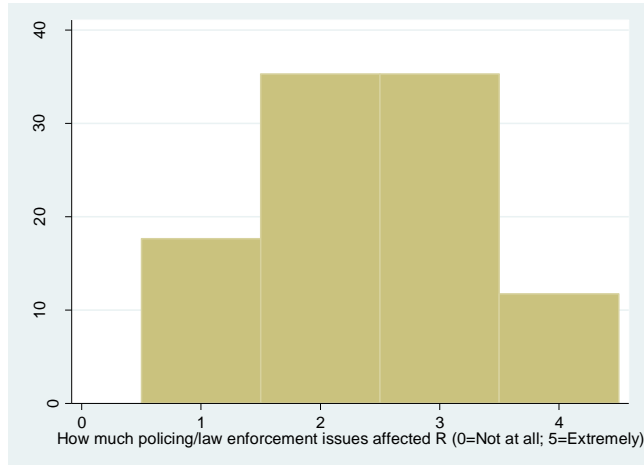


Figure 14. Likert scale of how much police/law enforcement legal needs affected respondent (0 = “not at all”; 4 = “extremely”)

LEGAL HELP: RESEARCH, ACCESS, & CYNICISM

Legal Research & Lawyer Retention

Table 20 contains the results for the questions regarding the concerns which drove respondents to research legal help. Regrettably, “immigration” as an enumerated category was omitted from the survey. The “Other” category, unsurprisingly, instead contains these responses—unbidden, the verbal “write-in” question contained 15 references to immigration assistance, placing it at 41.7% by write in alone. Note that this number would likely have been higher if the category “immigration” had been included directly. Otherwise, family and relationships was the most commonly cited concern (22.2%), while government assistance and benefits, healthcare, and employment all concerned nearly 17% of the respondents who researched help.

Table 20. Concerns for which respondents researched getting legal help

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Researched legal help?	46.2	50.2	78
Other (immigration 41.7% + other)	50.0	50.7	36
Family/relationships	22.2	42.2	36
Gov't assistance/benefits	16.7	37.8	36
Healthcare	16.7	37.8	36
Employment	16.7	37.8	36
Education	8.3	28.0	36
Credit/debt/fraud	5.6	23.2	36
Rental housing	2.8	16.7	36
Age or disability	2.8	16.7	36
Crime/policing	2.8	16.7	36
Discrimination/harassment	2.8	16.7	36
Home ownership	0.0	0.0	36
Mobile/manufactured home	0.0	0.0	36
Veterans/military service	0.0	0.0	36
Tribal members/descendants	0.0	0.0	36

The results in this larger section seem to depend on one another, as most of those who tried to get legal help first performed some research—each category, in other words, filters logically from the one previous. Of the individuals who completed this section, one-third tried to get a lawyer; 28% successfully received legal help as Table 21 shows. The top concerns which drove this search were “other”—understood mainly as immigration concerns—while family/relationships accounted for 32% and healthcare concerns, 8%. Employment, crime and law enforcement, and government assistance questions drove another 4% respectively.

Table 22 specifies the sources from which respondents actually received their legal help. More than a quarter received aid from a private attorney or some unspecified means (28.6% each). Just under one-fifth (19%) received help of some sort from Oregon Legal Aid of some sort—Legal Aid Services of Oregon, Oregon Law Center, or Center Nonprofit Legal Services. Unpaid or volunteer attorneys helped 14.3% of the respondents, while just under 10% found some other nonprofit legal provider.

Table 21. Concerns for which respondents tried or succeeded in receiving legal aid

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Tried to get lawyer?	33.3	47.5	75
Successfully received legal help?	28.0	45.2	75
Other	72.0	45.8	25
Family/relationships	32.0	47.6	25
Healthcare	8.0	27.7	25
Employment	4.0	20.0	25
Crime/policing	4.0	20.0	25
Government assistance	4.0	20.0	25
Age/disability	0.0	0.0	25
Credit/debt/fraud	0.0	0.0	25
Rental housing	0.0	0.0	25
Discrimination	0.0	0.0	25
Home ownership	0.0	0.0	25
Education	0.0	0.0	25
Veterans/military	0.0	0.0	25
Tribal members/descendants	0.0	0.0	25
Mobile home	0.0	0.0	25

Table 22. Where respondents received legal help

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Private attorney	28.6	46.3	21
Other	28.6	46.3	21
Oregon Legal Aid	19.0	40.2	21
Unpaid/vol. attorney	14.3	35.9	21
Other nonprofit legal provider	9.5	30.1	21
Disability service provider	0.0	0.0	21
Social/human services org	0.0	0.0	21
Notary public	0.0	0.0	21

Table 23. Kind of help received

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Got legal advice	57.1	50.7	21
Help with forms/docs	23.8	43.6	21
Lawyer negotiated on behalf	14.3	35.9	21
Other kind of legal help	14.3	35.9	21
Court representation	4.8	21.8	21
Referred to online info	0.0	0.0	21

Table 23 specifies the type of help ultimately received—not surprisingly, the results indicate diminished percentages as the extent of legal engagement increases. Of the people who received help ($n = 21$), 57.1% simply got legal advice. Nearly a quarter (23.8%) received help

filling out legal forms and documents, while 14.3% had a lawyer negotiate on their behalf or found some unmentioned type of legal assistance. Just under 5% received court representation.

Courts & Hearings

About 13% of respondents found it necessary to go to court ($n = 14$). Of these, only two experienced legal barriers with this process itself—one did not indicate details relating to their concern, while the other had transportation difficulties.

The hypotheticals were a different story (see Table 24). When asked what would be most useful for a future legal problem, over one-third said talking to a lawyer either in person or by phone would be most helpful (38.7%), while just under one-third wanted the lawyer to handle their legal concern (33.0%). Around one-fifth wanted lawyers to prepare their forms (21.7%) or provide printed reading materials (18.9%; presumably to be available in Spanish). Seventeen percent wanted to visit a website or attend an in-person group legal training, while between 12 and 13% wanted to call a hotline, have a lawyer check over forms they had prepared themselves, or some unspecified category of aid. In the “other” category, seven respondents (6.6%) indicated some form of the idea that they would prefer a lawyer who came recommended by a trusted friend or other source; meanwhile, two respondents indicated that they simply distrusted lawyers broadly as a category.

Table 24. If you had a legal problem, which would be useful to you?

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
Talking to lawyer (phone/in person)	38.7	48.9	106
Having a lawyer handle problem or attend court for you	33.0	47.3	106
Having a lawyer prepare forms that you send in	21.7	41.4	106
Reading printed materials	18.9	39.3	106
Visiting a website	17.0	37.7	106
Attending in-person group legal training	17.0	37.7	106
Calling a legal info hotline	13.2	34.0	106
Having a lawyer check self-prepared forms	13.2	34.0	106
Other	12.3	33.0	106
Getting questions answered online by lawyer	3.8	19.1	106
Viewing online videos	2.8	16.7	106

Finally, we asked respondents to indicate which legal information and assistance programs were familiar to them to gauge the penetration of services into this particular demographic. Table 26 includes these numbers ($n = 95$). Nearly half of the respondents had heard of none of these organizations (49.5%). In marked contrast to the main sample, no one had heard of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), but more than a quarter were familiar with the Catholic Charities Immigration Services. Familiarity with various legal aid organizations approached 15%. Between 4% and 9% of respondents were familiar with the following organizations as well: the Community Alliance of Tenants Renters Rights Hotline, OregonLawHelp.org, Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, SOAR Immigration Legal Services, Disability Rights Oregon, and the Oregon Judicial Department legal information webpage.

Table 26. Legal information and assistance programs familiar to respondent

	Percent	Std. Dev.	N
None of these	49.5	50.3	95
Catholic Charities Immigration Legal Services	28.4	45.3	95
Legal aid orgs	14.7	35.6	95
Comm. Alliance of Tenants Renters Rights Hotline	8.4	27.9	95
OregonLawHelp.org	5.3	22.4	95
Ecumenical Ministries of OR, SOAR Immigration Legal Services	5.3	22.4	95
Disability Rights OR	4.2	20.2	95
OR Judicial Dept. legal information webpage	4.2	20.2	95
St. Andrews Legal Clinic	3.2	0.2	95
Fair Housing Council of OR	3.2	17.6	95
OR Bar legal information website	2.1	14.4	95
Immigration Counseling Services	2.1	14.4	95
NW Workers Justice Project	2.1	14.4	95
Courthouse Family Law facilitators	1.1	10.3	95
ACLU	0.0	0.0	95
OR Bar Lawyer Referral Service/Modest Means	0.0	0.0	95
Youth, Rights & Justice	0.0	0.0	95

Legal Cynicism

As discussed in several ways above, the structural position of seasonal immigrant farmworker is not one that engenders inherent trust in the civil legal system. Sociolegal researchers use the term “legal cynicism” to refer to this distrust, which can deter participation in the system, even if that might be to the benefit of the subject. Table 27 lists the raw means of the Likert scale assessments of several different yet closely related measures of trust in the legal system (0=“Not at all”; 1=“Rarely”; 2=“Some of the time”; 3=“Most of the time”; 4=“All of the time”). All of the responses to the questions regarding perceptions of the successful use of the courts, fair treatment, and legal problems solving were clustered—all leaned closest to the response “Rarely.” Note that nearly all respondents answered these questions. Figure 15 depicts this same information graphically. Figure 16 illustrates only the “Not at all” and “Rarely” responses condensed into a block. Half or more of respondents for all questions believed the courts to be unlikely to assist them in any meaningful capacity.

Table 27. Likert scale of civil legal system trust

	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
How often do you think you/family/friends/neighbors can use courts to protect self/rights?	1.4	1.23	105
How often do you think you/family/friends/neighbors are treated fairly by civil legal system?	1.43	1.25	105
How often do you think the civil legal system can help you/family/friends/neighbors solve the problems identified in the survey?	1.36	1.24	106

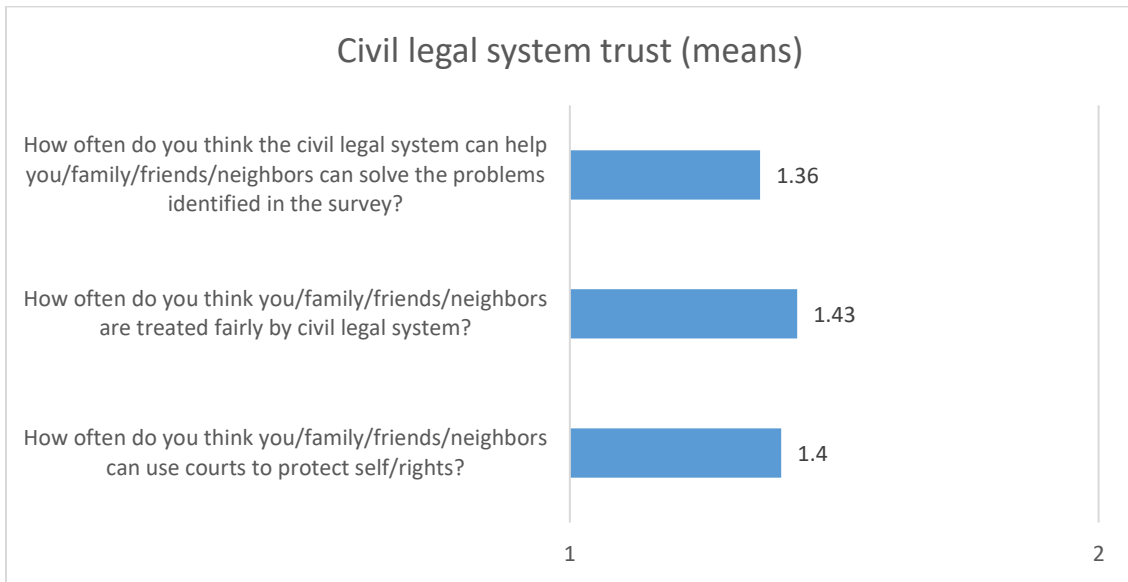


Figure 15. Civil legal system trust (0=“Not at all”; 1=“Rarely”; 2=“Some of the time”; 3=“Most of the time”; 4=“All of the time”)

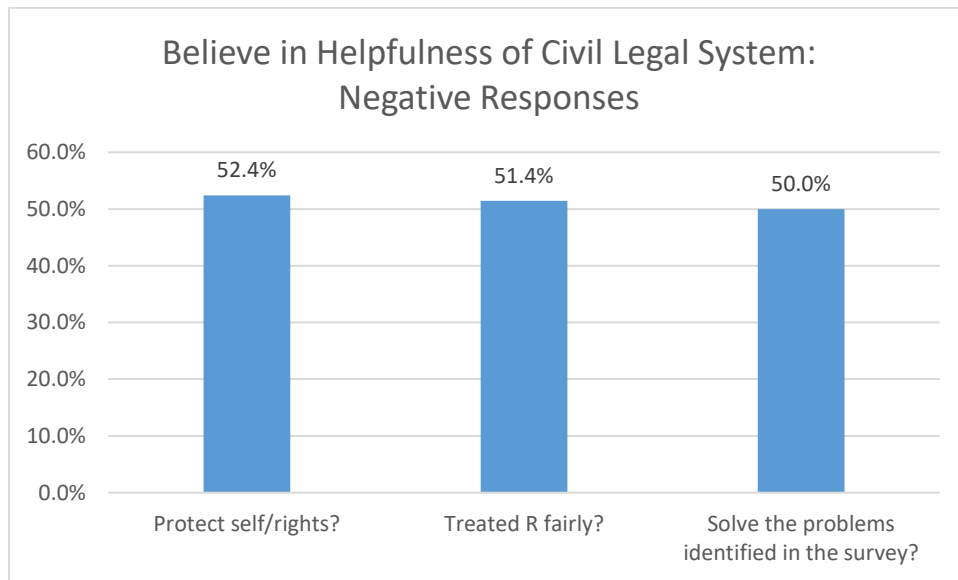


Figure 16. Helpfulness of civil legal system: “Not at all” and “Rarely” responses only

QUALITATIVE DATA

The research team visited apartment complexes in Hillsboro, McMinnville, Independence, Gresham, Sandy, Woodburn, and Forest Grove, including four separate apartment complexes located in Hillsboro and three in Woodburn. The sites visited were generally large, two-story apartment complexes consisting of two- to three-bedroom units, but the quality of the housing varied widely, from well-designed, organized, and maintained to dilapidated and dangerous. The analysis below groups broadly related themes resulting from conversations sparked from and related to the survey administration as well as the fieldnotes crafted by the field researchers.

Housing Mismanagement and Intimidation

Due to the impoverishment and undocumented status of the respondents, management of several complexes were able to exert control over behavior and suppress actionable complaints, often in complexes that required the most attention. This attitude was perhaps best summed up in one Woodburn site that caught the attention of researchers due to the deplorable conditions in which tenants lived. This site comprised about a dozen single-story dilapidated units with a dirt road and parking lot. One participant noted that their complaints to management had yielded the following response: “If you do not like it, go away.”

The issues varied—from intimidation from management to high levels of unchecked criminal activity to unsafe physical space—yet this type of response from property management was common across all sites. Participants frequently reported that management ignored the concerns of residents, while some participants reported that management blatantly overcharged residents with fraudulent fees, a combination which worked to suppress concerns. One man who reported regular threats of eviction from management shared the following:

Because [I am] an agricultural worker [my] truck gets dirty or muddy. The manager threatened [me] saying that if [we] do not keep [the truck] clean, he will start charging \$50 dollars [a day], because according to him [it] looks bad... We are not doing anything wrong. [I] use the truck every day to work, and, therefore it gets dirty. We cannot clean the truck every day, [we are] tired from work.

Many reported that they do not feel safe in their neighborhood due to high levels of illegal activity (e.g., car theft, drug trafficking, drunken confrontations, prostitution, and speeding cars). Participants reported that at this site no one, including management, seemed able to control this situation; in other places, intimidation also arose from management directly.

A related common property-related concern cited by participants at several sites was their fear for the safety of their children from the physical environment. These concerns were broad and included threats from the proximity to highway traffic, bullying, exposure to drugs and prostitution, and even kidnapping. One researcher noted that “The atmosphere of these apartments manifested a sense of abandonment and carelessness; without a doubt this is not an environment for the safe development for a child...there is no infrastructure for children.” Many participants mentioned that they forbade their children from playing outside due to safety concerns. Compounding some of these concerns, respondents at one site reported high levels of bullying, specifically from the manager’s children who were allowed to bully and threaten the residents’ children.

Work Conditions and Survival Tradeoffs

Many participants reported that they came to the US to escape violence and poverty, while making decent living for their families. Now that they are here, however, many reported that they felt depressed and hopeless because they no longer found this goal achievable. A combination of substandard employment, living conditions, lack of health insurance, and predatory housing complexes put the “American Dream” out of their reach.

Nearly every participant mentioned serious concerns with their working conditions including exposure to toxic chemicals, unsanitary conditions, and poor wages. Multiple participants reported exposure to hazardous chemicals and pesticides and reported feeling “dizzy,” “itchy,” or “nauseated.” Physical side effects of poor working conditions were compounded by a lack of access to affordable healthcare. If they sought (or were evacuated to) medical attention, respondents had to foot the bill and were not compensated for missing work due to a work-related injury. For example, as one researcher documented, regarding a survey participant:

...he was exposed to [toxic] fertilizers and his finger became infected. They had to operate on him because of this and [he] did not get disability pay. Since [he did not] not have documents, [he had to] pay between \$1,800 and \$2,300 for his medical services.

Such financial straits forced respondents to make dangerous tradeoffs. They often found themselves in positions where they had to choose between paying rent or healthcare bills. One participant had this experience after his wife had emergency surgery for an ulcer, explaining that “[We] did not have health coverage and the bill was pretty high, so [we] weren't able to pay...both rent and hospital bill.”

There were also a substantial number of workers who reported unsanitary conditions, no overtime pay, and disallowance of breaks. One participant characterized her experience:

When she worked, they asked her to work days of up to 15 hours. “I was doing very badly” she says “that's why I quit.” She said there was no drinking water and people got sick constantly. “The bathrooms were always very dirty...plus we could only go twice per shift,” she said. They were given only five-minute breaks.

Workers reported to us many rights violations, but also that they refrained from reporting such abuse officially due to fear of retaliation. Fear of retaliation overlapped with the intimidation experienced (above) in their home life, where many participants shared that they were scared to report housing concerns to authorities because they had no protection from eviction.

Seasonal farmworkers regularly face hazardous conditions and their financial and immigration statuses exacerbate these problems. This combination of factors makes this group extremely vulnerable and can significantly impact their overall quality of life.

Community Discrimination

Respondents reported feeling isolated from the larger community in which they live. This included experiences with discrimination, isolation within community institutions such as schools, and challenges stemming from language barriers and lack of translation services. Many reported that they experience discrimination regularly. One participant observed: “All migrants live with some kind of fear in this country. In my daily life I feel discriminated [against], observed, judged...It's a serious problem that we live [with] here.” Such sentiments were

common, and as a result, many reported that they did not feel welcomed by locals who did not share their situation.

A commonly cited concern was that participants did not feel like they had access to much needed services, such as special education, mental health and employment services. When they attempted to access such services respondents reported threatening experiences by various social institutions. There were multiple reports of schools and hospitals threatening to call Child Welfare Services. In one case, the threat came after a participant's children missed a few days of school, even though the parents informed the school that their child would be absent. Another experience took place in a hospital, after the participant requested the hospital assign a new nurse to care for her daughter. Sometimes private agencies participated as well, as one farmworker reported:

[I] was late paying some bills and it went to collection, and someone from the collection agency told [me] that “you should pay, because you are undocumented and you could get deported”. [I] wanted to pay but at that time did not have the money. [I] felt that the person was threatening [me] and it was not on her place to make references [to my] legal status...

There were also multiple reports that schools and military recruiters specifically targeted respondents' children, using enlistment as a carrot for securing citizenship for themselves and their family members. One explained that “We live in constant fear that one day we will be seized by the police and will not be able to return home. That's why my son wants to join the armed forces.” Such carrots, of course, highlight the threat faced by those without recourse to such incentives as well as reminding families that they are on the government's radar. The choice to join the armed forces must be appreciated for its brutal practicality in the face of extreme anxiety—this child was making major life (and potentially death) decisions based mainly on the realities of his family's immigration status.

Language barriers also frequently caused stress. Multiple participants reported a desire to improve their English, but were unable to access affordable English classes. Respondents understood the many benefits of being bilingual and were frustrated that they did not have the resources to be able to pursue this. One researcher noted:

[Participant reports that] PCC had basic English classes—at first it was free, then they started charging \$20, then I think they went up to \$70. [Participant] also mentions the difficulties the Latino community has in learning English because most of them work full time, have low wages, or are mothers and have no one to take care of their children.

There is also a complementary desire to maintain a strong connection to their native language (usually, but not always, Spanish). Many feared that their children might lose the ability to understand and speak their native language. Other participants reported that they felt disconnected from their children's progress in school because they were unable to communicate with school officials or understand paperwork that the schools sent home. Schools failed to provide reliable information in Spanish, so parents were not aware of how their children were progressing.

These findings reflect that Latinx seasonal farmworkers face challenges in terms of fully participating in the broader English-speaking community. This is due to a combination of factors including fear of discrimination, harassment, and language barriers. Their self-protective response is to limit their community participation, but this leaves them vulnerable—both unaware of the various services available and frightened to use them effectively. As one

participant explained, “When one is ignorant, one does not know where to look for help, especially with no family around.” These hostilities are isolating, as they caused respondents to fear everyday public interactions. Respondents are treated as a problem, rather than members of a community.

Fear and Lack of Trust

As has been woven throughout this analysis, the most powerful theme that emerged from our observations was the high levels of fear that participants experienced based solely or in large part on their immigration status. This included reports of being scared to leave home and not having trust in law enforcement. Although these issues proved difficult to tease out in the quantitative section, there is less ambiguity here. This issue remains complicated.

Many participants reported they lived in constant apprehension over “*la migra*”—immigration authorities, particularly ICE—which significantly limited their participation in everyday life. Daily activities such as going to work, shopping at the grocery store, or taking their kids to school are experienced more as high stakes gambles than routine activities due to the constant risk of deportation. One particularly impactful narrative reflects this reality:

[Male participant] used to go play soccer before, but now only goes to work. That’s in order to avoid any encounter the immigration officers. [Female participant] stated that at the beginning of last year (2017) she was very depressed, she would cry all the time. Now she prays for her children. Both have trained her oldest son (7 years old) to make phone calls to family in case they get deported. The child however is depressed—according to the parents, he is always crying and having nightmares about his parents being deported. She states that it seems as if they are treated as criminals when in reality they are here just to work, “to sweat for every cent they gain.” Before, they felt really happy in the US, now “we have to walk with Jesus in the mouth [translation: they have to walk on egg shells],” and are always afraid about being stopped by the police.

A common and related concern was a lack of faith that law enforcement would assist participants should they make the decision to engage with the legal system and report any of the various abuse leveled against them, from the institutional to the personal. The reality is that even when reporting crime and other incidents proves not to be dangerous to the individual, the official responses are often anemic, producing resignation and apathy. One woman’s experience with domestic violence reflects this: “one time she called the police because her ex-husband came to her apartment to start a fight... yet the police never came. They only talked [with her] over the phone...that’s it...for a long time she lived with fear of her ex-husband and the fact that the police would do nothing about it.” In a similar vein, another man shared a story where he was being aggressively intimidated while driving:

“A jeep with those big tires began to follow us for a long time. He threw on the lights and accelerated hard to scare us. That’s why I prefer not to go out at night.” He said he has reported [this harassment] to the police several times but that they asked him for evidence. Finally, one day he managed to write down the plates of the aggressor and when they reviewed that number it belonged to an older woman and he was [called] a liar. “Justice doesn’t work for us,” he said. Since then we no longer [complain]. “For what?...you learn to ignore these kinds of things.”

These findings highlight how migrant farmworkers experience extreme anxiety on a regular basis due to their vulnerability to abuse and deportation, while the institutions designed to protect residents from such concerns are either ill equipped to do so in these cases or are actually the source of the problem. Fears of deportation and fears of personal abuse based on a

variety of intersectional personal and institutional statuses merge in the general anxiety that law enforcement and immigration enforcement are different arms of the same body. The steps respondents take to mitigate the fear and the potential impact of *la migra* affect their everyday lives as well as their long-term survival strategies.

These findings taken together describe a cycle of disadvantage that hinders the ability of seasonal immigrant farmworkers to participate fully in society, which lowers significantly their overall quality of life. The climate of fear surrounding immigration subjects them to living and working in substandard conditions that have a negative impact on their physical and mental health. Many find themselves stuck permanently in these conditions, because they do not have the economic or social resources needed to escape. This is compounded by the extremely high level of chronic stress that they experience, which cannot be discharged by reporting abuse of various kinds (personal, institutional, or employment related). Many feel that they cannot access the much-needed support that could otherwise ameliorate their situation.