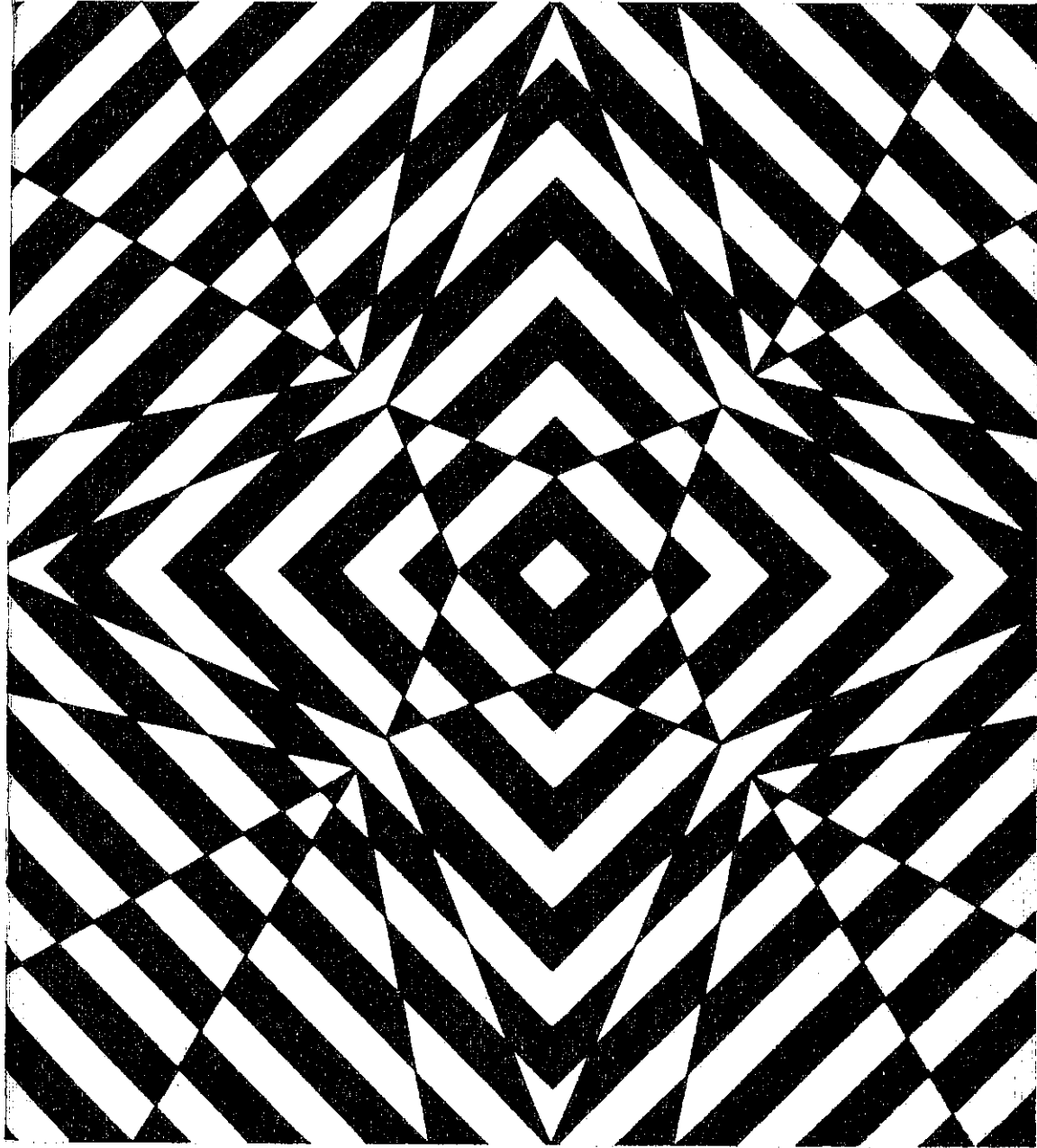


**Onset of substance use among
transnational and domestic
agricultural workers: social
relations and place of initiation**

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Farm workers differ from both urban and rural populations by their short-term, irregular employment and, for those who migrate, frequent travel. Overall, they enjoy few of the work benefits of other occupations, and they generally include members of minority populations that experience high levels of drug use. As such, they comprise an ideal population for the study of initiation of substance use. Although most farm workers have rural backgrounds as children, adolescents or adults, there are growing numbers of workers from small urban cities as well as metropolitan areas. Based on a series of 173 interviews in the American South with 119 men and women with a range of experience in agriculture, the present analysis examines locales where initiation of substance use takes place and identifies social relationships that figure in the context of first and subsequent use among transnational and U.S.-born workers in agriculture.

KEY WORDS: *Initiation of illicit and licit drug use, agricultural labor, place of onset, rural social relations, southeastern United States.*

Little has been written on substance use other than alcohol consumption among farm workers. Granted, there are references to the use of marijuana among Mexican workers in the U.S. in the 1920s and early 1930s, particularly in the Southwest (Morgan, 1978:73-88), which subsequently led to the passage of the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 (Musto, 1999:1-23, 210-229). Otherwise, the research on alcohol use among farm workers does not begin to appear until the 1980s, and on drug use other than alcohol until the late 1990s. Two of the studies cited most often are a qualitative study of alcohol use in home-base communities in south Texas (Trotter, 1985) and a quantitative study of alcohol use and social control in labor camps of upstate New York (Watson et al., 1985). Recently, Rothenburg (1998) became one of the first to incorporate references to illicit substance use by farm workers. Two of his 70 farm labor narratives depict U.S.-born men (one black, one white) who smoked crack-cocaine in labor camps, which they later left, in two states of the southeastern United States.

Following Trotter's (1985) lead from the south Texas study that found that men drink in gender-specific places and contexts, and that women tend toward abstinence, Van Wilkinson (1989) tested a set of structural categories in the same area and found that women often drank in the same places as men but with a lower volume of consumption. He found that farm workers drank more often in groups and less often alone than other workers, ranchers, and middle-/upper-class Mexican Americans whom he studied. Otherwise he confirmed the main observations of Trotter's study: that south Texas men who perform farm labor drink in particular settings and situations. From the West Coast, Alaniz's (1994) study of migrant men and women in northern California confirmed Trotter's findings that men drink in high quantity, usually on weekends, in places regarded as "common areas" around the housing center where they live, but that women generally refrain from drinking. There are other references in the literature to alcohol consumption among farm workers.

One study that continues to be cited more than two decades after its completion is the student-assisted field investigation conducted by Friedland and Nelkin (1971) of primarily black migrant workers who traveled the Eastern stream, following the crops from Florida to New York (South to Northeast). Six pages (pp. 167–172) of the last section of Chapter 7, “Leisure Time,” describe basic patterns of drinking in Northeastern labor camps, noting a spatial and temporal concentration of alcohol consumption in certain areas of the camps, usually in the evening after work and on weekends—a finding similar to that concerning male farm laborers of Mexican ancestry in other parts of the country. Based on experience as a farm labor advocate, Hintz (1981:282, 285) comments on alcohol-related disturbances in migrant labor camps as a concern of rural communities in Ohio (Midwest). None of these five studies, however, discusses drug use beyond the consumption of alcohol.

Richard Morales was one of five co-authors of an often cited study of farm workers’ alcohol use (Watson et al., 1985). Based on tri-weekly visits to nine potato camps and three apple camps in four counties of northern New York, Morales (1985) conducted ethnography at the time of the larger investigation. In his dissertation, he characterizes substance use among migrants as “extensive” (p. 51) for cocaine, marijuana, and heroin in several of the 12 camps that he and a field assistant observed over a summer’s fieldwork.¹ A few years later, Chi and McClain (1992) conducted a quantitative study of farm-labor alcohol use in another part of New York, but they refrained from commenting (and apparently from eliciting material) on the use of illicit drugs. Finally, more than ten years after the study by Watson et al. (1985) on alcohol use and farm labor, Inciardi et al. (1999) provided the first quantitative data on illicit drug use, this time in the Delmarva Peninsula (East Coast), corroborating field observations made by Morales more than a decade earlier in the state of New York.² Inciardi et al. found that the substances used in the Delmarva Peninsula were alcohol

(92.7%), crack-cocaine (60.3%), marijuana (48.3%), cocaine (23.2%), and heroin (7.3%) (p. 661).

One of the difficulties of research on substance use among farm workers—other than the logistics of finding the population—is the more central issue of what theoretical framework would be appropriate. Researchers on drug use in rural areas have struggled with the issue of rurality, resolving the issue by defining rural as “not urban” or, more often, by locating the population of interest along a rural/urban continuum. These definitions fall short of the classic view of the rural countryside as that which provides “the underside or raw material of urban development” (Grosz, 1992:242): the bulk of its food and a reserve pool of labor. To the classic criteria, we can add cultural forms and practices that are transferred in either direction or both directions along a rural/urban continuum, from country to city and from city to country. Researchers agree that patterns of urban and rural drug use are “quite comparable” (Conger, 1997:37), in availability of the same drugs (Edwards, 1997), with modest differences in use between rural and urban residents (Albrecht et al., 1996; Donnermeyer & Scheer, 2001; Edwards, 1997; Rountree & Clayton, 1999). A few studies consider changes in rural areas, finding diminishing differences between rural and urban patterns (Donnermeyer, 1992) and a greater convergence in patterns of drug use over time (Edwards, 1997). As Oetting et al. (1998:1653) point out for the occurrence of deviance in general, “rural areas, on average, probably have levels of deviance similar to those found in urban areas, but there is greater variability.”

This exploratory analysis extends the focus on rural drug use by considering men and women who perform farm labor and use substances other than alcohol. Agriculture is a decidedly rural activity, generating a system of livelihood in the U.S. that is unlike year-round forms of rural and urban employment. Farm workers face irregular work, uncertainty about their next place of employment, and harsh and

sometimes unsafe conditions of physical labor that have changed little with the passage of time. Those who "migrate" travel to one or more places of employment, and those who are "seasonal" work in local agriculture (usually defined as within a 75-mile radius). Those who perform seasonal agricultural labor may migrate one or more times during the year.³ Given the temporary nature of employment at each site to which they travel, often spread across more than one state, they rarely share the benefits that are enjoyed by workers in other occupations (Griffith & Kissam, 1995; Nelkin, 1970). In short, they are oppressed and impoverished, and they remain relatively isolated from mainstream society, as a majority of them typically reside and work most or all of the year outside large cities.

Based on a series of life-story interviews with farm workers, some born within and others outside the United States, this article examines initiation into substance use among men and women who have had experience in agriculture as children, adolescents and/or adults. The data were collected in an exploratory study of farm workers' initiation of substance use in the southeastern United States. In this analysis, I consider the importance of social relationships in the onset of substance use. I also add a dimension, "place," that has not previously figured in discussions of drug-use onset. The paper thus seeks to broaden the discussion of use of drugs among special populations by exploring social patterns and spatial locus, in the specific context of farm-labor initiation of substance use.

Methodology

The study elicited interview data from men and women who perform or have performed farm labor (on a family-owned farm, as a hired farm hand or field laborer, in a packing house, as a market vendor, or in a combination of such work experiences) and who use or have used one or more mood-

altering substances (licit, illicit, or both). The present analysis focuses on 101 men and 18 women who meet these criteria. As expected, more men than women were included in the sample, since most farm labor is performed by men under age 40 (Griffith & Kissam, 1995). Seventy-four participants were born in the United States, and 45 were born in Central America or the Caribbean.

A combination of ethnographic sampling (Johnson, 1990) and respondent-driven referral (Heckathorn, 2002, 1997) was used to recruit study participants. In the first sampling method, the field researcher builds a sample of individuals fitting the study criteria but with sufficient diversity to serve the investigator's emergent interests. In the second, respondents in the study recruit and refer persons fitting the research criteria on behalf of the investigator. The life-story interviews on which this analysis is based represent the culmination of field research over a six-year period of ethnography in one agricultural community, with occasional visits to agricultural areas in other states where workers travel for summer-demand farm labor. Combining the two techniques of selection in six sites in three states (after four years of preliminary ethnography) distributed recruitment and neutralized any tendency to bias in the sample from too many referrals by respondents with membership in large networks (Heckathorn, 2002, 1997).

Audio-taped interviews were conducted in two agricultural communities in the Lower South and one in the Middle South.⁴ Along with interviews in the two towns/sites in separate states of the Lower South (43 cases and 1 case, respectively),⁵ interviews were conducted in the county jail (19 cases) and the town stockade (11 cases) in one county. Along with the interviews in the Middle South rural community (8 cases), interviews were conducted in a treatment program in the same area (37 cases). For the jail and the stockade, I perused the daily inmate roster to locate individuals whom I was unable to find in the town's living

sites (licensed and unlicensed labor camps), taverns, convenience stores, or a community park. Designed mostly for farm workers, the treatment program provided collaborative access to current clients in the program, and also contacts with a few graduates of the program after they returned to the community; the graduates in turn recruited visitors to the sample. All participants who agreed to an interview gave informed consent and were paid \$15 for each completed interview. Interviews were transcribed (15 transcribers), and transcriptions were coded and analyzed with a text-analysis program (Windows ATLAS.ti 4.1). Codes for this analysis included current and previous substance use (age of initiation, location of first use) and lifetime experience in agriculture (work type, number of years in agriculture). Coded data were tabulated and organized with a statistical-spreadsheet program (SPSS 10.0).

All interviews were conducted in English or Spanish in a private setting (i.e., in a conference room at the jail or treatment program; in a community park; in a living room, bedroom or kitchen of a residence; or in the ethnographer's automobile). The 119 men and women gave a total of 172 interviews (nine women and 29 men were interviewed twice; one woman and five men were interviewed three times; and one man was interviewed four times).

This sample drawn from multiple settings differs from the focus on the single setting of the camp in the quantitative studies of alcohol use among U.S. farm workers. A two-stage cluster sample of 13 migrant camps in three counties of upstate New York was used by Watson et al. (1985) (n = 185 men and 32 women), for example, and a three-stage cluster sample of 13 migrant camps in one county of south-central New York was used by Chi and McClain (1992) (n = 204 men, 42 women). The multiple settings in the present study are appropriate for the South, where many living sites are rental properties in small towns, and farm workers spend non-work time outside living sites, in contrast to the labor camps

operated by growers that typically are located in generally isolated, rural areas of the Midwest and Northeast.

The sample in the present study was distributed evenly across sites by mean age and duration of time spent in agriculture, and evenly distributed among those with current and past experience in agriculture (Table 1). Nearly two-thirds of the sample had worked in agriculture within the past six months (63%) and were current users of some type of substance (62%) or, in the case of those in treatment and recovery, had used within the past six months (38%). One-tenth were seropositive for HIV infection (11%). Crack-cocaine was the drug of choice for one-half of the sample (51%). Nearly three-fourths of the U.S. domestic workers were African American (73%). The mean age of the sample was 39.3 years, a sufficient age to provide a range of life experience for examining various dimensions of substance use.

Participants in the present study were older on average than the workers in previous studies—for example, the mean age was 33.4 for the sample studied by Chi and McClain (1992). The ethnic composition of the present sample (73% African American) comes close to the 71% who were African American in the study by Watson et al. (1985) but diverges from the 13% African American in the study by Chi and McClain (1992). None were African American in studies by Van Wilkinson (1989), Trotter (1985), or Alaniz (1994). While most farm workers in the United States are transnational men, born outside this country (Griffith and Kissam, 1995), a majority (61%) of the present sample were born in the United States. The proportion of African American respondents approximates the proportion in domestic farm labor in the areas of the South that include the communities in the present study, but not necessarily the proportion of farm workers in other regions of the United States.

TABLE 1

**Sample characteristics of agricultural workers,
inscription study, 1997-1999**

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean Age</i>
Total	101	18	119	100.0	39.34
Transnational Workers	43	2	45	37.8	37.48
U.S.-born Workers	58	16	74	62.2	40.20
Current User	52	14	66	55.4	39.97
In Recovery	15	4	6	5.0	39.42
In Treatment	34	0	34	28.6	38.09
Current Farm Worker	67	8	75	63.0	38.29
Work Outside Agriculture	22	6	28	23.5	38.32
Disabled	12	4	16	13.4	46.06
Less Than 10 Years Agriculture	38	11	49	41.2	36.94
Ten Years to 25 Years Agriculture	47	7	54	43.4	38.41
More Than 25 Years Agriculture	16	0	16	13.4	47.14
Drug of Choice Crack	50	18	68	57.1	39.19
Drug of Choice Alcohol	26	0	26	21.8	40.38
Drug of Choice Marijuana	11	0	11	9.2	39.82
Drug of Choice Other/Polyuse	14	0	14	11.8	37.87
African Descent U.S.-born	44	10	54	45.3	40.66
African Descent Caribbean-born	3	0	3	2.5	31.22
White (Anglo) U.S.-born	6	5	11	9.2	34.13
U.S.-born Hispanic	7	1	8	6.7	39.00
Transnational Latino	38	2	40	33.6	38.95
Native American U.S.-born	1	0	1	0.1	n/a
Native American Central American	2	0	2	1.7	n/a
Seropositive HIV	6	9	15	12.6	36.13
Non-Seropositive HIV	96	8	104	87.4	40.20

Types of substances

A total of 22 substances had been used by one or more respondents for variable periods of time. The mean number of licit and illicit substances ever used per person for

transnational workers was 3.07 substances; for domestic workers, it was 4.18 substances. Several had used multiple modes of administration—for example, snorting and injecting powder cocaine and powder heroin, or smoking cocaine as free-base as well as crack-cocaine (“rock”). By far, there were four common drugs that were used by men and women in the sample. A large proportion of participants at some point in their lifetime had used or were currently using alcohol (97%), crack-cocaine (72%), marijuana (80%) and/or powder cocaine (44%). Eleven percent had used heroin.

There was not much variation among farm workers in the present study in the age at which they were introduced to drug use. They began using alcohol and marijuana in early adolescence. On the other hand, substances such as cocaine, crack-cocaine and heroin were initiated relatively late; all users had an onset age greater than 20 for these drugs (a high of 27.9 years for crack and 24.6 years for heroin), in contrast to populations where onset occurs before or during the early 20s (Johnson & Mott, 2001; Novins et al., 2001).⁶ For substances with ten or more lifetime users in the present study, alcohol had the earliest mean onset age at 14.2 years (on a base of 115 cases), followed by marijuana at 16.7 years (95 cases), acid at 17.1 years (11 cases), speed at 19.4 years (10 cases), pills at 19.5 years (20 cases), cocaine at 23.4 years (54 cases), heroin at 24.6 years (13 cases), and crack at 27.9 years (86 cases).

Mean age for the first drug ever used was 13.5 years, and mean age for the most recent drug initiated was 26.0 years (calculated by separate tallies for whatever drug was first and last for each participant). The mean age for the first drug was essentially the same for transnational and domestic workers (13.6 and 13.5, respectively), but the mean age of the most recent drug initiated was higher for domestic workers (28.1) than for transnational (22.5). The mean elapsed time from the first to the most recent (last used) drug initiation was an unusually long 14.6 years for domestic workers, and 9.0 for

transnational workers (12.4 years for the whole sample). Alcohol was the earliest substance used by three-fourths of the participants (76%), and marijuana the second for one-half of the participants (54%). The onset order was more diversified for other substances; powder cocaine (23%) and crack-cocaine (21%) were each the third substance for one-fifth of the participants. For many in the sample, alcohol and crack-cocaine were "first gate" and "last gate." Alcohol was the first substance initiated for 91 of 115 who ever drank (79.2%). These users drank for most of their lifetime (at least to the time of the interview). Crack-cocaine was the last substance ever initiated by 68 of 86 persons who had lifetime experience with that drug (79%).

Locating initiation

Drug use has a certain aura that pervades most of the theorizing about rationales for initiating use. Down-to-earth questions such as the place of first use are thus often neglected, although the place of first use can be important for the user, presumably adding to the thrill and excitement of enacting a new and forbidden activity. There is a tacit assumption that first use, and by extension continuation of use, is fixed in place. Often the place of initiation is assumed to be urban, with urban environments seen as fixed in space, in contrast to rural areas, which are viewed as natural and fluid amid social changes of the outside world (Grosz, 1992). On the contrary, one might speculate that sensation-seeking in a rural area counters the lack of urban stimuli. Another conceptual frame for geography and substance use is that settling in a new place is often used to explain the cessation of use. Theorists formulated the concept of a Shift in Geography as the strategy that users adapt to cease substance use, where a change to a new place removes one from former "temptations" and provides a set of alternate stimuli to discourage use (Pearson, 1987).

In a sample of farm laborers, then, where seasonal and residential movement are integral parts of lifestyle, the researcher is ideally positioned to explore location of first use. The place of onset for most first-used substances in the present study was a rural area, usually sparsely populated. Three-fourths of the sample used their first drug ever in a rural town or farming community (76%), and one-fourth first used in a city (8%) or metropolitan area (17%). The community of birth was the most common place of first-substance initiation (77%), with alternative sites being the locale to which the family moved, where parents continued to reside, or a home base to which a person moved as an adult or emancipated teen. A locale of sojourn—that is, a temporary accommodation of short-term duration or brief assignment—was the place of first use for only 5% of the sample. Places of sojourn were also infrequently the locales where additional substances were tried (7%). Across a total of 447 instances of substance initiation in the sample, only 28 occurred in a locale of sojourn—six for the first drug ever used, and 22 for substances of later onset (Table 2).⁷ This is a small proportion, if we consider that one-third to two-thirds of the year are spent by farm workers in travel and agricultural work “on the season” or living “on a camp” (Friedland and Nelkin, 1971; Griffin and Kissam, 1995). All the cases of initiation of new substances in locales of sojourn took place with persons other than family.

Accommodation in places of sojourn are set in time: One knows for how long one will be assigned to a given place, short-term. Locales of sojourn for the first substance ever used for instances of alcohol initiation (six in total across the sample) included seasonal harvest work on a lowland plantation (a Guatemalan worker), military service (two Mexican workers), and work in U.S. labor camps for two U.S.-born workers and two transnational workers. Jeremiah Shadd⁸ and Salvador Paredes, for example, were domestic workers who initiated alcohol as their first substance ever used while “on the season” (engaged in seasonal agricultural work).

TABLE 2

**Place of onset, agricultural workers in the south,
inscription study, 1997–1999**

	<i>Place of Familiarity</i>		<i>Place of Sojourn</i>		Mean # Substances Per Person
	First Ever	Later Onset	First Ever	Later Onset	
Transnational*	29.8%	62.3%	2.8%	5.1%	3.07
138 substance initiations**	41	86	4	7	
U.S.-born*	23.3%	71.2%	0.6%	4.9%	4.18
309 substance initiations	72	220	2	15	

* 45 transnational workers, 74 U.S.-born workers. N=119.

** 90 first used outside U.S. and 48 first used inside U.S.

At age 15, working with his family one summer on a bean farm in the Northeast, Jeremiah spent time with older workers “round the juke” (similar to what workers in Friedland and Nelkin, 1971, described). One weekend he tried drinking with the older workers, and he continued to drink upon his family’s return to their hometown in the Lower South. His drinking became heavier in his late teens and early 20s, when he moved to a city in the Northeast with friends. Later, he moderated his drinking when he went back to his hometown in his late 20s. He avoided illicit drugs until he initiated crack at age 39 with a woman living upstairs from his sister’s apartment (her husband was the contractor with whom he worked). He continued intermittent crack use for a decade before he entered a treatment program in another state.

Salvador first drank at age 17 on the season in the Midwest. He remembered drinking “Two-Three” (beer with low alcohol content) while living in a camp and picking vegetables with his immigrant parents and his siblings. His brother also was a sojourn initiator, but in a different setting. He was the only one in the sample who reported use of any substance while incarcerated (other than two men who drank jail-brew liquor).

Both he and his brother continued drinking into their 40s. As with Jeremiah, Salvador and his brother were late starters, initiating crack in their 30s in the town to which their family had moved from a year-round labor camp when they were children.

All but three of the 43 transnational men initiated one or more substances before they left their home countries to enter the U.S. Of the three exceptions, one man came at age 18 with his father and two uncles, and first drank in a labor camp in the Midwest whenever his father returned to visit family in Mexico. Another first drank alcohol with an older co-worker and smoked marijuana with a group of adolescents in a public park while working in the mines of a country adjacent to his. He later came to the States, and more than ten years after that first use of alcohol and marijuana, he initiated cocaine, and then crack in the Southeast. The third began to drink heavily after coming to the States and finding his father, who had been "lost" to the family for eight years. All the substances, whether initiated in home countries or, for a few, in the U.S., were used with family or acquaintances of similar ages, not with parents. Exceptions to absence of parental involvement with initiation for transnational workers were non-commercial substances: drinking *pulque* (fermented cactus juice) with family for two men in rural Mexico, and drinking *ron* (rum) made from *caña* (sugar cane) with his grandfather in Puerto Rico for a man raised on a farm.

Initiation of substances other than the first ever used in places of sojourn occurred for 22 substances. These situations of temporary accommodation typically occurred "on the season" in a camp, in town near a camp, or in another community (e.g., party with friends in a town of small industries; a weekend trip with a brother to another farm town). An unusual place was the town stockade (a branch of the county jail) for Lauro (brother of Salvador), a young man with migrant experience who was enticed to smoke marijuana halfway through a six-month jail sentence. Some initiations

occurred upon returning from home to a locale of familiarity, where the user had previously continued with his usual repertoire. Three transnational men initiated crack-cocaine within days of coming back to the U.S.; each of the three had severed relations with his wife during the visit to his home country (two under duress; one in accordance with his wife's and mother's desire that he remain outside their war-torn country for his safety). Other men who "left behind" a spouse or girlfriend in their country (that is, a relationship that was not severed), and those who had none when they left, did not initiate any substance so soon after returning to the States. All these men continued with substances already used. Those who did eventually try a new substance had been living a year or more in a place of familiarity before they initiated.

At the extreme for farm workers who initiated substances in locales of sojourn was John Williams. As one of several polyusers in the sample, John had extensive experience with three substances (alcohol; marijuana; cocaine/freebase/crack) and brief experience with seven others (acid tablets; liquid "rush"; pills like Darvon; T.H.C.; mescaline; Angel Dust; and heroin). After an early childhood on his maternal grandfather's farm, he moved with his family to an agricultural community a few hours away in the same southern state. He began to drink beer at age 15 with a friend at "record hops" in nearby towns smaller than his family's home base. A year later, he first smoked marijuana as he waited out the rain one afternoon with an older friend in his car. The next time he smoked was that evening. As in reports in the literature of first use in urban areas, at first he did not like the taste of beer or the smell of pot, but he soon overcame his initial reluctance and continued to use for the rest of his life, expanding his repertoire as he grew older to include liquor and wine among varieties of alcohol, as well as other substances that one might inject, snort or take orally. John was unusual in having initiated all of the later substances that he used (except for rush) while working "on the season" with his family in the Northeast. Some of his

initiation and continuing use was with the brother of a woman he met in a town near the labor camp where his crew stayed (his father, three brothers, four men from their home base). Each substance was used for one or two seasons, except for cocaine, which John used the one year that he remained to work in the Northeast while his family returned to the Lower South. As drug trends changed, he switched to free-basing and, eventually, to crack-cocaine, which became his preference once he had moved to another agricultural community that became his home base. He explained his reason for using: "Once you start, every drug that come out, you just wanna experience it." Another polyuser with experience in nine substances (three first used on the season, six first used in his home base), Henry Chew described how substances like L.S.D. were not available to African Americans in the Lower South, where powder cocaine and marijuana were common. For each man, the source of certain kinds of alternate drugs was white youths who lived near camps where the men stayed. Most of the drugs that John initiated "on the season" originated among local African Americans or white youths, led by a single contact (his girlfriend's brother). Henry, however, made separate contacts with non-blacks to secure acid one season in the Northeast and purple dots the following season in the Middle South. These were forays into alternate drugs that balanced Henry's experience with mushrooms, heroin, and black beauties (pills), all before age 30, and, at age 48, crack-cocaine, which he first tried in his family's Lower South home base.

Social relations

There were two variations in use that followed lines of ethnicity and national origin. Older white participants, as suggested by the contacts in the cases of John Williams and Henry Chew (above), had access to alternative substances like acid and blotter in or near home communities when younger, if they chose to initiate them. Rick Thompson, for

example, was raised on a farm in the Lower South on a parcel of land that his family leased. He recalled that when his white cousins from two cities a few hours away came to visit, they introduced him and a few of his school friends to acid, at around age 15. After the experience, he learned who in town was distributing, and for close to six months he and his friends used acid. Younger participants under the age of 30, however, both white and black, have been able to initiate and use acid in home towns and home-base communities in the Lower South. Interestingly, the source of acid for a younger black participant was one of the two cities from which Rick Thompson's cousins, more than two decades earlier, had come to visit Rick and his family on their leased farm. By this point in time, acid was no longer exclusively a substance for white users. As a second variation, all initiation of inhalants took place across the border in Central America, with the initiates generally in early adolescence, and their use typically ceased once a user crossed the border to the U.S. One of the three men who had severed relations with a spouse, for example, initiated solvents (paint thinner) when he left his family in central Mexico to work as an emancipated teen in a border town. He began the use of inhalants (glue), marijuana and alcohol by age 12, before leaving home, adding no more than a variation of one substance (solvents to inhalants) during adolescence, despite his exposure to new substances and friends in the border town. He returned home as an older teen, began a family with a local girl, and in his 20s came to the United States. Ten years later he used crack-cocaine and cocaine upon his return to the town where he was working, after he had severed relations with his spouse in Mexico.

Both men and women were introduced to substance use by people they knew. Drugs of first use by transnational workers typically were initiated among men or women of similar age and, if occurring with family, among kin of the same generation. Workers born in this country, on the other hand, might use with a range of kin, if they first used with family.

Men initiated with men, usually in groups. Contrary to an urban literature indicating that women are introduced to drugs by men (typically boyfriends), women in this study initiated with one other person, usually an adolescent girlfriend or, infrequently, a boyfriend of the same age, in early adulthood. Unlike the men, women rarely initiated drug use in groups, except at parties. Most substances were initiated in the company of persons known to the initiator. When I asked for clarification on how many co-present persons used previously, responses indicated a close familiarity with use patterns for some and often most of those who were present, which suggests that a person may have contemplated the implications of initiating use in a "set" and "setting" as they unfolded. Otherwise, situations were characterized by their spontaneous occurrence rather than by any premeditation to initiate use of a specific substance. Two women described skipping school in an urban area, after which they secured marijuana that they tried in a park and in a friend's house, respectively. Mario described his willingness to experiment with crack-cocaine as a substitute when powder cocaine was unavailable at a weekend party in a farming town.

Family One substance sanctioned by some families was alcohol. Several men and women born in the United States described how family members, mainly parents, permitted them "a sip" of alcohol, usually beer, before they became involved in extensive drinking. Otherwise, for both transnational and domestic workers, the presence of household members and family or neighbors who drank provided a learning environment and impetus for using alcohol.⁹ A few domestic workers were introduced by male kin (fathers and brothers), but many first drank outside the immediate home environment. Mothers knew of a child's use (sons' in particular) less often than fathers. It was the father who, alone or in tandem with the mother, offered drinks of alcohol. Fathers were likely to permit a son to drink without a mother's knowledge. An offer of alcohol became a "secret among men." At the extreme, Andrew Gray's mother actually

facilitated his drinking when she bought liquor for her son and friends at high school graduation. He next drank a month later, after moving with his stepfather to an agricultural area of another state in the Lower South. He later tried marijuana, which his stepfather condoned. Although he once tried crack-cocaine at the end of a season upon returning to his home base—a locale where several crack-houses were available—Andrew did not like the experience, particularly the expenditure of hard-earned money. He returned to smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol, substances for which his family set upper boundaries (Stewart, 2002) that stopped at marijuana use.

Family complicity in initiation of substance use occurred with same-generation kin, who usually were cousins rather than siblings. Most of the time, this occurred at parties where alcohol was offered to inexperienced cousins. In the United States, parties often were for graduation, and, outside the States, for birthdays and town festivals. In a more unusual situation, at the age of eight Marcos was sent by his parents to bring his brothers home from a nearby *cantina*; upon his arrival, his brothers treated him to a few drinks. In short, all instances of family and kin introducing someone to a substance among transnational workers involved alcohol and took place before entering the United States, where illicit substances might be added to repertoires.¹⁰ Gilmore (1998) describes the influence of parental respect, where men refrain from drinking or smoking as teens and young adults in front of parents in rural areas of Spain. The parent usually was a father, since settings for alcohol consumption were male-oriented. One illustration of a similar practice in this study was Jaime, who initiated all lifetime substances in the U.S. He started drinking in his teens at a labor camp in the Midwest, but only when his father returned to visit family in Mexico. A common pattern for transnational men in their home country was onset among companions of the hometown neighborhood (*colonia*). Once they were in another country, these men no longer experienced direct control by the family.

However, men became familiar with the locale where they were living before trying a new substance that they had not used previously.

Common among the U.S.-born workers, for those who initiated drinking as pre-teens, was "sneaking" a little alcohol from a parental supply. Older domestic workers recalled a time when bootleg liquor was available in the South; women (grandmothers, mothers, aunts) were more involved in bootleg selling than male kin. Boys and girls tried this illicit supply secretly, or it was permitted by female family members. The son of a farm labor contractor, Henry Chew, a polyuser, initiated alcohol use at age 9, explaining that "It wasn't a regular thing. A little sip 'n' nip," which he took from a hidden stock that his mother sold in the neighborhood of their home-base community. From this beginning, he acknowledged that his use "got a little bit heavy" at age 16 and "became a big problem" by age 20. Raised in a migrant family, he was born "on the season" in another state and continued to use various drugs into his late 20s, then initiated his last drug, crack, at age 48. More unusual, he continued farm labor into his 50s. The oldest daughter of a farm labor contractor, Della Polk, and an age-mate stole a few drinks from her father's cabinet, replacing what they took with food coloring. Della's father discovered the ruse. To her chagrin, this was the only time that she received a "spanking." Since her father earned good money as a contractor and sometimes also worked for the county, he gave Della a large allowance when she was an adolescent. He preferred that Della purchase cocaine with his money rather than revert to the commercial sex-work by which other women in the community earned the money they used to purchase drugs. Della migrated with her family until her late teens and worked in the local packing plant in her 20s. At age 28, Della initiated crack, which she hid from her children. In her 40s, she stopped using all but alcohol, and she eventually moderated her use of that. As her children grew into adolescence, she explained to them the danger of taking drugs, using as examples herself and others in the community.

Like the U.S.-born who were introduced to drinking by relatives who sold bootleg liquor, two of the transnational workers first drank on the premises of a family-owned tavern. As a transnational worker experienced with alcohol at age 7, Sebastian Gomez first drank when he accompanied his father to the billiard hall that he owned and operated. When his father was on errands, customers gave Sebastian alcohol. He recalls being carried home, quite drunk, by his father. He continued to drink in the military in his home country and initiated crack in a farm town in the Lower South, two years after his arrival, following difficulty in securing farm work. Interestingly, the woman whom he married (also interviewed) started drinking at age 6 with her sisters at her mother's bar in another country. She began to inject heroin, cocaine and speedball when she came to the U.S. as an older adolescent. Fifteen years later, after she left the Northeast, she met Sebastian "on the season." Together, they ceased using, first by substituting alcohol for the drugs, then by moderating their drinking.

Transnational workers were as likely as domestic workers to be introduced by family to a licit substance (like alcohol). Although transnational workers might use an illicit substance with siblings or cousins, initiation of an illicit substance with a sibling was confined to the U.S.-born, whether older or younger. Doris Taylor, for example, tried acid at a hometown party for returned veterans with an older brother who was a medic in Viet Nam. She was age 12, the youngest in her family. When she left home at age 20 for a farm town in the South, she was experienced with speed, marijuana, alcohol, and T.H.C. In the South she added cocaine, which she injected for a year after her daughter was born. She returned briefly to the Midwest when her brother died (her daughter had been sent to live with him while Doris was living in the South and using drugs). She returned to the South, where she started using crack-cocaine after breaking up with a boyfriend who was a dealer and her supplier of cocaine. Marion, a woman whose parents had been migrants, explained how she

was introduced to crack in her 30s by a younger brother and sister who came to live with her in another town of the same state after their mother died. She described how she was preparing dinner when she heard noises:

"What's that poppin'?" [voice mimic] Pop, pop, pop, pop. "What you-all got in there?" I'm trying to clean-up 'n' stuff, an' I keep hearing this noise. [mimics her brother] "A.M., she usin' a can." She put a hole in it, put ashes on it, an' put a rock on it. [brother to Marion] "Taste it, ol' crazy girl." They put fire to it. It hurt my mouth. [brother to Marion] "Hold the can 'n' put the fire, now pull in." I'm like "Uh-oh. Everybody lookin' funny now." That's how I first started doing drugs, 'cause of my baby brother.

Marion often migrated with her father, who was a contractor (her parents were separated), and she continued migrant work with her husband for a time. When they separated, she secured work as an office custodian for a large company in a medium-sized city, where she first used crack; later she returned to live in the farming community. Throughout this time, Marion used heavily in the farming community—more than "on the season," when she worked at harvesting tobacco and sweet potatoes in the Middle South.

Although a few men among transnational and domestic workers were introduced to alcohol, intentionally or surreptitiously, by parents, Alice Randall was the only one in the sample introduced intergenerationally to an illicit substance by a family member. While her father was serving time in jail for drug dealing, he had her moved from her stepmother's house, owing to the injection of heroin and use of crack-cocaine on the premises. A year later, at age 15, with her father still in prison, Alice was feeling depressed, and, while visiting people where she used to live, was offered crack-cocaine by her stepmother:

"This will make you feel better. Jus' do it like this." 'N' I got that smoke in me. It w's like *whew*. (pause), I was like "*whew*" [inhale], 'n' I said, "Oh, tha's good, tha's good." Then I started, I jus' kept on.

The next time she used was the next day, after which Alice began daily use. Both parents once were migrant workers, but they kept her out of agriculture, a strategy not uncommon in towns where agriculture predominates. Alice later chose on her own to accompany a boyfriend "on the season." During her first summer in a labor camp, she found that it was difficult to be away from crack. Her boyfriend, a non-user, permitted her to return home, where she could obtain crack-cocaine with less risk than trying to procure it in the local area where they were working.

Peers As they grow into adolescence and adulthood, farm workers share in common with the rest of the population the influence of their peers. For them, this influence is in flux, owing to residential moves and variations in social pressure, and in the desire to use with others who use. One man born in the United States pointed out, "Alcoholics don't like to drink alone, an addict don't like to get high by himself."

Most scenarios for initiation into substance use for persons who perform or performed farm labor were situations individualized by distinctive settings and relationships. There were relatively few instances where a person was introduced by the same person to more than one substance, whether in succession or over the course of expanding a drug repertoire. Initiating again with the same person usually occurred as a transition from alcohol to marijuana, typically with buddies or classmates whose names were remembered during the interview (e.g., one man on a family farm initiated with cousins in the woods). No one was introduced by the same person to all the lifetime substances he or she had experienced, except for those who stopped with one substance. Most men and women in the sample initiated with another person, or group of persons, for each substance with which they had experience. Experienced in ten substances and multiple modes of administration, John Williams was an exception, since four persons introduced him to his various substances. He initiated alcohol and marijuana at ages 15 and

16 with an older buddy, and liquid rush a few years later with another friend in his family's home base. All the rest of the seven substances that he initiated in his late teens and early 20s "on the season" in the Northeast were in the company of his girlfriend's brother or of local youths from a nearby town.

One image of rural society is of sparse population and extensive farm lands. According to U.S.-born men and women in agriculture in the Southeast, however, relatively few spent time in woods or barns initiating or using drugs. Men remembered how they used with neighborhood buddies, typically on the street, rarely in the woods, even though the woods were close in nearly all the towns where these men and women lived. Manuel Paredes, who is over 40, recalled of the town where he was raised in the Lower South, "Half of the town was woods, and the streets were dirt roads." Although he sometimes drank in the woods (he and his buddies secured alcohol by having an older adult purchase beer), he used marijuana, powder cocaine and crack-cocaine in different settings. Occasional parties in the woods for U.S.-born workers when they were teens evolved into public drinking once they become older. James grew up in a farming area of the Middle South and performed farm labor during the summer to earn money for school supplies and clothes. He described a wooded area known locally as The Den, located behind a trailer park at the edge of town, where men of all ages gathered to drink. Though James first drank alcohol at age 16 at a rural club, he tried marijuana with friends at age 17 while drinking at The Den. His mother recognized that he had been smoking pot, since he could not hide his reddened eyes and an increased appetite at dinner time. James initiated crack-cocaine at age 22 with a roommate in a house that he was sharing with three others (all users) in a nearby city. He rarely returned to farm labor as an adult, except to tobacco work, preferring jobs in the service sector (restaurants and textile mills). None of the transnational men reported using "in the woods," although common places were similar to those for the U.S.-born (e.g., clubs, homes when their parents

were absent, or abandoned buildings). Unusual places for initiating for each group varied from a "city dump" with age-mates for a transnational man raised in a provincial capital of Mexico, to from his nephew "through a kitchen window" for a U.S.-born man washing dishes while visiting extended family of his deceased brother's widow. Transnational men drank in home countries in the public places of neighborhoods (*colonias*), in a pattern similar to that of the men reported in other studies who have drunk in "common areas" of a California family migrant center (Alaniz, 1994) and in visible sites in the border towns of South Texas (Trotter, 1985).

A common situation was weekend parties with classmates (women as well as men) and neighborhood buddies (typically men only). Rose Brown was raised in a city of the Lower South. She first drank at weekend parties, and smoked a joint after she and her friends skipped school one afternoon. After high school graduation, Rose followed her sister to an agricultural town in the same state, where she was introduced to farm labor. Six months later, she smoked crack at a club where she had been going for two months. Three weeks later, she smoked it again with the same people. Within six weeks, Rose was smoking crack-cocaine daily after work. She later moved to another agricultural town with her boyfriend (he left her after they arrived), where she continued working in farm labor and using crack-cocaine. After several years in the second town and a continuation of the sex-work that she had initiated in the first farm community, Rose began to migrate, traveling with a boyfriend "on the season" to other states.

As respondents moved into substances other than alcohol and marijuana, the location of initiation shifted from home and neighborhood to other places. Most use on school property, for example, occurred for those raised in the U.S., and typically involved marijuana smoking rather than initiation of other substances. Pot smoking often occurred in spatial or temporal free zones such as in the bathroom between classes or during the lunch hour. Douglas Sessom explained how marijuana use

was camouflaged at his middle school. Since cigarette smoking was popular, students would gather during lunch hour to smoke cigarettes. Amid the smoke from cigarettes, a few students "hid" joints and marijuana-laced cigarettes.

None of the transnational workers first used on school property. Although several initiated with classmates, the setting of first use was the neighborhood (*colonia*), where their status as "peers" was based on residence as well as age. One man explained how *compañeros* with whom he used as a teen remained close friends into adulthood; he renewed these friendships on return trips to his home town. Alcohol, marijuana and inhalants predominated as the substances initiated within neighborhoods by transnational workers when they were young. Although fewer domestic workers knew the whereabouts of childhood companions, those who did were from a mainly agricultural small town; alcohol and marijuana predominated among the substances they first tried in these peer clusters.

A few women who came to farm labor later in life, after they had moved to the South,¹¹ acknowledged that adolescence was a time of experimentation with drugs. Most initiated illicit substances before they moved to the South, where they continued using and first worked in agriculture. Raised in an agricultural area of the Midwest, for example, Doris Taylor (who took acid with her brother) often spent time in school detention, as well as doing a brief stint in a juvenile home for her wayward activities. She described how her locker was regularly searched by the school authorities; they once found a half-ounce of marijuana and a six-pack of beer. Although her parents worked at a local cannery, Doris first worked in agriculture in the fields and in a packing plant after she moved to a farm town of the Lower South. Two years after her arrival, she initiated cocaine injection in her 20s. She switched a year later to crack, after breaking up with her cocaine-dealing boyfriend, since crack was cheaper than the cocaine she had once obtained from him for free. Doris

learned about the farm town where she settled from contact with migrants who came seasonally to her home town to work in the vegetable fields and local canneries.

Relatively few men, whether U.S.-born or transnational, initiated substances with girlfriends. One exception was William Henry, who entered farm labor as an adult later in life, after he had lived and worked in several states along the East Coast. He first snorted cocaine at a friend's apartment (four lines for his buddy, two for himself) in a northern city outside his home state, where he continued to use cocaine with a girlfriend "off 'n' on, not a steady regular basis." When they moved to another state, he initiated crack-cocaine with the same girlfriend, who by this time had learned how to cook powder cocaine to prepare crack. William increased to daily use: "Jus' goin' on down through the course of the day," he explained to me. As the youngest son of six siblings whose father earned good money in construction, William performed farm labor (he preferred watermelon harvests) after losing a salaried job at an industrial plant in the Middle South and moving to the Lower South. He worked in agriculture in one area before moving to another farm town, where he worked as a free-lance mechanic when farm labor was slow. He continued to use crack into his 40s. After he began farm labor in the South, William no longer had a live-in girlfriend as in the Northeast.

Given that few workers initiated new substances in locales of sojourn, nearly all of the U.S.-born respondents were introduced to substance use by persons whom they knew well. Some were acquaintances of short duration who were not a part of the local farming community—for example, "some guy I met on the season [in town]," who provided a teen with amphetamine as the first drug he ever used, or "this guy from [a city in same state]," who taught a woman and her husband, both of whom had been migrant children, how to cook crack-cocaine from a bag of powder cocaine. Transnational workers generally knew the person(s) who

introduced them to a new substance. The exceptions were two undocumented men who were transported across state boundaries to work in another state. The first night they stopped, the driver took them to a "safe house," where they were offered crack by the man who managed the house. Each of the two men accepted. The one interviewed for this study explained that he did not use crack again for another two years, until he was working in another state in the South.

Discussion and conclusions

In sum, initiation into substance use in agricultural areas occurred with assistance or encouragement from an acquaintance or neighbor, or, less commonly and then primarily for alcohol, with assistance from a family member. It rarely occurred in temporary situations, such as a labor camp. Initiation by or instruction from a "stranger" was nonexistent among the U.S.-born workers, and rare for workers born outside the United States (one case of initiating crack with a man met that same afternoon, after a driver stopped for his two riders to sleep over en route to their destination). Nonetheless, continuation in use of licit and illicit drugs in settings of temporary accommodation (labor camps and rental housing, in particular) is common (also described for the Delmarva Peninsula by Inciardi et al., 1999), *after* one has initiated use. The frequency of drug use may diminish "on the season." This was described by men and women in this study, and also for camps in upstate New York, by Morales (1985). In unpublished data from a previous study where I served as project director, we found greater levels of substance use in the base station (one county) than in four seasonal field stations covering 12 counties in five states (Table 3). Farm workers in the base station worked winter-demand crops (October to June), and those in the field stations worked summer-demand crops (sometime in May through October, depending on the agricultural area).¹² For narrative life stories that I collected for the present study,

TABLE 3
Substance use: winter-demand and summer-demand farm labor: days and times used in the previous 30 days

	ALCOHOL		CRACK-COCAINE		MARIJUANA		POWDER COCAINE	
	Mean Number	Mean Number	Mean Number	Mean Number	Mean Number	Mean Number	Mean Number	
	Past 30 Days	Past 30 Days	Past 30 Days	Past 30 Days	Past 30 Days	Past 30 Days	Past 30 Days	
Total	18.52	37.40	14.04	29.08	10.98	18.15	6.51	8.03
Winter-Demand N= 680	^a 19.23	^b 43.73	^a 14.56	^c 32.26	^c 12.00	22.17	6.97	8.14
Summer-Demand N= 301	^a 16.19	^b 28.44	^a 9.53	^c 22.35	^c 9.82	15.62	4.98	6.41

T-test: ^a p<.0001; ^b p<.001; ^c p<.03.

T-tests were derived from an Independent Samples test between farm workers in sites for winter-demand labor (base station, n=680 unduplicated men and women) and summer-demand labor (the four field stations, n=301 unduplicated men and women). Values for days used ranged from 1 to 30; and for times, they ranged from 1 to a few estimates of more than 100 times in the previous 30 days ("times" were the same as or greater than the number of days). The data represent 30-day recall reports from individuals who used a particular substance at time of baseline interview, and for a few, one, two or three follow-up interviews. For baseline enrollment, each respondent reported using in the previous 30 days one or more illicit substances (eligibility determinant) and identified either the same or different substances, or no use, in follow-up interviews. Based on a total of 1,611 interviews with 981 men and women, data include 997 interviews where crack-cocaine use was reported, 1,085 interviews for alcohol consumption, 716 interviews for marijuana use, and 198 interviews for powder cocaine use. Four women and ten men in the base station interviewed for follow-up in the county jail are not included in tallies (no reported drug use). Interviews with three individuals from the base station who reappeared in two field stations were counted as summer-demand interviews, and two interviews with one individual from a field station were counted as winter-demand interviews in the base station (unduplicated tallies of individuals, however, included each of the four only once; three as winter-demand workers and one as a summer-demand worker).

Source: Unpublished data from the Migrant Worker Risk Study (Principal Investigator: Norman L. Weatherly), 1993-1996.

several men and women abstained while they were working "on the season" outside a home-town or home-base community, and resumed use only after returning home when the season was over. Fear of apprehension was not a deterrent to use during the season. Camps are isolated, and crew leaders generally are tolerant of workers who drink and/or use drugs. One woman who took a crack pipe "on the season" indicated that nearly everyone in crews where she had worked used or sold drugs. "No one will turn us in," she confided to me.

Farm workers are a population who enter farm labor as children, adolescents or adults. They may exit agriculture at any point and never return, or they may re-enter agriculture at two or more points during their lifetime. The present sample comprised a representative range of transnational and domestic workers in farm labor. Some had many years of experience spanning childhood to adulthood, and some had short-term experience, generally as teens or adults. The experiences of others fell in the middle range of 5–20 years, which is consistent with the experience of farm laborers in other research (e.g., Friedland & Nelkin, 1971; Griffith & Kissam, 1995). Farm workers who become involved in substance use make use of a range of licit and illicit drugs, notably including alcohol, marijuana, and powder and crack-cocaine, and including to a lesser extent inhalants and solvents (transnational workers), acid (U.S.-born workers) and pills (both). They initiate drug use as early as, or earlier than, other groups for whom onset age has been studied. However, they start using illicit substances later than these populations. At variance with the compressed age range that is characteristic of initiation in other contexts, especially for the general population studied in urban areas, farm workers may initiate new drugs in their late 20s and beyond, while continuing use of previously used substances. Later substances typically are controlled substances, such as powder cocaine and crack-cocaine and, less often, heroin, crack, acid and speed. At variance with the literature on

urban areas, where cessation of drug use generally occurs in the early 20s or earlier, some farm laborers continue to use substances for extended periods of their lives.

Locale familiarity in relation to first use has not been previously reported in the literature for any population. Farm workers typically initiate substance use in locales with which they are familiar, where they have lived on a long-term basis. However, even here the possibility of moving is imminent, since they rarely own land or have a guarantee of long-term employment. These communities are the hometowns where they were born, or a home base where their family, or they as adults, have settled. Farm workers may use drugs "on the season" when they work in a rural area outside their own communities, but they very rarely initiate a new substance in situations of temporary accommodation. The level of substance use also diminishes in these locales of sojourn, compared with the time spent in home-base communities from which workers migrate seasonally, and from where they may work in local agriculture if and when they are not migrating.

Not having access to drugs in an isolated area where a labor camp is located is only a part of a shift in use. Migrant farm workers spend considerable periods of time "on the season," particularly those who prefer to work for a piece rate (that is, are paid by the amount harvested rather than hours worked). Using would interfere with work performance (Gleason et al., 1991). Hence substance use diminishes "on the season" but generally returns to its pattern of normative use once a worker returns to a home base. The seasonal fluctuations in use by present-day farm workers resemble the "boom and bust" cycles described in male-predominant work roles such as cowboys and loggers from a century ago. More recently, researchers studying the men in the skid row sections of large cities observed that men often reduced their use, both intentionally and pragmatically, while they were working in agricultural harvests (for apples, see Spradley, 1970), or

performing seasonal work in rural areas, before returning to an urban area with which they are familiar (Bogue, 1963).

Family members to a lesser extent and age-mates to a greater extent become involved in a process of initiation (for alcohol in particular) and continuation of use (for alcohol and marijuana). For male and female farm workers in the present study, most of their drug use repertoire was initiated while living with family. Family members may facilitate their use once the process of substance use has started. In the present study, intergenerational initiation between family members was nonexistent among transnational workers, except for the rare few who had a family tradition of preparing and serving fermented beverages (like pulque), and it was uncommon for U.S.-born workers, except for some surreptitious facilitation of alcohol use by parents or parental siblings. Collateral initiation between same-generation cousins and, less often, siblings usually occurs with marijuana. Few studies in the literature report on co-initiation or co-use among kin. In the present study, one-fourth of the participants had tried alcohol at or before age ten, with either the direct assistance or the complicity of family members, whose supply of alcohol was accessible and whose techniques of consumption were observable to younger members of the family. Attention to the family and its impact on processes of initiation and continuation of use is merited in future investigations of drug use in both rural and urban areas. An example of such a study is the careful field study of patterns of substance use in a two-generation family (headed by a woman called "Island") in an impoverished central city area by Johnson et al. (1998).

There were few differences in practices of initiation between transnational and U.S.-born workers or between men and women. Unlike the findings in urban studies of onset, women in this study more often initiated with women than with men for both licit and illicit substances. Use of inhalants was characteristic of transnational workers, who typically quit once they came to the U.S., and use of acid was characteristic

of U.S.-born workers, particularly whites. Farm workers usually knew rather well the persons who introduced them to a new substance. An aggregation of relatives were potential initiators among the U.S.-born workers, while a circumscribed aggregation of same-generation kin (usually cousins) were more typical initiators among the few transnational workers who first used a new substance with family members.

One unexpected finding for both the transnational and the U.S.-born workers was that a low percentage of men and none of the women initiated substance use in sites of temporary living accommodations. Irregularity of agricultural employment and its uncertainty typify a large portion of the time that farm workers characterize as working "on the season," living "on a camp," and traveling-migrating "on the road" in pursuit of a livelihood within, and also outside, agriculture. "On the season," a worker may use alcohol or drugs with which he or she is already familiar, but the worker rarely initiates another substance outside an existing repertoire of drug use. Initiation occurs more often in a locale of familiarity. Periods of time that workers spend outside a home community do not necessarily provide a space for revelry, escape and experimentation, at least not for new drugs to initiate. All these factors (experimentation, escape, and sensation-seeking) have been theoretically constructed, at one time or another, to explain rationales for substance use. Avoiding a novel experience like trying a new substance permits one to remain with what anchors oneself (Casey, 1993; Duncan, 1993), both socially and culturally, and to avoid a situation of changing a repertoire of drug use that one has acquired in familiar locales. Despite the irregularity and uncertainty common in agricultural employment, and the conditions of poverty experienced by farm laborers, the collective strength of a "sited identity" (Thomas, 2002), and with it the cultural values, social practices and customary behaviors into which one has been socialized within a hometown or home base, serves as a cultural buffer that decreases a likelihood that one will experiment with new

substances in locales of temporary accommodation. It was rare for men in the present study who took up a new substance in a town that became their home base (the place to which they moved that eventually, over time, became a "permanent" home) to initiate that new substance immediately after arrival. Generally more than a year passed, for those with previous experience in using drugs, before they might use another new drug. This is a period of time beyond a typical agricultural season, in which a farm worker may spend one to six months at a single site before moving to a new locale as the season continues, or return home if the season is short.

Familiarity with place grows with time. One gains familiarity with what becomes a home base after arrival and a period of settlement. An agricultural season is too short to emplace oneself in the surrounding cultural landscape, and one is too focused on working to inscribe oneself into a level of psychosocial comfort for assimilating a set of practices that may include the procedures for initiation and use of a new substance. If a new place is not conducive to compelling initiation ("new use") soon upon arrival, this may explain why the freshness of a new place has been theorized to facilitate "leaving behind" substance use for those who seek a shift in geography as a strategy of cessation. One remains with accustomed practices and substances until one becomes familiar with a locale, at which time one may feel compelled to initiate a new substance for reasons that no longer include the novelty of living in a new place.

Notes

1. Apple camps were added at the start of the season, when it was discovered that a number of migrant labor camps selected for sampling the previous summer did not open as anticipated.
2. Two counties in Maryland and four counties in Delaware were sampled, as one of four field stations, the only site active for two summers, in a larger multisite study of migrant workers at risk for HIV seroconversion. No data were collected in the third state (Virginia) that is part of the Delmarva Peninsula (*Delaware, Maryland and Virginia*).

3. The literature on farm labor characterizes this migrancy as searching ("in search of work"); usually it is a pre-season arrangement for employment made by a labor contractor or, less often, by the laborer. Workers may travel to a place with no previous arrangements, but this occurs after they have worked in one locale where the season ends later or earlier than usual, or when laborers wish to extend time "on the season." They seek a locale that they know about from past experience or through news-sharing where work may be available. Nonetheless, the preseason arrangements may not guarantee that a farm crew or an independent worker from the local area will begin working immediately upon arrival.
4. To increase confidentiality, regional designations are used rather than state names.
5. Taped interviews were discontinued in one site due to surveillance of the local area by law enforcement. Nonetheless, field observations continued locally in high-risk settings.
6. Most research completed after the introduction of crack reports an onset age that typically has peaked around age 22 or 23 (Kandel et al., 1992; Robins, 1984) or by age 21 (Swadi, 1992), which, interestingly, is the age of bestowal for the full range of adult privileges and responsibilities, including alcohol consumption, that are permitted and legally sanctioned in American society.
7. Ninety of 138 substances used by the 45 transnational workers were initiated outside the United States (65%), typically in home countries (all but one person), and 48 were initiated inside the United States (35%). Most substances initiated by foreign-born workers in the U.S. were illicit (cocaine, crack-cocaine, heroin). No more than two initiated crack-cocaine outside the country (both in Caribbean home countries that served as "pass-through" sites for shipments of cocaine into the U.S. from Latin America), and a third initiated cocaine along the Texas/Mexico border a couple of years before entering the country.
8. All names are fictitious and were chosen from a compiled list of first names and surnames individually selected by separate random processes.
9. This explains why 17 of 71 domestic workers and three of 44 transnational workers who had alcohol experience before or at age 10 (16.8% for both groups combined) tried alcohol that was available at home.
10. An exception was the man on a visit to his family (mentioned above) who first drank with family before again returning to the U.S.
11. Of two women born outside the United States, one emigrated as a pre-teen and one as an older teen. One first lived in an agricultural

community for several years before she initiated alcohol, marijuana, cocaine and crack-cocaine; the second, already familiar with alcohol for several years (her mother owned a bar in her home country), began using cocaine, heroin and speedball (a mixture of cocaine and heroin) in the Northeast, then moved several years later to the South and worked a few seasons in agriculture.

12. This four-year study sampled 981 unduplicated men and women for baseline and follow-up interviews across a total of 32 living sites located in 13 counties of six states. Each was asked (among other questions) how many days and occasions in the previous 30 days he or she had used a series of substances, of which the most common are included in the table. Respondents in the four-year study, similar to those who provided narrative life stories (inscription study), all gave informed consent and were reimbursed \$15 for each interview they completed.

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