

Chicharrones and Pork Rinds:

Native Southerners and Hispanic Newcomers in the Not-So-New South

Kassia J. Omohundro
Latin American Studies Distinguished Majors Program
15 April 2005

Table of Contents

The Good Citizen: An Introduction to the Project	1
Chapter One	4
Chicharrones and Pork Rinds: Hispanics Challenging and Confirming a Southern Identity	4
Beyond the Numbers: Understanding Hispanic Population Growth in the South.....	7
The Farmer and the <i>Trabajador</i> : Hispanics in the Agricultural South.....	11
The Factory and the <i>Trabajador</i> : Hispanics in the Rural Industrialized South.....	17
Chapter Two.....	25
The “Promised Land?”: Hispanics in Central Virginia.....	25
Formal Service Providers in Central Virginia	32
Informal Service Providers in Central Virginia	42
Considering Immigrant Satisfaction in Central Virginia	48
Chapter Three	54
The Heart of Poultry Country: Hispanic Workers in the Shenandoah Valley	54
Backyards and Neighborhoods: A Conclusion of a Local Nature.....	68

The Good Citizen: An Introduction to the Project

One evening last August I waited for Laura and José's families to meet me outside a middle school in Central Virginia. Although as a teacher for Albemarle Migrant Education I mostly work with students in their homes, I also accompany my students' parents to meetings at their children's schools. On this evening I accompanied two students and their families to a meeting for parents of children about to begin middle school. I sat in the middle school cafeteria between Laura and José's families interpreting the school principal's words from English to Spanish. "Welcome to the middle school years!" exclaimed the principal beginning his speech. He continued to talk about all the changes that the middle school years would bring for new students. They would be changing classes, playing instruments in the band, beginning puberty, and constantly rolling their eyes at their parents all within these few short middle school years. English-speaking parents groaned as I paused for a moment trying to figure out how to say "rolling their eyes" in Spanish.

The principal continued to talk about the partnership between the school and the parents. He emphasized that students would learn not just to excel academically, but also learn how to be successful and compassionate human beings. He turned to a computer next to his podium and opened up a PowerPoint presentation that listed the positive character traits this middle school would instill in its students. I paused in my interpretation as the principal announced the first trait of good character, citizenship. Now in English, citizenship can have two separate but interrelated definitions. One definition refers to citizenship as one's legal status in a country, while another refers to the more subjective qualities, duties, and responsibilities of a community member.

Unfortunately, I spoke before thinking through all the implications of the word citizenship. Immediately Laura and José's parents spoke up that neither they nor their children were citizens of this country. What did this mean for their children in school? I tried to correct my error; what I had meant to say was that this school wanted to cultivate citizenship in the sense of responsible, compassionate students. Eventually I explained the principal's meaning to the satisfaction of Laura and José's parents, but even after the meeting I kept thinking about the definition of citizenship.

Is citizenship more a reflection of your legal status in a country or your behavior as a good neighbor and your acceptance into a community? Most natives of Central Virginia never have to think about the various methods and classifications of citizenship. However, for the growing Hispanic¹ immigrant population in the area, this is an especially salient issue. How will their presence here be received by the community's native population? Will they themselves be absorbed into the native community or will they be able to etch out a space all their own? Will they be respected or rejected within the wider community? What kind of relationships will be built between native Southerners and Hispanic newcomers? How is citizenship measured and can new Hispanic immigrants ever fully attain it?

These questions were the impetus for the personal and academic journey that has resulted in this project. As a native of Central Virginia, I have observed the public and outward signs of Hispanic population growth in my community. As an ESL (English as a Second Language) teacher for Albemarle Migrant Education, I have had the opportunity to meet and know many Hispanic immigrant families in their first years in this country, and establish a personal connection to Central Virginia's growth of Hispanic presence.

As a college student, I have spent four years studying the Spanish language, Latin American countries, and immigration to the US, and wondering how they all fit together in my community. It is from these perspectives that I set out to research and understand the growth explosion of Hispanic population and presence in the South (and more specifically, in Virginia) from both academic and personal point of views.

What I learned during the course of this project led me to few simple or concrete conclusions, but rather to more complexities, uncertainties, and elusive answers. In studying such an emotionally charged and current topic as immigration and immigrants, most literature is definitive and defensive of its point of view. In arguing a point about immigration, it is easy and common to ignore the ambiguities in order to further bolster one's opinion. Certainly I am guilty of this at times myself. Nevertheless, I hope that this project brings out the ambivalent, contradictory, and difficult to define aspects of Hispanic immigration to the South and Virginia. I hope that this study of communities moves away from the idea of the great divide over Hispanic immigration and shines light on the fine and more human line between relationships of hospitality and hostility, justice and injustice, surviving and thriving, citizen and alien.

Chapter One

Chicharrones and Pork Rinds: Hispanics Challenging and Confirming a Southern Identity

One blazing hot afternoon last July, I made my weekly stop into a country store in Batesville, Virginia to buy a Coke on my way to teach English at a nearby migrant camp. On a day as oppressively hot as this one, the air-conditioned respite the store offered was almost a necessity after the thirty minute drive from Charlottesville in my car, which has no air conditioning of its own. This Batesville country store, which shares its building with the town's tiny post office, is probably nearly identical to thousands of other little country stores throughout the South. They all offer some individual local color as well as soda, beer, and if you're lucky, a deli counter offering fried chicken, homemade potato salad, or a big clear jar of pickled eggs soaking in bright red beet juice.

That July day, I wandered down the candy bar aisle and stood for a moment internally debating the relative merits of buying a Snickers or a Milky Way. A few feet away, two men, whose hands and clothes looked like they had just gotten off from work at a construction job, chatted with the store clerk in Southern country accents, classic to Central Virginia. After a few moments one of them looked down at a shelf and said in good-humored voice, "What in the hell are che-che-rons?" "They're Mexican pork rinds," the clerk replied matter-of-factly, nodding as if he knew quite a bit about the culinary preferences of Mexicans. And looking down at the chicharrones shelf, I realized that perhaps he did. I was surprised to see that two whole shelves of this tiny store were devoted to a kind of "Hispanic foods" section that included everything from the more Americanized boxes of taco shells to the perhaps more "authentically Hispanic" varieties

of *chiles* and *masa* flour. The man holding the bag of chicharrones responded with an interested nod, satisfied that the food he had been questioning as some strange Mexican specialty had turned out to be something as normal for Southerners as apple pie is for all Americans—pork rinds.

The South, a place often generalized by the rest of the country as rural, backward, and resistant to change, is indeed in the process of remarkable change. For the past two decades, and increasingly in the last one, the growing Hispanic newcomer presence in the South has made it impossible to write these new patterns of immigration and migration off as a temporary trend. Native Southerners and Hispanic newcomers have just begun a process of acknowledgement and reaction, the results of which will no doubt have long-lasting effects on the region's future.

In some places of the South, Hispanics newcomers have just recently arrived at the fringes of Southern spaces. In places like the Batesville country store, native/newcomer recognition and contact is minimal and does not even necessarily bring the two groups face-to-face. Some native Southerners who I interviewed in Central Virginia told me that their first contact with Hispanic newcomers involved trucks passing on a dirt road or picking up their mail at the post office. In other places in the South, Hispanic newcomer presence is a larger and more rapidly growing phenomenon, bringing natives and newcomers into immediate and close contact.

And yet, whatever initial contact between natives and newcomers may entail, the growing presence of Hispanic immigrant populations throughout the entire South introduces a new variable into the history of a place that has, since the beginning of its existence, been divided along a black-white racial line. And while certainly important,

race and ethnicity are not the only changes accompanying the new Hispanic presence in the South. Language, culture, and country of origin may also mark the obvious differences between Hispanic newcomers and native southerners. While the exact nature and consequences of these changes vary from place to place within the South, the existence of this change is undeniable.

In many more established and traditional destinations for Hispanic immigration (such as California and the Southwest), native reception of Hispanic newcomers is often characterized by frustration, tension, and anger. Perhaps such a response seems unavoidable when, over a longer period of time, a native population faces the rapid and seemingly relentless growth of a largely undocumented and socioeconomically disadvantaged immigrant population. However, despite traditional reactions to Hispanic immigration, and despite obvious racial, linguistic, and cultural differences, there are those who claim surprising similarities between native Southerners and Hispanic newcomers that extend far beyond a common enjoyment of pork rinds. Some argue that these similarities, combined with the distinctive characteristics of Hispanic immigration/migration to the South, will ultimately make the difference between a Southern atmosphere of increasing tensions and a more sustainable, cooperative one.

In this chapter, I will examine the short history of Hispanics in the South and explore the ways in which this new and rapidly growing population both challenges and confirms historical Southern identity. I will explain not only such critical information as the nature of and reasons behind Hispanic population growth in the South, but also the ways in which various Southern communities have reacted to the challenges resulting from such a population change. In an effort to gain a deeper understanding of the region

as a whole, I will draw not only on resources that consider the South as a uniform whole, but also upon studies that explain the nuances of Hispanic presence in various states, cities, and counties. With this foundation, I believe it is possible to more fully understand the new and emerging patterns of Hispanic immigration and migration to the South. This foundation will permit a greater understanding of my specific study areas in Central Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley.

Beyond the Numbers: Understanding Hispanic Population Growth in the South

While the pace of population change has differed within the South, the emergence and rapid growth of Hispanic immigrant presence has caught native Southerners by surprise. “In the late 1980s and the early 1990s, citizens of the southern United States awoke to the realization that their cities and counties no longer consisted of residents who could be divided along the traditional racial or ethnic lines of black and white.”² If the growth in the South’s Hispanic population during the late 1980s and early 1990s marked an “awakening,” then the following decade between 1990 and 2000 represented an even greater eye-opening awareness.

In fact, the 2000 U.S. Census reveals that the South’s Hispanic population is growing at a rate unmatched by any other region of the country.³ Of the twelve states traditionally considered to constitute the South,⁴ nine experienced a growth in Hispanic population of over 100 percent between 1990 and 2000. North Carolina led the South in Hispanic population growth with an amazing 394 percent, while Georgia’s Hispanic population grew 300 percent and Virginia’s grew 105 percent.⁵ Yet because the South is a region that has traditionally received very little Hispanic immigration or migration,

Hispanics still represent no more than six percent of the total population in any of the Southern states⁶.

However, even a state-by-state analysis of the growth of Hispanic populations does not allow for a thorough understanding of the character of Hispanic immigration and migration. In Virginia, for example, where Hispanics represented 4.7 percent of the state's total population in 2000, Hispanics in the Northern Virginia counties of Fairfax and Manassas represented 11 and 18.6 percent of their counties' total populations respectively. In Albemarle County in Central Virginia, Hispanics represented 2.6 percent of the total population. In Roanoke County of Southern Virginia, Hispanics represented 1.0 percent of the total population and in Accomack County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, Hispanics represented 5.4 percent of the total population.⁷ Clearly, a county-by-county analysis of the Hispanic population of any particular state in the South illustrates preferences stemming from the availability and quality of work, the rural or metropolitan quality of the counties, the existence and degree of establishment of a network of Hispanic migration, as well as availability and quality of community services directed at Hispanic residents.

While the southern states of Florida and Texas have long been the destination of Hispanic immigrants (although many in Texas cannot truly be considered immigrants as their families have lived there since the state was part of Mexico), the rest of the South has not traditionally been a significant destination for Hispanic immigrants.⁸ Nevertheless, there is some historical precedent for this mostly recent pattern of Hispanic immigration to the South. "The Bracero Program (1942-1964)...permitted Mexican farm workers to [legally] enter the US to work in agriculture, [and] yielded small populations

of Latinos scattered throughout the South.”⁹ Despite this earlier presence of some Hispanics who came to the South to work in agriculture, only beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, did both the agricultural and industrial sectors of the South attract significant Hispanic migration, either directly from home countries or from other, more traditional states of Hispanic immigration within the US.

Hispanics, in larger numbers, began South-bound migrations in the last two decades for a number of distinct and interconnected reasons stemming from specific legislature, economic conditions and the subsequent creation of migration networks. One such legislative reason was the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 which granted amnesty to many undocumented Hispanic immigrants living and working in the US. As a result of their new and permanently legalized status, some of these immigrants left the more traditional receiving areas of California, Texas, Florida, and the Southwest to search out better opportunities for themselves and their families in parts of the country where work was more plentiful and job competition with other immigrants was nearly nonexistent.¹⁰ While these post-IRCA journeys led some pioneering Hispanic immigrants to the South, this is not the only or even the primary reason for Hispanic migration to the South in the last two decades.

While some Hispanic newcomers to the South had received amnesty from the IRCA, most Hispanic immigrants who came to region during the 1980s and the 1990s were undocumented and therefore not connected to IRCA legislation.¹¹ The general reason behind both documented and undocumented Hispanic immigration to the South during this time was mostly economic rather than legislative. “Between 1977 and 1992, the economy of the South outperformed all other regions of the country, as well as the

aggregate national economy.”¹² This was a time of great industrialization for the South, and many different industries took advantage the South’s economic success during this time, relocating their businesses to the area. Many of these industries are “...non-union, labor-intensive industries, where corporate profitability, even survival, depends on low-wage labor.”¹³ During this time period many companies moved overseas to take advantage of low labor costs and the absence of labor unions.¹⁴ Those companies unable to make this move, such as those in the meat processing industry, tried “to simulate the Third World labor climate here in the United States, moving to regions where organized labor and legal protections are absent.”¹⁵

While such industries at first relied on a native labor force of mostly African-Americans and women, the trend quickly turned to the employment of Hispanics. Industries found that Hispanics could be recruited in large numbers from local agricultural work or other industrial areas of the South and were willing to work for less pay than native workers. Hispanics were (and continue to be) perceived by employers as naturally hard working people who did not complain and were satisfied with the status quo. Such perceptions and stereotypes often arise from the fact that because most of these Hispanics cannot speak English and many are undocumented, a strong employer loyalty and acceptance of difficult labor and work environment exists.

In addition to the economic “pull factors” that attracted Hispanics to the South, poor and deteriorating economic situations in immigrants’ home countries served as a necessary “push factor” that led many to emigrate to the US. Specifically relevant to this discussion (because most immigration to the US, and the South in particular, is from Mexico) is “the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA] between the US,

Canada, and Mexico [which] destabilized sectors of the Mexican economy and contributed to the unprecedented numbers of Latino workers who arrived in the South...” in the most recent decades.¹⁶

After the initial years of pioneer migration to the South, Hispanics established networks of migration that expanded and further emphasized their presence in specific states and counties throughout the South. These networks of migration were created not only by the original Hispanic residents who told their relatives, friends, and acquaintances that a particular area was a good place in which to live and work, but also by the industries themselves that actively recruited Hispanics from other areas to work for them and live in surrounding counties.

The Farmer and the *Trabajador*: Hispanics in the Agricultural South

The South, despite the stereotypes and generalizations surrounding its identity, is actually a very diverse region. Therefore, as I examine the various groups of people living and working in the South, it is only fair to make the same distinction when exploring various states, cities, and counties that make up the South. In recognizing the heterogeneous qualities of the South, it is important to note the differences between rural and metropolitan areas. The variety, availability, and quality of work accessible to potential Hispanic immigrants depends on whether they move to a rural or metropolitan area. Additionally, as I will discuss in greater detail later, the nature of relationships between Hispanic newcomers and their employers, landlords, neighbors, and other Hispanics also greatly depends on whether they live in a rural or metropolitan area. Because my work focuses mostly on the rural South, I will concentrate most of my

discussion on these areas. However, even within the rural South, the availability and variety of work in an area, as well as other specific characteristics of individual communities, contribute a great deal to the reaction and response of native Southerners to Hispanic newcomers, as well as the ability of the Hispanic newcomers to adjust to life in the South and make it their home.

Agriculture is the most traditional sector in which Hispanics in the South (and throughout the US) work. In recent decades, much attention has been given in documentaries, newspapers, and magazines to the “plight” of the migrant worker who weaves his way through the US, following the crops, and working long hard hours, days, and years under the sun for little financial gain. Although much of the rhetoric that exalts migrant workers is based on fact (migrant workers *do* complete necessary, but undesirable work; they *do* work extremely hard for very little pay; They *are* the reason that US consumers can buy fruit in all seasons for reasonable prices.), the exaltation and the popular image of migrant workers itself can be dangerous. Rarely can groups of people be so definitively classified and migrant workers are no exception. There is no denying that the lives and labors of migrant workers are difficult and many face frequent injustices of varying degrees. Nevertheless, the conditions in which migrant workers live and work is not fixed across space and time. According to region, time period, employer and luck, migrant workers’ experiences range from exploitative to satisfying.

The same is true even within the experiences of a single migrant worker. Cesar Chavez, the co-founder of United Farm Workers (a pioneering group that helps organize migrant and farm labor causes), once said that “[i]n the beginning there was a lot of nonsense about the poor farm worker: ‘Gee, the farm worker is poor and disadvantaged

and on strike, he must be a super human being!’ And I said, ‘Cut that nonsense out, right?’ That was my opening speech:... ‘the farm worker is only a human being...In order to help the farm workers, look at them as human beings, because they have as many faults as you have...”¹⁷

In my own experiences teaching English to migrant workers, I have often presumptuously assumed migrant workers to be equally and fully disadvantaged in their existence in this country. However, I have been proven wrong on numerous occasions in which I have observed the ways in which migrant workers are simultaneously powerless and strong. It is commonly assumed that migrant workers are necessarily passive and at the mercy of their employers. I have seen how this is not always the case; both outside forces and the migrant worker as an active individual can vary and produce different outcomes within the life of a single migrant worker.

These mostly young male immigrants live on the fringes of society, rarely establishing connections with native Southerners or other, more settled Hispanics. The one real exception to this rule of migrant worker relationships is the *patrón/trabajador*¹⁸ relationship, the duration of which may last many years, the worker returning to the same area of the South at the same time every year to work the harvest. This *patrón/trabajador* relationship is one in which the *trabajador* is dependent on the *patrón* for everything from work to housing, and even such basic human rights as protection from pesticides and access to water and bathrooms during the long work days. This paternalistic relationship is full of complexities, and perhaps unexpectedly, can, to varying degrees, be both exploitative and satisfactory to the migrant worker. Nevertheless, migrant workers are the most vulnerable group of Hispanics in the country. Because most are

undocumented and lack roots in the community, it is difficult for them to protect their basic human rights and injustices are common. Even when agricultural workers come to the US legally with H2-A visas, their tenure in this country is tied to their employer and therefore they are still vulnerable to exploitation by the *patrón*.¹⁹

While exploitative and satisfactory *patrón/trabajador* relationships exist throughout the United States, the nature of migrant labor and *patrón/trabajador* relations may differ to some extent in the South. In very rural areas in which farms are smaller and/or do not have a long history of hiring Hispanics as workers, a *patrón* may have more individual contact with his Hispanic workers and, as a result, there may be less blatant, severe injustice. Increased contact may improve relations between the *patrón* and *trabajador* and may make the *patrón* more likely to care about the workers' general well-being. Housing is often the vehicle of much migrant worker vulnerability in the US. However, because in the rural South there may be a relatively small *patrón* to *trabajador* ratio, finding safe, comfortable and affordable housing may be easier in these areas. Problems usually arise in areas such as California and the Southwest and even certain parts of North Carolina, in which the large number of migrant workers leads *patrones* to house workers in extremely poor conditions. Additionally, because of the fact that there are generally less available Hispanic workers in the South than in more traditional immigrant destinations such as California and Florida, a *patrón* may put more emphasis on the value of an individual worker since he might not be immediately replaceable. In my discussion of Central Virginia migrant and farm workers I will offer several specific examples of *patrón/trabajador* relations in which the migrant worker is simultaneously satisfied and made vulnerable by the relationship with his *patrón*.

Despite the fact that popular rhetoric has led to the conception that all farm workers are migrants, this is not true. Increasingly in the South, former migrant farm workers become simply farm workers when they settle out of the harsh migrant streams and establish permanent residence in the counties where they work. Many bring families from their home countries to live with them in their new southern homes. It is at this stage that Hispanic farm workers begin to have increased contact with native Southerners outside of the farm setting. Additionally, other members of the farm worker family may work outside of the farm in a hotel, restaurant, or other more public places, thus making the Hispanic presence in a community more noticeable or immediately relevant to native Southerners.

The reaction and responses of native Southerners to Hispanic newcomers (or in this case, newly recognized residents) in agriculture communities is a new area of study and therefore any understanding of it is necessarily limited and based on a few studies of very specific areas of the South. Nevertheless, those who have completed such studies have been surprised by what they have found. In their article, "Hospitality and Hostility: Latin Immigrants in Southern Georgia," John D. Studstill and Laura Nieto-Studstill explore the reactions and responses of native Georgians to the rising number Hispanic farm workers settling out of the migrant stream and becoming more permanent and visible members of their communities. Studstill and Nieto-Studstill assert that the words of Miss Bea, the owner of "a small mobile home rental park," are representative of the general opinion of natives in this area.²⁰

The first Mexicans came to my park in Farmtown about 1984...Most of my occupants have steady jobs at the plants, but I get some migrants too. One trailer had seven men for a few months last summer. They drank a lot, filled up a whole trash can with beer bottles in one night. At first I had a lot of single migrants, then gradually they went and got their wives or married locals...These families need love and understanding. The farmers cannot harvest the crops without these special people.²¹

Miss Bea's position as a landlord gave her a special and unusual position from which to examine the changes occurring in her community. She was able to observe first hand the daily lives of her Mexican tenants and witness everything from what kind of food they were grilling outside their trailers, to the kinds of birthday parties they threw, to the changes in family structure that occurred as a result of migrants settling out.²² Studstill and Nieto-Studstill utilize the expressed attitudes of Miss Bea, and other natives who expressed similar sentiments, to confirm that, at least in the two counties of Southern Georgia that they studied, natives expressed more "hospitality" than "hostility" at this stage of Hispanic presence in their communities. In this case it seems that increased contact between southern natives and a limited number of Hispanic newcomers quelled tensions and supported a hospitable environment.

The sentiment of general hospitality over hostility is not unique to Southern Georgia. In my own study, I interviewed a Central Virginia woman who, like Miss Bea, owned a small mobile-home rental park. This woman expressed a similar willingness to rent to Hispanics and even went on to comment on how she was fascinated by the life

stories and culture of her Mexican tenants. She did, however, mention her preference to rent to Hispanic families rather than single migrant workers. Such anecdotes provide evidence that the change in family structure accompanying the change from a Hispanic population of mostly single male migrant workers to one of settled-out farm workers with families may soften community reception to increased Hispanic presence and visibility.

In their article, “Introduction: From *Patrones* to *Caciques* to Good Ole Boys,” Deborah A. Duchon and Arthur D. Murphy assert the provocative claim that Hispanics are able to adapt to life in rural southern communities precisely because they can identify with the “...good-ole-boy system,...an informal network driven by unequal and reciprocal personal relationships.”²³ Duchon and Murphy believe that “[i]t is not that immigrants are refugees are ‘naturally’ polite, or that they share strong family values and so fit into the southern culture. Rather their assimilation may be due to the fact that they come from a good-ole-boy system and know how it works.”²⁴ Although more evidence is necessary, Duchon and Murphy’s ideas may apply to the complex, yet sustainable *patrón/trabajador* relationship of the rural agricultural South. However, as mentioned earlier, the South is a diverse and changing place in which some would argue that the local good-ole-boy system is quickly being replaced by a less personalized and more industrialized and globalized approach.

The Factory and the *Trabajador*: Hispanics in the Rural Industrialized South

While industry is most often associated with the metropolitan regions of the United States, rural industrialization contributes significantly to the total amount of industry in the country and especially to the rapidly increasing Hispanic populations

throughout the South.²⁵ As discussed earlier, many industries moved to the South in the 1980s to take advantage of the region's low taxes as well as low land and labor costs. Additionally attractive to industries that moved southward was the large non-unionized workforce (much of which is now Hispanic) available in the South. Such a workforce is available because most southern states are "Right to Work" (RTW) states. In these states, "...all workers in a plant with a union contract receive the benefits of the contract whether or not they decide to become a dues-paying member of the union or not. When workers decide not to pay for the benefits they receive, the power of the union...is weakened," leaving workers vulnerable to exploitation by the industries.²⁶

Some of the major businesses that take advantage of the South's hospitable industrial climate are those from the poultry and meat producing and packing industries. "Government subsidies and import regulations [that] encourage large agribusiness corporations to raise chickens, turkey, hogs and cattle here in the US [rather than overseas]," make relocation to the South an even more attractive prospect to such industries.²⁷ And while such industries originally drew on African Americans, poor whites from the Appalachians, and women for their labor force, many now hire almost exclusively Hispanics.²⁸

Industrial work, and in particular that of the poultry/meat producing and packing industries, is extremely difficult and dangerous, both physically and mentally. In poultry processing plants, "[w]orkers perform the same cuts and motions as many as 15,000 times a day—at line speeds that can go up to 90 birds per minute."²⁹ Such repetitive and fast-paced work completed with sharp instruments is not only physically demanding, but dangerous. The Bureau of Labor reports that about one of every three meatpacking

workers suffers an injury that demands attention beyond basic first aid.³⁰ However, even this number is certainly an underestimation since many undocumented Hispanic workers do not report injuries. Additionally, most poultry/meat workers suffer long-term physical disabilities that are not the result of any single incident, and therefore are less likely to be reported.³¹ Additionally, the stress and anxiety experienced by workers in the poultry/meat industries contributes to the harsh nature of such jobs.³²

Given the nature of this rural industrial work, the most commonly given reason for Hispanic replacement of native workers is that native workers simply are no longer willing to put up with the difficult and dangerous work, and do not have to due to improvements in their financial resources. To some extent, it is true that Hispanics have filled the gap left in the southern industrial workplace by African-American and women workers who were moving away from manually difficult industrial jobs to better kinds of employment. Nevertheless, Hispanics' willingness to work for less money than native Southerners, in addition to their perceived loyalty to employers, further alienates southern natives from industrial work as employers increasingly favor hiring Hispanic workers. In the 1990s, many companies even went as far as to recruit Hispanic workers from their home countries or other more traditional destinations for Hispanic immigration.

One poultry plant personnel manager in Maryland (interviewed in 1993 for David Griffith's article, "Hay Trabajo: Poultry, Processing, Rural Industrialization, and the Latinization of Low-Wage Labor,) asserted that "[w]e were having a difficult time finding labor four, four-and-a-half years ago. We had to get innovative. We sent screeners down to Indiantown, Florida and began recruiting Guatemalans. They all worked in agriculture..."³³ Such recruitment from agricultural to industrial work is not

uncommon in the South, and in many ways marks a step up for Hispanic workers who are able to leave the migrant stream and become more permanent residents of the community in which they work as a result. Nevertheless, direct recruitment by industries has become less necessary in the last few years as deeper networks of Hispanic migration are established in the South.

How then, does the diversity of the South, and in particular the differences between regions of agriculture and rural industrialization affect relations between native Southerners and Hispanic newcomers? What happens when the personalized *patrón/trabajador* relationship of the agricultural South is replaced by a corporate industry/*trabajador* relationship? And how does the larger scale permanent residence of Hispanics in rural industrial areas compare to the scattered Hispanic presence of agricultural regions?

In “Mexican Places in Southern Spaces: Globalization, Work, and Daily Life in and around the North Georgia Poultry Industry,” Greig Guthey describes the outwardly conflicting cultures immediately recognizable in Gainesville, Georgia.

Down the street from the water tower emblazoned with the words ‘Poultry Capital of the World,’ past the trucks, chickens, and windblown feathers at two chicken-processing plants...is a small enclave of Mexican businesses where one can purchase food that is not available in mainstream supermarkets, or step up to a *taquería* (taco stand) for an authentic Mexican meal, and seldom hear English spoken. In the surrounding region, there are churches of all kinds holding Spanish-language services and perhaps even English-language classes as well.

Regular bus service leaves Gainesville for Mexico. On the weekend, Latino soccer teams may be seen playing on local athletic fields.³⁴

This scene is not uncommon in rural industrialized regions of the South (in particular, parts of Georgia and North Carolina) where significant Hispanic presence seems to have arrived and exploded overnight. In reality, the unexpected, sudden, and rapid growth of Hispanic populations in these areas has taken place mostly in the past ten years and Census predictions do not show signs of a slowing in this growth any time in the near future.

In some places around the country, such a sudden growth of the Hispanic population and presence and the accompanying employment of Hispanics in local industries causes significant tensions and resentment between native residents and Hispanic newcomers. However, the industries themselves play an important role in the development of a hospitable or hostile environment. Industries have the power to act as a force to mitigate tension in their communities, and it is often to their benefit to do so, not only as humanitarian responsibility, but also from a public relations point of view. Such mitigating efforts of industries vary from company-to-company and place-to-place.

James D. Engstrom, in his article, "Industry and Immigration in Dalton, Georgia," illustrates the role of the carpet industry as a mitigator of tensions in one area of Georgia experiencing enormous growth in Hispanic population. Because such an explosion in Hispanic population was unexpected in Dalton (as it is in many parts of the South experiencing similar growth), school systems were unprepared to meet the ESL needs of the Spanish-only speaking children. Consequently, "[l]ong-term residents complained

that the education of English-speaking students was being neglected, and some white parents began to withdraw their children from the public schools.”³⁵ Sensing that this situation of rising tension could reflect poorly on their industry, the largest carpet company in the area helped finance a program that brought qualified teachers from a Mexican university to teach ESL in Dalton schools.³⁶ Other more and less formal arrangements made by industries throughout the South have included companies providing English classes for their workers, building more soccer fields for the community, and financing the construction of Catholic churches to accommodate the religious needs of its workers. Such efforts not only serve to benefit the Hispanic community, but also relieve tensions and resentment on the part of native Southerners who feel suddenly and unexpectedly impacted by Hispanic presence and utilization of local services.

While Hispanics who work in industry may not benefit from personal and individual relationships with their employers as agricultural workers sometimes do, they can benefit from the role of the industry as mitigator in communities where the rise in Hispanic population and presence produces a rise in tensions between natives and newcomers. And while many industries in the South are located in rural areas, many Hispanics workers benefit from the increase and improvement of social services aimed at Spanish-speakers that are sparked by significant and rapid growth in Hispanic population within their community. Rural agricultural workers in the South, on the other hand, may be too scattered and too few in number to produce as much change in the availability of services aimed at Spanish-speakers.

The fear expressed by most anti-immigrant groups and individuals throughout the United States is that the Hispanic presence will cause irreversible and detrimental cultural and economic changes. While some of these fears may be reasonable to a certain extent, the expression of these fears usually takes the form of radical, racist, and even violent outbursts. In the South, anti-immigrant groups are often born out of communities that have experienced the most rapid and unexpected growth in Hispanic population and therefore experience immediate and direct effects of Hispanic presence.³⁷ Quite unexpectedly perhaps, small rural agriculture communities of the South that are normally viewed as the most backward, racist and resistant to change may be the best able to adapt to growth in Hispanic population and presence. Growth in these communities occurs on a smaller and slower scale, giving both natives and newcomers time to adapt and plan.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Hispanic settlement in the South is not the ways in which it challenges Southern identity, but rather the ways in which Hispanics confirm southern identity. In the South, Hispanic workers have blended into and become part of the long agricultural history of the South. The common shift of many southern Hispanics from agricultural to industrial work also mirrors the history of many native Southerners both white and black. As discussed earlier, some even suggest that Hispanics' familiarity with paternalistic and unequal personal relationships serves to confirm Southern identity. Many employers stereotypically characterize Hispanic workers as intrinsically happier, harder working, and more respectful than native workers (and in particular native African American workers). In fact, this "Hispanic work ethic" as it is perceived by native employers may actually be indicative of Hispanic workers' familiarity and acceptance of patriarchal and inherently unequal relationships and work

conditions. This perception of the “Hispanic work ethic” is especially hurtful to African American workers who are commonly seen as lazy, confrontational, and resistant in comparison with their Hispanic counterparts. While the American egalitarian ethos seems to work against African Americans who demand better working conditions and greater respect from their southern employers, Hispanics’ familiarity with patriarchal relationships may help them fit in with southern employers’ expectations of inequality. In the end, native Southerners and Hispanic newcomers to the South may have more in common than just pork rinds.

The line between hostility and hospitality is a thin one. I believe that, in the future the South will be able to take deliberate steps to choose and prepare for its stance on one side of the line more than the other. In the next two chapters, I will bring out the nuances of the growth in Hispanic population and presence by focusing on two areas of Virginia—Central Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley. I will examine the ways in which these areas of Virginia are experiencing Hispanic population growth and how they are responding and reacting to it.

Chapter Two

The “Promised Land?”: Hispanics in Central Virginia

Early in the fall of 2004, when I began this project, the family of one of my young migrant students invited me to *Día de la Comunidad*³⁸, a soccer tournament and community day for Hispanics in the Central Virginia area. While I had expected a couple of soccer games and a picnic, when I arrived at the Nelson County community center and soccer field, I was surprised to see a large event going on. Teams of men in brightly colored uniforms ran across the field, while other teams stood to the sidelines cheering and warming up. Women gathered around the soccer field, watching the game and chatting with each other. Kids ran around playing their own impromptu soccer games in the grassy areas surrounding the community center. Hispanics and Anglos alike unloaded tray after tray of steaming hot food from the backs of trucks and SUVs, carrying it all into the community center.

The inside of the community center buzzed at a low roar. In addition to the tables set up to receive the food, there were about twenty booths surrounding the inside perimeter of the building. At each booth stood one or two representatives of a local community service provider smiled and answered questions in English and Spanish. Some booths, including one of *Día de la Comunidad*'s organizers, PROSALUD (a division of Rural Health Outreach Program that provides health services to rural Hispanics in the area) were prepared and organized with various brochures explaining their services. Other groups like the Baptist Association of the Piedmont, The Massies Mill Episcopal Church, and the Nelson County Food Bank displayed homemade signs in Spanish and answered questions in English. Their presence at *Día de la Comunidad*

seemed to represent their groups' first efforts to contact and provide services to the Hispanic communities of the area. One church announced its first Spanish services, while another reported that while it hoped to be able to offer Spanish services in the future, it was currently offering English classes at the church. The other diverse groups present included the Mexican Consulate, Nelson County Migrant Education, the Shelter for Help and Emergency (a domestic violence shelter), BB&T Bank, the Albemarle Police Department, the Virginia Employment Commission and the Center for Legal Aid. Additionally, representatives from the University of Virginia Hospital's HIV and diabetes clinics performed blood pressure, blood sugar, and HIV tests on site, as well as providing information about the diseases.

As I walked around the community center collecting brochures and jotting down a few notes, soccer players and their families entered the community center talking excitedly about a perfect goal kick and arguing about an unfair call by the referee. The picnic part of the day began and people lined up to serve themselves from the trays of Hispanic and Southern foods. A reporter from the local Spanish newspaper, *Nuevas Raíces*³⁹, snapped pictures and mingled through the crowd. I joined my students' family for the picnic lunch and watched the mixing of the crowd as mostly Hispanic families and some native Southerners like myself, gathered in the Nelson County community center, in Central Virginia, a small Southern place on the cusp of some big changes.

In her dissertation, "The Promised Land?: The Gendered Experience of New Hispanic 'Proletarian' Immigrants to Central Virginia,"⁴⁰ Patricia Goerman affirms that, despite the challenges of life and work in a "new receiving area" of immigration, Central Virginia is a kind of "promised land" for Hispanic immigrants. She bases this conclusion

on interviews with Hispanic workers in Central Virginia in which many described their lives by using the phrase, “*estamos en la Gloria*,” or “we’re in Heaven.”⁴¹ Interviewees explained their contentment with Central Virginia by citing “the natural beauty and climate in the region,” the availability and quality of work, low levels of crime, lack of INS presence, low levels of job competition, and the general hospitality of Southern natives.⁴²

Interviewees in Goerman’s study, however, did also explain some of the difficulties of life for Hispanic workers in Central Virginia. One man described his life as an immigrant by saying, “There’s a song by *los Tigres del Norte* [the Tigers of the North] that’s called ‘*Aunque la jaula sea de oro, no deja ser prisión*’ [Even Though the Cage is Made of Gold, it’s Still a Prison.]”⁴³ Almost all interviewees said that they would prefer to be living in their home country if that were economically feasible and would like, at the very least, to be able to retire or die there. Hispanic immigrants in the study cited some of the challenges of life in Central Virginia, including a feeling of isolation due to the small Hispanic population, the lack of trained interpreters in courts and hospitals, the inability of undocumented immigrants to get a driver’s license in the state of Virginia, the lack of entertainment activities for Spanish-speakers, and relationships of tension with African American community members.⁴⁴ Despite these concerns, most of Goerman’s interviewees concluded that Central Virginia was generally a good place for themselves and their families to live and work.

In 2000, Hispanics represented two percent of the total population of Central Virginia.⁴⁵ This census is, in some ways, very flat; it offers only a glimpse at the whole story. To understand a fuller version of the story, you have to go back to the decade

between 1980 and 1990 in which the total population of Central Virginia grew 14.4 percent while the Hispanic population grew 38.8 percent.⁴⁶ “Hispanics made up .8 percent of the population in 1980 and 1 percent by 1990.”⁴⁷ The decade between 1990 and 2000 marks even greater changes than those begun in the previous decade. While the total population of Central Virginia increased 21.6 percent, Hispanic population increased an amazing 151.8 percent, bringing the total Hispanic population of the region to the aforementioned two percent.⁴⁸ Mexican immigrants comprise 45.6 percent of the total Hispanic population in Central Virginia, followed by Salvadorans with 13.2%, Cubans with 2.5% and Hondurans with 2.4%.⁴⁹ Even these statistics cannot fully reveal the entire numerical story of Hispanics in Central Virginia because in most cases undocumented and migrant residents are not counted by the census.⁵⁰ Another way to study and conceptualize the growth in Hispanic population is through the growth in the number of ESL (English as a Second Language) and LEP (Limited English Proficiency) students in a school system.⁵¹ For example, in 1992 Albemarle County (a large county in Central Virginia in which the Hispanic population is concentrated) served 192 LEP students.⁵² Eleven years later, in 2003, the county served 665 LEP students, an increase of over 300 percent.⁵³

Many Hispanics of Central Virginia came to the area first as migrant workers, harvesting in fruit orchards and small vineyards between the months of May and October before moving further south to work the citrus fruit harvests. Some Hispanics who have settled-out of the migrant stream continue in agricultural work, often becoming crew leaders of other migrant workers who travel yearly to Central Virginia to work the harvest. Despite the prevalence and history of Hispanics working in the agricultural

sector of Central Virginia, many settled-out and non-migrant Hispanics also work for restaurants, hotels, construction companies, house cleaning businesses and other native-owned and operated businesses. A few Hispanics have opened their own businesses in Central Virginia that include restaurants, small food markets, and even a beauty salon aimed at Hispanic clientele. As I will discuss in greater detail later in respect to the Shenandoah Valley, the existence and growth of Hispanic-owned businesses is directly representative of an increasingly permanent and expanding Hispanic communities.

While the largest group of Central Virginia's Hispanic immigrants are Mexicans, some Hispanics immigrants from El Salvador came to the region on Temporary Protected Status (TPS) visas which allowed them to escape civil and economic unrest in their home country.⁵⁴ These Salvadorans helped to establish a small migratory network to the area. Additionally, this Salvadoran population continues to grow as Salvadoran immigrants living in Washington D.C. move away from the expensive and densely populated Northern Virginia areas. Some new Salvadoran immigrants to the area even find work in one of Charlottesville's most popular pizza restaurants started by immigrants with a history of hiring Salvadoran immigrants with TPS visas. However, while most of Central Virginia's Hispanic population may originally be from Mexico or El Salvador, many come to the area directly from other more traditional receiving areas of immigration such as California or Florida. It is rare for Hispanic immigrants to come directly from their home country to Central Virginia unless they have a family member or other contact in the area.

The City of Charlottesville, located in the heart of Central Virginia, provides the area with some of its unique opportunities as a destination for Hispanic immigrants.

Charlottesville, an economically prosperous and politically liberal city, is home to the University of Virginia. In 2004 Charlottesville was chosen as the best place to live in the country by Frommer's *Cities Ranked and Rated*.⁵⁵ Charlottesville is one of the most diverse cities of Central Virginia with African Americans representing about 22 percent of the total population and additional ethnic diversity brought in from the University.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Hispanics are not the first or only immigrant group to make their home in the area. The Charlottesville office of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), which opened in 1998, resettles 150 refugees (from countries as diverse as Afghanistan, Burma, Bosnia, Congo, Croatia, Kosovo, Iran, Iraq, Sudan and Togo) into the area every year.⁵⁷ Charlottesville's diversity and economic prosperity is one of the reasons that Central Virginia has become known as a relatively welcoming destination for Hispanic immigrants.

Despite the growing Hispanic population and presence in Central Virginia, the Hispanic communities remain small, clustered, and often rural in comparison with more established destinations for Hispanic migration. As is the case in many new receiving areas of Hispanic migration, contact between Hispanics and native Southerners is limited. Consequently, one of the most useful ways of understanding the wider community's response to the growth in Hispanic population and presence is to study the community service providers that extend formal and informal outreach to Hispanic newcomers. Through understanding *who* these community service providers are, *what* services they are providing, and *how* and *when* they have adapted to serve the needs of Hispanic communities, it is possible to describe both the challenges and opportunities faced by both Hispanic immigrants and community service providers in a "new receiving area."

This study will also examine the ways in which different kinds of community service providers and community services intermingle in “new receiving areas” in their efforts to best serve the Hispanic community. I will examine both formal and informal community service providers and the formal and informal services they provide.

For the purposes of this study, formal community service providers include state or local government, schools, hospitals, businesses, non-profit organizations, churches, etc. whose purpose in providing services to Hispanic communities is intrinsic in its purposes as a group and whose services are provided on a continual basis. An example is Albemarle Migrant Education which is a division of the government’s Education Department. The intrinsic purpose of Migrant Education is to provide education services to migrant youth in a continual manner. Informal community service providers include individuals, community service groups, church groups (providing non-religious services), etc. whose purpose in providing these services is *not* intrinsic to its purpose as a group and does *not* necessarily provide services on a continual basis. An example is a community service group that chooses to make donations of Spanish-English dictionaries to a group of farm workers at a migrant camp in their area. This service is *not* intrinsic to the group’s purpose, *nor* is it necessarily continual. Formal services include English classes, medical exams, health education, legal advice, legal council, church services etc. Informal services include transportation to doctor’s appointments, donations of food, clothes, or towels, etc.

In my study of formal and informal community service providers in both Central Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley, I found that the availability and quality of services, as well as the interaction between various community service providers reflected the

community's stage and history of development as a destination for Hispanic migration. Additionally, I found many commonalities between Central Virginia (as an agricultural area) and the Shenandoah Valley (as a rural industrialized area) and other agricultural and rural industrialized regions of the South. These commonalities, as well as some characteristics particular to these two areas of Virginia, determine this region's current state of development as a receiving area for Hispanic immigrants and also may predict its stance in the future.

Formal Service Providers in Central Virginia

Access to quality interpretation and translation services is probably the most fundamental necessity for new Hispanic immigrants when navigating a community's social services network. Providing such interpretation and translation services is often the most formidable challenge for new receiving areas of immigration, such as Central Virginia. In many traditional receiving areas for Hispanic immigration, such as California and Texas, the existence of a significant established and more socio-economically mobile Hispanic community means that many bilingual Hispanics are involved in providing services to Hispanic newcomers. However, in areas such as Central Virginia, in which the established bilingual Hispanic community is small, most community service providers are white natives.

When faced with an immediate and significant need for interpreters and translators, many community service providers in Central Virginia (and other new receiving areas) are not sure where to turn. Although the standards and requirements for interpreters and translators vary according to the setting in which they are utilized (i.e.

hospitals, schools, courts), there is a clear lack of nationally accepted standards and training methods for professional interpreters and translators.⁵⁸ For this reason, in areas like Central Virginia where trained interpreters and translators are difficult to find, many community service providers simply hire bilingual (in some cases, not even fully bilingual) people, despite their lack of any formal training in interpretation or translation. In many unfortunate cases in which there are no interpreters or the interpreter is not available, bilingual friends or children of the client/patient are utilized for interpretation. These situations are more serious in settings such as hospitals or courts in which the life of the client/patient is at stake. However they are also important in other settings such as schools, jails, and banks in which the need for skilled interpretation and translation are still of vital importance.

One unfortunate result of poor interpretation services occurred in Charlottesville in 2004. “I feel so bad because I lost everything here...Now they are going to deport me to Mexico...I have a son here and I have to fight for him. I understand that I am here illegally but I always worked and never did anything wrong.”⁵⁹ The words and situation of Julio César Méndez, reported in Charlottesville’s *The Daily Progress* are a harsh reminder of the difficulties of life for Hispanic immigrants living in new receiving areas such as Central Virginia. “In October, an Albemarle County judge found Méndez not guilty of raping a local woman he knew, but convicted him of forcible sodomy...Another man confessed to the sodomy in court, but the testimony was misinterpreted at trial.”⁶⁰ Misinterpretation seems to have been a major theme in Méndez’s trial not only involving the confession of another man to the crime of which Méndez would later be convicted, but also in the testimony of Méndez himself. In Virginia, there is no law that requires

courts to employ the services of an interpreter certified in court translation, and in Méndez's case, a non-certified translator was used. According to those who have subsequently reviewed the transcripts of the trial, the non-certified translator often paraphrased Méndez's testimony especially when graphic slang was used to describe sexual activity.⁶¹

Advocates of Central Virginia's Spanish-speaking communities affirm that Méndez's case is a powerful example of how the legal rights of Central Virginia's immigrant community members are often neglected. As Mary C. Bauer, former legal director of the Charlottesville-based Virginia Justice Center for Farm and Immigrant Workers, affirmed, "We [the greater community of Central Virginia] just haven't figured out as a community the legal and moral obligations we have to the immigrant community...It's starting to appear on people's radar screens but it's still sort of nascent here."⁶²

Despite the existence of such tragic cases, many community service providers in Central Virginia are working towards improved interpretation and translation services in an effort to better service Spanish-speaking communities. As Hispanic population growth continues in Central Virginia, and the Hispanic presence in the area is increasingly more recognizable (i.e. migrants becoming permanent community residents), community service providers feel the need to improve services not just in an effort to serve Spanish-speaking communities, but also because they have a legal obligation to do so.

Hospitals in particular feel the need to establish a functioning system of available healthcare services (including interpretation services). Although the University of Virginia hospital is one of the most well-known hospitals in the area and one of the best

hospitals in the country, many Hispanic immigrants are uncomfortable and afraid of utilizing the hospital's services.⁶³ Many do not have access to health insurance and are unaware of alternative methods of receiving free or reduced cost health services. While the hospital as a whole is making efforts to improve available interpretation services and also does some outreach work to local immigrant communities, *La Clínica de Mujeres*⁶⁴ is setting an excellent precedent for others to follow. Pregnant Hispanic women from many parts of Virginia travel to this division of UVa's Obstetrical and Gynecology Department, which is staffed completely by bilingual doctors and nurses.⁶⁵ This is extremely significant, especially considering the fact that many Hispanic women throughout the country forego prenatal and postnatal care because of the lack of (or lack of awareness of) free or low-cost bilingual ob/gyn services in their areas.

Community service providers throughout the Central Virginia area are feeling the need for bilingual employees. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Regional Jail is one community service provider whose services most people want to avoid. Nevertheless, as the Spanish-speaking population grows in Central Virginia, the number of Spanish-speaking inmates also increases.⁶⁶ Jail superintendent, Ronald Mathews affirms the difficulties of language barriers between guards and inmates: “Some employees speak Spanish, but they’re not available all the time...When they’re not, we have to try to communicate, and it can be difficult.”⁶⁷ In the past, the jail has dealt with lack of interpretation services by “hous[ing] Spanish-speakers together so that bilingual inmates can help interpret.”⁶⁸ The Charlottesville-Albemarle Regional Jail acknowledges that such methods of interpretation are far from ideal. This year the jail will begin a program to teach Spanish to employees in an effort to better meet the need for skilled interpreters.

While the jail's efforts to improve the quality of interpretation services are laudable, I believe that programs like this are moving in the wrong direction. For an adult with no prior knowledge of Spanish, the process of becoming fully fluent in the language through taking classes will take years. The jail's goal seems to be to teach employees enough conversational Spanish to interact with inmates on a day-to-day basis. While this is an excellent goal that will improve daily life for Spanish-speaking inmates, it does not address the lack of quality interpretation services which requires complete fluency in both languages as well as training in proper interpretation methods.

The lack of trained interpreters in Central Virginia is a result not only of the small bilingual community, but also the state's unwillingness to train interpreters. For example, although "Virginia's Supreme Court keeps a list of interpreters who have passed a State-approved test...the program that certifies interpreters has been shut down for three years due to budget cuts."⁶⁹ Area courts and other social services now rely heavily on companies that provide interpreters through the telephone, while the jail and police department rely on a few bilingual employees or English-speaking relatives or friends of the Spanish-speaker involved.

New Hispanic immigrants in need of services often turn to religious communities for help. Religious life for Hispanic workers in Central Virginia presents itself in many forms and varies according to the individual's familiarity with the community as well as his access to transportation. In my experience working for Albemarle Migrant Education, single male migrant workers have the least direct contact with local churches. Many factors contribute to this, including unfamiliarity with the area and lack of transportation. Additionally, because Sunday is the only regular day off for many migrant workers, most

choose to spend their time catching up on sleep and going to the laundromat.

Nevertheless, religious life does manifest itself in other forms within the migrant camp. One local church in the Central Virginia donates Christmas gifts each year to the migrant workers in every camp. Also, on a few occasions I have seen Catholic priests and nuns visiting migrant camps on missionary trips from other states. Such contact is representative of the preliminary stages of relations between natives and newcomer Hispanics in which contact may be sporadic and sometimes does not include face-to-face contact.

Non-migrant Hispanic families are more likely to have direct and continual contact with local churches in Central Virginia. Because religious life centers on the family, it is not surprising that Hispanic families have more contact with churches than do single migrant workers. Additionally, Hispanic families that have access to transportation, and are familiar with the area are more likely to attend church than single migrant workers.

In Charlottesville, there are several churches that offer services in Spanish including Church of the Incarnation (Catholic), Casa del Padre (Protestant), and the Jehovah's Witnesses Kingdom Hall. It is interesting to note that Casa del Padre is located across the street from the Mexican grocery market and the Jehovah's Witnesses Kingdom Hall is within walking distance of two small Hispanic residential communities. The Church of the Incarnation, which dates its history in Charlottesville back to 1859, provides an interesting example of how communities of natives establish contact and form relationships with Hispanic newcomers. As the only Catholic church in Charlottesville to offer regular services in Spanish, the Church of the Incarnation offers

weekly services to a Spanish-speaking congregation of about 400 families.⁷⁰ While the Spanish congregation began with small groups meeting and praying together in each other's homes, the Church of the Incarnation now offers a variety of religious services to its Spanish-speaking congregants including weekly liturgy, youth groups, baptismal, *quinceañera*, and marriage preparation, as well as church leadership training.⁷¹

Despite the extensive religious services offered by the Church of the Incarnation, interaction between English-speaking native congregants and Spanish-speaking Hispanic congregants is limited. I interviewed two native Southerner church members who are also involved in Spanish-speaking congregation. Both women told me that initiatives to provide opportunities for the two congregations to meet and interact are usually hampered by the language and cultural barriers.⁷² Nevertheless, recently begun English classes at the church have provided more successful opportunities for both groups to interact and form relationships despite language and cultural barriers. Suzanne Bombard, a church member and organizer of the English classes, told me that while learning English is an important outcome of the classes, “the most important goal is to develop and promote relationships between Spanish and English speaking members of the church and the greater community.”⁷³ Janice Taylor, another church member active in both the English and Spanish-speaking congregations affirmed the church's commitment to its networking role between both groups within the church as well as the outside community. To further these goals, the Church of the Incarnation is in close contact with the Salvation Army, local food pantries, nutritional networks, as well as organizations committed to the prevention of and action against domestic violence.

The inability to speak English and the lack of proper documentation of legal presence puts many Hispanic immigrants in vulnerable positions in which they may be unable to protect their basic human rights. It is for this reason that legal education and representation for Hispanic immigrants is an especially vital part of the community service network. Fortunately, this is one area in which Central Virginia is especially strong due to the location of The Virginia Justice Center for Farm and Immigrant Workers (VJC) in Charlottesville. “The VJC was created in 1998. With offices in Charlottesville and Northern Virginia, the VJC has helped migrant farm workers, day laborers, and other low-wage immigrant workers win judgments and settlements representing over \$1.5 million in unpaid wages.”⁷⁴ While the VJC serves the entire state of Virginia, its location in Charlottesville means that many Hispanic workers in Central Virginia are aware of its existence and have benefited from VJC’s outreach educational efforts.⁷⁵

On several occasions in the course of my work on this project, I ran into Andrew Turner, a lawyer with the VJC, and had the opportunity to observe his outreach work and interview him about his involvement in Central Virginia’s Hispanic immigrant communities. In my conversations with Mr. Turner, he asserted that Charlottesville is an ideal location for the VJC, not only because of its central location within the state and its growing Hispanic immigrant population, but also because Charlottesville has the ability to attract quality lawyers who might be reluctant to move to a more rural part of Virginia.⁷⁶ Additionally, students from the University of Virginia’s Law School in Charlottesville provide the VJC and its clients with knowledgeable and skilled volunteers.⁷⁷

The location of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville provides a unique resource for community services that serve the Hispanic community, while giving native residents of Virginia the opportunity to increase their knowledge of and contact with Hispanic immigrant workers. When the Madison House (“an independent non-profit organization serving as the University of Virginia’s Office of Volunteer Community Service”⁷⁸) began their Migrant Aid program in 1973, the objective of the program was to provide organized after-school recreation for children of migrant workers who lived in the migrant camps of Central Virginia.⁷⁹ At this time, the Migrant Aid program began its longstanding partnership with community resource, Albemarle Migrant Education, which provided university student volunteers with recreational materials and support, but, because the program was recreational and not educational in nature, sent no representative to the camps during the set, one afternoon per week volunteer time.⁸⁰

Unlike today’s migrant camps of Central Virginia, during the 1970s both single workers and families lived together in the camps thus creating the need for supervision of the children between the time they would get home from school and when their parents would finish work. Single men and families usually stayed in the Central Virginian camps from June to November to pick apples and peaches before heading further south, usually to Florida, to pick citrus in the winter months. In 1973, the four migrant camps served by the program had an ethnic composition of about one-third Anglo American, one-third African American, and one-third Hispanic (mostly Mexican).⁸¹ In subsequent years, as the ethnic composition of the migrant camps began to change and Hispanics began to replace Anglo Americans and African Americans who were leaving the migrant stream, the Migrant Aid program evolved to meet changing needs, and student volunteers

added time for tutoring the children of migrant workers (who often miss a lot of school due to their frequent moves) to their afternoons at the migrant camps.⁸²

As Migrant Aid began to see an increase in the number of Hispanic migrant workers, so did its community partner, Albemarle Migrant Education. Director of Albemarle Migrant Education, Sharon Root, remembers with clarity the change in demographic and the resulting expansion of Migrant Aid's services. Root tells the story of one Hispanic migrant worker whose determination to receive his GED (high school equivalency degree) contributed to the development of community services in the area. In 1979, this young man, who had originally come to the Central Virginia area as a child of migrant workers and who had attended Western Albemarle High School for parts of several years, returned to the area to work in the harvests himself after having dropped out of high school. Inspired by this man's intelligence and desire to receive a degree, Root and the man's former high school English teacher decided to help him prepare for the GED test. When the two women showed up for the first time to tutor the young migrant worker, five other of his family members were at his home asking if they too could receive tutoring in order to learn English. As the unexpected night of group tutoring progressed, more and more migrant workers and their family members showed up wanting to join the group.⁸³

This one night became a major turning point in the Migrant Aid/ Migrant Education relationship. In an effort to accommodate the large group of migrant workers who desired to learn English, Migrant Education teachers and Migrant Aid student volunteers would go to Spring Valley migrant camp every week. While the Migrant Education teachers taught English in the living room of one home, student volunteers

played with and tutored the children of the migrant workers in another room. Eventually, as more and more migrant workers joined the class, some of the men cleared out an old packing shed to use as a study area.⁸⁴

As the number of Hispanic migrant workers and their interest in English classes continued to grow, thirty Migrant Aid student volunteers began assisting Migrant Education teachers with the adult classes two times per week at several migrant camps in 1981.⁸⁵ The teaching philosophy of the camp classes has always focused on the practical (i.e. how introduce oneself, ask for various foods at the grocery store, describe pain and illness, and give driving directions) rather than grammatical exercises, and is based mostly on verbal learning rather than written work, as many of the migrant workers have little formal education or literacy in their native language, Spanish. The adult classes in the migrant camps have continued to today. In the fall of 2004, almost fifty student volunteers tutored once per week at three different camps in Central Virginia. Additionally, the Migrant Aid program also sends university tutors into the homes of migrant families to tutor children in English and help them with their homework.

Informal Service Providers in Central Virginia

In my experience, informal services and service providers are many times the most elusive to understand and difficult to classify. Some such informal services are provided by groups of native white Southerners, who, for one reason or another, are inclined to collect food and clothing donations, provide transportation, and even search out entertainment opportunities for Hispanic newcomers to their communities. Others are

themselves Hispanics and decide, out of motives of good will and/or profit, to organize informal services for Hispanic newcomers.

The *patrón/trabajador* relationship is one in which many services (both formal and informal) are provided by both parties involved. This is a relationship in which the duties and responsibilities of both parties are difficult to define. It is for this very reason that the line between justice and injustice and formal and informal services becomes blurred in relationships between a *patrón* and a *trabajador*. In my involvement with farm workers, my contact with *patrones* has been minimal. I have been introduced to some *patrones* and wave to them as I pass them on dirt roads coming to and from the orchards. I do know that the responsibilities and pressures of farming in the globalized 21st century are immense and, in many ways, very different from the farming that took place a few generations ago on the very same soil with the very same fruits. Small farmers in Central Virginia must manage their lives and crops on a small profit margin. They must find a way to, if not compete with, at least survive the extremely large and powerful companies in the agriculture business. And although within the *patrón/trabajador* relationship farmers are often seen as all-powerful, in today's industrial and modern world small farmers are few and far between and their actual power is limited. Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, the small farmer plays a dominant and critical role in the *patrón/trabajador* relationship. Because of the dependent nature of this relationship, it is hard to draw a clear line between the legal and moral responsibilities of the *patrón* and other important, yet not obligatory services a *patrón* may or may not provide.

Allison Bowles' thesis, "Regulation and Resistance: Public Versus Private Response to the Nation's Migratory Labor Problem," takes a hard look at the

patrón/trabajador relationship and the rhetoric surrounding the “plight” and “exploitation” of migrant workers. She argues that “No one will deny that their work is labor intensive and demanding; they live hard lives. To tell the story in these exclusively negative terms, however, is an inaccurate and simple portrait of a complicated system.”⁸⁶ Bowles argues that not only are the hardships and humanity of the *patrón* are often overlooked, but that migrant workers themselves are not particularly outraged or dissatisfied by the conditions in which they live and work. The rhetoric of plight and outrage, Bowles argues, comes from “[t]he progressive minded journalists and social workers, documentary filmmakers and academics that put words and images to their experiences [and who] approach the situation with distinctly middle-class American values.”⁸⁷ Through her analysis of the *patrón/trabajador* relationship and the rhetoric that surrounds it, Bowles illuminates the broad spectrum of experiences migrant workers in this country. She also gives voice to the seldom heard *patrón* who is often unfairly labeled as categorically uncaring and exploitive of his workers. In reality, there is a lot of space between the rhetoric of extremes that presents only the narrow images of the exploiter and the exploited.

In Central Virginia, *patrón/trabajador* relationships appear to be, in many cases, not as exploitative as in other larger and more traditional receiving areas for Hispanic agricultural workers. Nevertheless, in my own experiences, I have found it extremely difficult to establish a definition of a fair and just *patrón/trabajador* relationship, or even decide if such a relationship can exist. Alberto, the father of one settled-out migrant family has worked for the same *patrón* for over fifteen years. For eight of those years his wife and three young children have lived with him in a fixed-up barn owned by the

patrón. Although the former barn now has heat and some insulation, it leaves much to be desired as far as quality housing. The low roof bows in places and leaks often; cold air seeps in through cracks in the walls. To me, it seems that there are many small and inexpensive repairs the *patrón* could make to the home in order to improve the quality of living for Alberto's family. After all, Alberto is one of the *patrón's* most loyal and hard working employees. He works year round, tending to the apple trees long after the seasonal workers have left. He even speaks pretty good English, allowing him to act as an interpreter between other workers and the *patrón*. And, unlike most other Hispanic agricultural workers, Alberto is a citizen of this country. It seems like Alberto and his family are deserving of a little more insulation. And yet, perhaps I am misjudging the responsibilities of the *patrón*. Perhaps the quality of housing should not necessarily improve according to years of good service. If the barn falls under the category of legally acceptable housing, perhaps the *patrón's* duty ends there.

Central Virginia, in part as a result of its small Hispanic worker population, is a place in which there are opportunities for migrant workers to settle-out of the migrant stream and find permanent jobs and homes in the community. Over the past few months, I have the opportunity to observe the establishment of one particularly hopeful and positive *patrón/trabajador* relationship that resulted from Virginia's unique position as a new destination for Hispanic immigrants. In this case, the *patrón/trabajador* relationship was not based on agriculture, but rather on golf. The *patrón*, John Rivers,⁸⁸ is currently in the process of building a golf course in a rural, but increasingly affluent community of Central Virginia. By chance, his golf course is located within just a few miles of a migrant camp and, with the help of a bilingual employee, Rivers set about introducing

himself to a few of these local migrant workers. After the Central Virginia apple harvest was over for the year, Rivers ultimately hired four migrant workers to work permanently on his golf course for ten dollars per hour. Excellent housing was also provided to the workers by Rivers. In this case, both Rivers and the four migrant workers greatly benefited from the relationship. Because of the hurricanes in Florida in 2005 and the subsequent destruction of many citrus crops, many migrants workers (these four included) knew that jobs in Florida (their usual destination after the completion apple harvest) would be scarce. Additionally, the wages and housing Rivers offered to the workers was far better than any wages they could make in agriculture. Perhaps most importantly, Rivers offered permanent employment on his golf course to the four workers and a chance to get out of the harsh migrant stream.

The last I heard from Rivers, he was overwhelmingly pleased with the four former migrant workers he had hired. “They’re the best and hardest workers we’ve got around here. Hell, they might work even harder than me!” The four workers were also pleased. Instead of working literally from sun-up to sun-down, they work from 8:00 in the morning to 4:30 in the afternoon and they still make much more money than they did as migrant farm workers. Although it is true that they are still very isolated from the rest of the English-speaking community, one has found a steady girlfriend (something nearly impossible to do as a migrant worker!). The others visit the migrant camp often to see their friends, many of whom returned from Florida only after a few weeks when they could not find work there this winter. Last time I saw the four men, they told me of their first experiences with snow (which according to one is “nice to look at from the window when you’re inside, but cold and ugly when you’re outside”).

The purpose of this anecdote is not to assert that such excellent work conditions exist for many Hispanic workers in Central Virginia. Nor do I believe that many such *patrón/trabajador* relationships exist. However, the example of Rivers' golf course and his four new Hispanic employees is important because it illustrates the wide range of relationships between employers and their Hispanic workers. It also shows us that varying levels of responsibility different employers feel to their Hispanic workers. In the case of Rivers', several factors went in to his willingness to provide such favorable conditions for his employees. First of all, when hiring the four migrant workers, Rivers viewed them simply as workers rather than Hispanic workers. For this reason he did not consider paying them less than what he would pay a native Southerner, despite the fact that they probably would have accepted much lower wages. Secondly, Rivers only hired four workers with whom he planned to work closely. Because Rivers knows his Hispanic employees and only employs a few of them, he is much more in tune to their needs and perhaps feels more inclined to treat them fairly than other employers who have many Hispanics workers with whom they have little contact.

Nevertheless, the fundamental question remains. What are an employer's responsibilities to his workers? Does the newly arrived Hispanic worker's dependence and vulnerability change an employer's responsibilities? Do an employer's responsibilities change when housing is being provided to the worker? Does an employer have greater responsibilities to his employees when he knows them better? Do an employer's responsibilities in California differ from an employer's responsibilities in Central Virginia? I cannot fully answer these questions. However, I do hope that my experiences shine some light onto their complexity and importance. In my later

discussion of Hispanic workers in the Shenandoah Valley, I will further extend these questions to the realm of rural industries (such as poultry) and the large, corporate employer's responsibilities to his many workers.

One of the most innovative Hispanic-to-Hispanic informal services I have observed is run by a man who travels around to rural migrant camps and homes of Hispanic newcomers selling Mexican food items, fresh fruits and vegetables, used clothing, Spanish music CDs, and other miscellaneous items. While I have never spoken more than a few words to this man, I have had more than one English class in a migrant camp instantaneously clear out upon the arrival of this man's van. Although I am unaware of the whether or not the prices he charges for his products are reasonable, I do know that he provides a valuable and much appreciated service. My migrant worker students often show me their purchases from the man with the van. Many seem relieved to be able to buy food and clothes from a fellow Spanish-speaker and Hispanic. And understandably so. Most migrant workers live in rural areas without access to transportation. These factors, combined with their unfamiliarity with the area in which they live and their anxiety about interacting in the English-speaking world, makes shopping from the man with a van more than just a convenience.

Considering Immigrant Satisfaction in Central Virginia

Happiness is a pretty tricky condition to measure. Goerman's study, which attempts to do precisely this, is an intriguing beginning to answering the question, how do Hispanic immigrants feel about their lives in Central Virginia? Through this study, and more importantly, through the last two years of my work as a teacher for Migrant

Education, I have developed relationships with my students and their families and have a weekly witness to their lives as I enter their homes to teach English. My understanding of life for Hispanics in Central Virginia is a complex, changing, and at times contradictory image, something between a “promised land” and a “golden cage.”

One summer I tutored an extremely bright and chatty seven-year-old named Angélica.⁸⁹ Angélica lived with her parents and two-year-old little brother in a well-built and quite beautiful farm house provided by their *patrón*. This family was different from the families of my other students in a few ways. First of all, they were from Costa Rica and were the only non-Mexican family I have met through Migrant Education. Also, their living situation was far better than that of most migrants. Angélica’s father, Juan, worked for a *patrón* who owned a very small farm and as a consequence, he was the only Hispanic worker employed by this man. Perhaps as a result they lived in a home that was far nicer than any migrant housing I have seen. Large and comfortable, the house was fully furnished and had air-conditioning. This is not to say that Angélica’s family did not have their share of struggles. Despite their high-quality housing, they struggled to get by month-to-month on Juan’s salary.

Despite my affection for my young student, her mother, Ana, quickly became my favorite member of the family. While I rarely saw Juan, who was usually working when I came to the house to tutor, Ana always greeted me at the door and welcomed me in with a joke about how she was glad I was here because the kids were driving her up the wall. Ana was proud to be a Costa Rican and often liked to point out the many differences she perceived between Costa Ricans and Mexicans. It was clear that she was tired of being

mistaken for a Mexican in a place like Central Virginia where an overwhelming majority of farm worker families are Mexican.

Every day after I finished tutoring Angélica, Ana offered me a cold Coke and I drank it while sitting next to her on the couch. In every conversation I had with Ana that summer she told me how she couldn't wait until her two-year-old son was old enough to go to school so that she could get out of the house and work. As it was then, she sometimes babysat for a family in the evenings, but longed to work everyday. Ana told me of her family in New Jersey that worked on a blueberry farm, and how she too would have preferred to live there, in an area with a larger Costa Rican community. Ana, like many of my student's mothers, felt a deep sense of isolation in a community in which there are very few other Hispanics (let alone other Costa Ricans). Adding to this isolation is the fact that many farm worker families like Ana's live in very rural areas so that even if they have family and friends in the area, they may not see them very often.

One day last summer, one year after first meeting Angélica and her family, I got a call from Ana. The *patrón* had decided he no longer needed Juan as a full-time employee. Ana cried on the phone, telling me that she didn't want to leave. She was upset that Angélica, who was doing very well in school, would now have to change schools when they moved. She was frustrated that she and her family would have to move into a crowded house with family in New Jersey and she was scared that Juan would not be able to find work. That very same weekend they packed up and moved to New Jersey; I haven't heard from them since.

Ana and her family are an example of the complexities of life for Hispanics in Central Virginia; life can rarely be categorized into simple terms of complete happiness

and unhappiness. On one hand, Ana longed to live near family and other Costa Rican friends in New Jersey. If she lived there, as she often told me, her sister would be able to watch her young son and she would be able to work. On the other hand, life in Central Virginia provided an opportunity for Juan to work on a small farm and for his family to live in a comfortable house. Ana and Juan were firm believers in the importance of education for their children, and when they had to leave the area they worried about Angélica having to change schools and leave the friends she had made over the years.

Ana's feeling of isolation and desire to work was echoed by many of my students' mothers. Constanica, the mother of my six-year-old student, María, and a one-year-old son, Felipe, also complained of loneliness and depression as a result of her isolation. Constanica's husband, also named Felipe, worked during the day for a lumber company while Constanica stayed at home to care for the children. When Felipe returned home work, he would immediately take Constanica to her night job at a restaurant. The two rarely saw each other and Constanica has begun counting the years until little Felipe is old enough to go to school and she too can work during the day. The feeling of isolation experienced by many Hispanic mothers of young children is, of course, not unique to the Central Virginia area, nor to the Hispanic ethnicity. However, Hispanic women living in new immigrant receiving areas are particularly vulnerable to feelings of isolation because they are often separated from Hispanic family and friends. Additionally, unlike their husbands, they do not have work to provide an outlet for stress or a chance to form relationships with other people.

Decisions related to length of tenure for Hispanics in Central Virginia also contribute to their general level of satisfaction with the area. One of my students, ten-

year-old Victoria, often tells me that she and her family will be returning to Mexico in a few months. This sense that life in Central Virginia is a temporary means to an end (making enough money to be able to return to Mexico) is common. Some weeks Victoria's father, Nacho, tells me that life is wonderful here in Virginia. He has a new job at a local Mexican restaurant and his wife has found steady work too. Or, it is Christmas time and Nacho invites me over to the apartment to decorate the Christmas tree he has just bought and to celebrate the family's first year in Virginia. A few weeks later, however, Nacho is depressed. His car has broken down and he hasn't been able to get himself or his wife to work. Do I know of anyone that fixes cars? By chance I do because another of my student's father is a mechanic. I give Nacho his name, but unfortunately the problem is too expensive for Nacho to afford to fix. Another week, when the car has finally gotten fixed, Nacho gets a speeding ticket and is ordered to appear in court because he does not have a driver's license. Nacho asks me how to go about registering his car and getting car insurance. I explain that this is impossible without a driver's license and unfortunately, immigrants without proper documentation of legal presence are unable to get a driver's license in Virginia.

Perhaps it is an obvious statement to say that life for Hispanic immigrants in Central Virginia (especially those pioneering immigrants who are among the first to arrive in a certain part of the country) is a bumpy road of peaks and valleys. And yet, as obvious as this statement may be, there is still the tendency to try to neatly classify and categorize Hispanics' success and satisfaction with the overall process and result of immigration. The availability of and access to local community services, both formal and informal, make a significant difference in the lives of Hispanic immigrants. Even though

there are few community service providers that specifically offer mental health services, any kind of positive contact with community service providers or relationships with other community members offer some respite from the hardships and isolation of new immigrant life.

Chapter Three

The Heart of Poultry Country: Hispanic Workers in the Shenandoah Valley

The City of Harrisonburg and the surrounding county of Rockingham are located in the Shenandoah Valley, only one hour northwest of Charlottesville. Despite the Shenandoah Valley's proximity to and many shared qualities with Central Virginia, there are some important differences between the two areas that have resulted in distinctive Hispanic communities.

According to U.S. Census figures, Harrisonburg's Hispanic population, which represented about two percent of the total population in 1990 grew to almost nine percent in 2000, although many local residents feel that the Hispanic population is much larger than is reflected in the Census figures. During the same period, the Latino population in Rockingham County, of which Harrisonburg is the county seat, increased 309 percent, while the total county population (67,725 in 2000) increased only 17.8 percent.⁹⁰

Unlike Central Virginia, where the growth of Hispanic population and presence has been slower and smaller, the Shenandoah Valley's growth of Hispanic population and presence is unmatched by any other area in Virginia outside of the Northern Virginia area. In the Fall of 2004, an amazing 34% of students enrolled in Harrisonburg County Schools were ESL students.⁹¹ According to recent projections, this explosion of Hispanic population will not end any time soon. By 2009, half of Harrisonburg students are expected to need ESL services.⁹²

The poultry industry of Shenandoah Valley has been the most significant factor in attracting large numbers of Hispanic workers to the area. “Five of the largest poultry-processing companies in the United States operate facilities in the city and county and employ a combined workforce of 5,450, making them the largest source of employment in the area, as well as the primary source of employment for immigrants.”⁹³ While the Shenandoah Valley is certainly a product of the South’s recent and ongoing explosion of Hispanic population and presence, the poultry industry has shaped the unique characteristics of the area that cannot be explained by examining patterns of the South alone. Agriculture and the historically migratory Hispanic population characterize and influence any understanding of Central Virginia’s Hispanic community. The same can be said of the Shenandoah Valley’s poultry industry. The differentiating characteristics of the two neighboring communities of Virginia suggest not only who employs Hispanic workers in each of the areas, but how each Hispanic community was built, how Hispanics are received by the wider community, and how future Hispanic population growth may affect both the Hispanic and wider communities.

In her paper, “From Workers to Owners: Hispanic Entrepreneurship in the Shenandoah Valley,” Laura Zarrugh details the history of the Hispanic population and presence in the area. Zarrugh’s paper focuses on the establishment and role of the Hispanic community in the Shenandoah Valley. She analyzes the developing role of workers, most of whom came to the area as poultry workers, and some of whom have transitioned into serving other roles in the community, including starting their own businesses. According to Zarrugh, “[i]t would not be an overstatement to say that the history of Latinos in Harrisonburg is tied directly to the poultry business.”⁹⁴ Beginning

slowly at first in the 1970s, migrant farm workers from the Shenandoah Valley and other agricultural workers recruited from other areas of the country began transitioning into the Shenandoah Valley's poultry industry.⁹⁵ In Zarrugh's study she interviewed several of the Hispanic immigrant pioneers to the Shenandoah Valley's poultry industry.

...Carlos, who believes that he was the first arrival, came to Harrisonburg with his brother on his first trip to the U.S. in 1971, having been told about the area by his brother-in-law who had worked in the apple orchards in the Valley. Carlos and his brother sought work at Wampler [a poultry plant] and were hired. One of the plant employees, who spoke a little Spanish because he had lived in Panama, was especially helpful, finding them a place to live, signing for their purchase of food and loaning them money. In the following year, Leopoldo arrived in Harrisonburg along with 25 other individuals who were recruited by Marval Turkey Company, another locally owned poultry plant, through a "want ad" in an employment agency in El Paso, Texas. According to Leopoldo, the company hoped to recruit 35 couples—"they thought if they brought couples, they would stay"-- but got only 25 people to agree to come to Virginia and of those, only four or five stayed. The others got homesick and left. For example, Leopoldo's sister so missed chilies, which weren't available anywhere locally, that she had them sent to her from Texas. Leopoldo came with his sister and brother-in-law by Greyhound bus and they were given \$20 each for their expenses. When they arrived, they were "treated like royalty;" the company sent their "best cars" to pick them up and arranged for their housing. They were paid \$35/week plus lodging and three

meals. The single people were lodged in a rooming house and the couples were given apartments for which they paid \$8/week.⁹⁶

The stories of these Hispanic immigrants exemplify the difficulties of life in a new immigrant receiving area. In fact, the isolation and homesickness experienced by these Shenandoah Valley pioneer immigrants in the 1970s seems very similar to the feelings expressed by many Hispanic immigrants to Central Virginia in recent years.

Hispanic population continued to grow in the Shenandoah Valley in the decades after the 1970s and has experienced an explosion in the last decade. As Hispanic population and presence has increased over the years in the Shenandoah Valley, the poultry industry has played a vital role in the community, not only as an employer of both Hispanics and natives, but as a service provider and a mitigating force between Hispanic and native communities of the area. In 2000, for example, several area poultry companies donated a total of \$31,000 to ESL programs in Harrisonburg City and Rockingham Country Schools.⁹⁷ Dr. Don Ford, the superintendent of Harrisonburg City Schools at the time, commented on the poultry industry's role as a mitigating force in the area. "The mandate for public schools is to educate all children who come to us. The growing number of immigrant children in our schools who speak little or no English presents a significant challenge to our teachers. We appreciate the local poultry companies, who employ many of the parents of these children, stepping forward to say, 'We want to help.'"⁹⁸ This effort by the Shenandoah Valley's poultry companies, along with many others over the years, has helped to position the poultry companies within their communities. Not only do their charitable donations benefit the companies' employees

and employees' families, but they also relieve some tension among the wider community by helping to absorb the costs of new Hispanic immigrants.

The role of the poultry company as *patrón* is an interesting variation on the traditionally agricultural *patrón/trabajador* relationship. In the case of poultry (and most other large industries), the relationship loses some of its personal nature. No longer do *patrones* know the names of all of their employees, nor are they usually in a position to personally help any single *trabajador*. In fact, in poultry companies it may be difficult to even ascertain exactly who the *patrón* is. Is it the CEO of the poultry company who may not ever visit the plant himself? Is it the manager of the plant who makes the hiring decisions? Is it any native poultry plant employee that supervises Hispanic workers? Is it the Hispanic supervisor who trains new Hispanic workers? Obviously, the complexities of industry change the nature of employer/employee relationship. Generous deeds by an industry *patrón* generally takes the form of a wide-spread, equal opportunity and public acts, such as the Shenandoah Valley poultry companies' donations to local ESL programs.

Exploitative and negligent behavior on the part of the employer is also less personal and direct in the poultry industry. In accidents caused by old or faulty machines and/or the effects of an overworked employee, it can be difficult to pinpoint the perpetrator of injustice. Joce Noel Herrera Zantos, a nineteen-year-old who was killed after falling into a meat grinder, and Locu Huu Ho, an immigrant from Vietnam who died of a fractured skull, both worked for the Tyson poultry plant in Harrisonburg and died while on the job in 1999.⁹⁹ Although the poultry company was fined for unsafe machinery and improper employee training leading up to the incidents, "...Tyson was not

charged with homicide for the deaths of Herrera and Huu Ho, though the law states that employers may be charged with homicide if their careless conduct results in an employee's death.”¹⁰⁰ Both Tyson employees were undocumented immigrants and therefore the poultry company has no legal obligation to compensate the families of the victims. At the time of the deaths, Tyson stated that it would send yearly payments to the families of the victims, however it is unclear if this promise was fulfilled.

There is no way of denying that the poultry plant is a dangerous work environment; even with the proper precautions, a slight mistake or wrong move can be deadly. Nevertheless, when accidents do occur and wrongdoing is found on the company's part (as in the cases of Herrera and Huu Ho), it is difficult to provide justice for the families of the victims. There is no single *patrón* to reprimand or pay damages, but rather a much larger, complex industrial system.

Another essential difference between Hispanic communities employed by the agricultural sector and those employed by the industrial sector is the visibility of the respective communities. In some ways, the low visibility of Hispanic agricultural communities causes an intense sense of isolation and loneliness on the part of the worker. On the other hand, their low visibility allows undocumented immigrants to fly under the radar and oftentimes avoid detection by the US government. Hispanic industrial communities have a much higher visibility. In Goerman's study of Central Virginia, many of her respondents listed low INS presence as an advantage to life in the area.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Hispanic industrial communities have a much higher visibility. Their work is usually concentrated in one area and industry usually attracts greater numbers of employees than agriculture. In some ways this higher visibility is positive for Hispanic

workers because it may allow their voices and needs to be heard. In the Shenandoah Valley many community service providers base the services they offer on the common needs of poultry industry families. Nevertheless, the higher visibility of Hispanic industrial workers also means that their existence and actions are more closely followed by the US government.

Although the common belief is that rural work and life is safer for undocumented immigrants, this may not necessarily be true for rural industrial workers. In February of 1997, for example, 38 workers at Harrisonburg's Wampler Foods Inc. plant were arrested by the INS after it was discovered that they had illegally immigrated to this country.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the actions taken by the "Harrisonburg and State police, local sheriffs and FBI [that] entered and surrounded the [Wampler] factory wielding guns, handcuffs, and accompanied by dogs..." did not necessarily reflect public disdain or reproach of the undocumented Hispanic immigrants working at the poultry plant.¹⁰³ Six days after the arrests, 400 local residents gathered "to protest the tactics of the federal agents" and show support for the immigrants in question.¹⁰⁴

One important measure of a community as a receiving area for Hispanic immigrants is the services that it makes available to these new Spanish-speaking residents. As one might expect, due to its larger and more established Hispanic population, community services in the Shenandoah Valley are more extensive and better coordinated than those in Central Virginia. While Central Virginia is really just beginning the process of coordinating the most basic services for its new Spanish-speaking residents (i.e. hospital interpretation, ESL programs, etc.), the Shenandoah Valley's history as receiving area for Hispanic immigrants has allowed it more time to coordinate a wider

array of services. Additionally, for the same reasons as listed above, community service providers in the Shenandoah Valley are better organized and able to network between services providers than those in Central Virginia.

In Central Virginia, where there exists a relatively small settled Hispanic community, most community service providers, formal and informal, are white natives. However, in the Shenandoah Valley, a place with a larger and more established Hispanic community, some Hispanics themselves are involved in providing a wide range of community services to Hispanic newcomers. Informal Hispanic-to-Hispanic services may include interpretation and translation, English classes, and assistance with the filing of immigration papers, while formal Hispanic-to-Hispanic services involve a Hispanic employee of a community service provider organizing and arranging services for fellow Hispanics. This is a central contrast between the two areas of Virginia and contributes to the manner in which new Hispanic immigrants are received by the wider community. In other words, an established Hispanic community in which some members provide formal and informal community services to new Hispanic immigrants can either serve as a mitigating or aggravating force in the overall relationship between new Hispanic immigrants and the wider community.

In some instances the established Hispanic community can smooth the transition by acting as a negotiator between native communities and new Hispanic immigrants. In other instances in which the Hispanic communities are not united or well-organized, the wider community does not differentiate between more and less established Hispanic communities and simply sees new Hispanic immigrants as additions to an already unwelcome population. I believe that in many instances the determining factors for the

role of the established Hispanic community will be based on its diversity, socio-economic status, size, the extent of its bilingualism, the overall economic well-being of the wider community, and the environment of the community (i.e. diverse city or isolated rural countryside).

*Promotoras de Salud*¹⁰⁵ is an innovative program of the Blue Ridge Area Health Care Center at James Madison University in Harrisonburg that draws on the benefits of Hispanic-to-Hispanic community services. This program trains Hispanic women in basic nutritional guidelines, disease prevention, family planning, and assessment of health concerns. When trained, these Hispanic women provide health education and advice to their fellow Hispanic community members and refer more specific health concerns to community health care providers.¹⁰⁶ In 2002 there were approximately seventy Hispanic women serving as *promotoras de salud* in the Harrisonburg community.¹⁰⁷ Such community-based programs are especially successful in areas such as the Shenandoah Valley in which more established Hispanic residents are excellent resources for recent Hispanic immigrants. Interestingly, some of the areas largest poultry companies are financial sponsors of this program. Some of the greatest obstacles Hispanic newcomers face in accessing community services is their unfamiliarity with the community, language and cultural barriers, socio-economic status, and the general sense of fear and anxiety that comes with being a new immigrant. At least to some extent, all of these obstacles are made easier to overcome by having trained, Spanish-speaking, and free of charge Hispanic health educators available to Hispanic newcomers to answer health questions and make referrals.

One recent meeting of the Hispanic Services Council in Harrisonburg further demonstrates the differences between the Shenandoah Valley and Central Virginia and exemplifies the role of the established Hispanic community in the Shenandoah Valley. All groups providing services to Hispanics in the Shenandoah Valley are invited to attend these monthly meetings in which common goals, projects, and concerns related to the Hispanic community are discussed. Although meeting attendance varies, the groups represented at the October meeting I attended included the Harrisonburg Police Department, Harrisonburg City Schools, Boys and Girls Club, Skyline Literacy Coalition, New Bridges Immigrant Center, Teatro Cultural (a youth theater group), *Nuevas Raíces*¹⁰⁸ (the local Spanish-language newspaper), an immigration lawyer, and a James Madison University professor studying Hispanics in the area. Of the community service representatives at the Hispanic Services Council meeting, about one third were themselves Hispanic.¹⁰⁹ It is interesting to note that while a Central Virginia equivalent of the Hispanic Services Council does exist, it only aims to meet about once every year and currently has not met in over a year.¹¹⁰ Additionally, of the formal community service providers in the Central Virginia area, very few are Hispanics.¹¹¹

One issue discussed during the Hispanic Services Council meeting was informal service providers who offer legal advice to new Hispanic immigrants. This issue is very relevant and significant to the Shenandoah Valley area because new Hispanic immigrants often look to more established Hispanics for advice and assistance. Additionally, because of the larger and more established Hispanic population, many more informal Hispanic-to-Hispanic services exist in the Shenandoah Valley than in Central Virginia. At this meeting of the Hispanic Services Council, the group discussed instances in which

Hispanic newcomers looked to informal service providers or notaries¹¹² to provide assistance with complicated immigration forms. In some cases, these improperly filed immigration papers led to serious problems in the lives of Hispanic immigrants. Meeting members debated ways in which they could join forces to publicize information on where Hispanic immigrants should turn to for quality legal advice on immigration issues. One solution proposed by the group was to utilize the area's Spanish-language newspaper, *Nuevas Raíces* (circulation 12,000) to communicate this information about legal advice to the Hispanic community. Despite the ability of the Shenandoah Valley's community service providers to network and problem-solve as a group, there are some aspects of the area's status as a rapidly developing Hispanic immigrant destination that are not as positive.

One such issue discussed at the Hispanic Services Council meeting was the existence of Hispanic gangs in the Shenandoah Valley. A PowerPoint presentation on the issue was given by the Harrisonburg City Police Department outlining evidence of gang activity in the area. Although most of the gang activity consisted of high school students drawing gang symbols in their notebooks, graffiti taggings, and a few robberies, the police department took a proactive stance on the issue that included making similar presentations to schools and parent groups. Although there is some evidence that a few gang members or groups of gang members from the Washington, D.C. area have relocated to the Shenandoah Valley area, the Harrisonburg Police Department did not offer much evidence of a growing pattern that would correspond to their level of alertness on the issue. Indeed, much can be said in general about definitions and classifications of gangs that correspond to groups of minority men that may not be organized for any kind

of criminal activity. However, perhaps the most interesting aspect of this issue is how it has sparked the police department to train its officers to be able to perform daily procedures with suspects in Spanish. At present the Harrisonburg Police Department has only two officers who are fluent in Spanish, although they are in the process of training more.

The training of police officers in Spanish conversational skills is an indicator of an important step the Shenandoah Valley community's reaction to, response to and relationship with new Hispanic residents. Similar initiatives to learn Spanish are being taken by other native community groups in the area. As early as 1991 poultry companies hired an instructor to teach Spanish to its interested native employees, many of whom were supervisors of Hispanic workers.¹¹³ Another similar program based on the one used to teach Spanish to poultry employees is being used to help twenty Rockingham Correctional Center employees learn Spanish.¹¹⁴ Like jail employees in Central Virginia, those in the Shenandoah Valley are finding conversational Spanish a necessity in daily jail life.

There is no denying that the Hispanic influence in the Shenandoah Valley is growing at an impressive rate. In Zarrugh's study of Hispanics in the Shenandoah Valley, she recognizes and concentrates on a specific aspect of the area's development as an immigrant community-- Hispanic entrepreneurship. The growing Hispanic community in the Shenandoah Valley and its subsequent increased spending power provide the potential for significant Hispanic entrepreneurial opportunities.¹¹⁵ Additionally, business ownership provides opportunities for Hispanics to assert more control over their lives and provide much desired services to the greater Hispanic community. Most Hispanic

business owners in the Shenandoah Valley were once employees of native businesses in the area; in fact, many of them themselves worked in poultry plants.¹¹⁶ This kind of Hispanic business ownership marks an important step not only for the individual entrepreneurs, but also in the establishment of a Hispanic community as a whole and increased Hispanic influence within the wider community.

Central Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley represent only two areas of the entire state. To some extent, studies of other parts of Virginia might yield very different results and different images of new Hispanic immigrants. The Northern Virginia area, for example, is very distinct from other parts of the state due to its proximity to Washington, D.C. and its more developed history as a receiving area of Hispanic immigrants. Other areas such as Southern Virginia and the Eastern Shore of Virginia also provide an interesting contrast from the Central Virginia and Shenandoah Valley areas due to their size of the Hispanic communities and the work that Hispanics perform. Despite such differences, there are common themes throughout the state of Virginia and the entire South that are important to recognize.

In September 2004, the Virginia Latino Advisory Commission (VLAC), (a group appointed by Governor Mark Warner comprised of leaders from the state's Hispanic communities) released a report outlining the most important issues in business, education, health, identification, language access, and law enforcement facing Virginia's Hispanic population as a whole. The commission summarized its findings with twelve recommendations that encompassed the various needs of Hispanics throughout the state.¹¹⁷ These findings ranged from education issues ("Continue to advocate for access to higher education for all Virginians and veto any efforts to limit such access.") to

language access issues (“Develop an overall language access policy that strives to promote equal opportunity, and ensures Virginia’s LEP population full access to government agencies, services, and programs.”) to business issues (Provide more training for business development and access to small business opportunities to the Spanish speaking community”).¹¹⁸ All twelve recommendations emphasized the need for preparedness and action on the part of community service providers.

Backyards and Neighborhoods: A Conclusion of a Local Nature

Studying and understanding immigration on the federal and local levels requires two very different approaches. It is clear that the US needs to create sustainable and enforceable federal immigration laws that balance our need for immigrant labor with our desire to be able to regulate and control who comes into our country. Obviously, this is a complex issue that this country will grapple with for centuries to come. Mass immigration (illegal immigration included) from Latin American countries (Mexico in particular) will continue expanding for some time to come. And, as many studies have shown, while the country as a whole may reap the economic benefits of legal and illegal immigrants alike, it is the local communities that must balance both the burden of illegal immigrants' costs, as well as their many positive contributions to communities. For this reason, local communities, especially those in the South, need to prepare for Hispanic immigrants with whom they will build integral individual and community relationships in the coming years.

Farmingville, a powerful documentary produced by PBS about the sudden and sizeable relocation of undocumented Hispanic immigrants to a small community in New York, emphasizes the need for preparation and building sustainable relationships. In Farmingville, the presence of Hispanic immigrants had a significant and very visible impact on this previously very closed community. The community was split over all issues concerning the new Hispanic residents of Farmingville and particularly over the proposal to build a hiring center where Hispanic immigrant day laborers could gather and wait for native residents to hire them. The goal of the hiring center was to alleviate the enormous tensions in the community, especially those aimed at the large number of

Hispanic immigrant day laborers standing on corners waiting to be picked up by construction and lawn service companies for a day of work. While the “pro-immigrant” community residents and the immigrants themselves supported the building of the hiring center, “anti-immigrant” community residents rallied angrily against it. The anger of some Farmingville residents caught the attention of national anti-immigrant groups who came to the aid of these Farmingville residents, leading them in their efforts to force the immigrants out of the town.

Though it may not be publicly recognized very often, I believe that in many instances only a narrow river separates the “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant” camps. No matter whether one is “pro-immigrant” or “anti-immigrant,” “getting rid of” the immigrants (the goal of many community members in Farmingville and around the country) through anger, racism, calling up immigration officials, and, in some cases, violent outbursts, is simply not a sustainable or feasible plan of action. As is illustrated in *Farmingville*, these methods simply do not work, even when many powerful community members are pushing them forward. Of course, on the other side of the coin, there are many arguments one could use to illustrate the ways in which local communities benefit (economically and otherwise) from immigration (legal and illegal), but for a moment let’s set the most common “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant” issues aside.

Whether we put out a welcome mat or an angry militia on the border, Hispanic immigrants will continue to come to this country, and increasingly so to the South. I believe that, to a certain extent, we can control whether (in the face of these challenging patterns of immigration) we create communities based on relationships of tension and hostility or those that are more sustainable and balanced.

The idea that the South is a hospitable place for Hispanic immigrants is one that, upon first consideration, seems strange and unlikely, considering the history of this part of the country. Certainly, neither the explosion of Hispanic population and presence in the South nor hospitable southerner/Hispanic relations are patterns that many would have predicted a few decades ago. To some extent native southerners and Hispanic newcomers are just beginning what will certainly be an important relationship for many years to come. In that since, it is easy to write off hospitable and functioning relationships between the two groups as the calm before the storm, a tolerance that may very quickly turn to deep resentment. Nevertheless, I think that Duchon and Murphy introduce a crucial idea when they assert that unexpected similarities between southerners and Hispanics may be partly responsible for the kind of relationships built between the two groups.

The South and Latin America are two places often characterized by outsiders as backward, primitive, barbaric, and strangely exotic. Despite the falsities, discrimination, and ignorance these stereotypes are based on, they are worth examining to some extent. One important reason behind this conceptualization of the South and Latin America has to do with relationships and the ways in which people interact. In most of the US, we strongly believe in the value and existence of equality between people, despite overwhelming evidence of enormous inequalities and disparities. On the other hand, in the South and Latin America inequalities and the naturalness of such inequalities are more readily acknowledged. These shared notions of and expectations of how people relate to one another is of utmost importance to the question of whether increased immigration will result in communities of hostility or hospitality.

Of course, there are many other factors that contribute to the equation of relationships between natives and newcomers. I have offered some ideas about what makes such relationships successful or failures, just or unjust, exploitative or mutually beneficiary. While much opposition to immigration is rooted in the fear of change and the unknown, the sense of a loss of control also contributes to panicked and angry responses to immigration. Despite the perceived overwhelming and exhausting qualities of immigration, I believe that many of the factors that contribute to the nature of relationships between natives and Hispanic immigrants are controllable at the level of the local community. I don't claim to have all or even any of the answers to immigration. But I believe that many of them can be sought and found in our own backyards, in the space between, and the intermingling of, us and them.

¹ Throughout this study, I often debated the use of the term Hispanic versus the term Latino to describe the immigrant, migrant (and sometimes US-born) people of Latin American origin discussed in this thesis. In the end, my choice to use the term Hispanic reflects the fact that I have never heard any of my Hispanic students or their families use the term Latino. Most of the time they refer to themselves by nationality (i.e. *mexicanos*), but when they referred to the larger group of Latin Americans in the US, they referred to themselves and others as *hispanos* or Hispanics. While Latino is the chosen term of more academic and socio-economically mobile circles, I have chosen the term Hispanic both out of respect to my students and their families who use this term, as well as to signify the particular group of Hispanic immigrants on which this thesis focuses.

² Deborah A. Duchon and Arthur D. Murphy, "Introduction: From *Patrones* and *Caciques* To Good Ole Boys," *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*. Ed. Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill, (Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP, 2001) 1.

³ Population Reference Bureau, "U.S. Hispanic Population Growing Fastest in the South," Accessed 21 January 2005, <<http://www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=7827>>. <http://www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=7827>.

⁴ Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

⁵ *Latino Population Growth in the South: Twelve Southern States, 1990-2000*, College of Arts and Sciences Consortium for Latino Immigration Studies, U of South Carolina, Accessed 21 Jan. 2005, <<http://www.cas.sc.edu/cli/SCdatatable3.htm>>.

⁶ Population Reference Bureau.

⁷ United States Census Bureau (2000), Accessed 12 Dec. 2004, <<http://www.census.gov>>.

⁸ Barbara Ellen Smith, "The New Latino South: An Introduction," *Highlander Research*

And Education Center, Dec 2001, 29 Jan. 2005, <http://www.highlandercenter.org/pdf-files/new_latino_south_intro.pdf> 6.

⁹Smith 6.

¹⁰Smith 6.

¹¹Duchon and Murphy 1.

¹²Duchon and Murphy 1.

¹³Smith 9.

¹⁴Hope Bastian, "The New Southern Accent: The Growth of Latino Communities in the Rural South," Guilford College, Unpublished, 5.

¹⁵Bastian 5.

¹⁶Smith 10.

¹⁷Charles D. Thompson and Melinda F. Wiggins, *The Human Cost of Food: Farm workers' Lives, Labor, and Advocacy*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002) 262-263.

¹⁸"Boss/worker" (All Spanish/English translations are my own unless otherwise noted.)

¹⁹Andrew Turner, Personal interview, 26 Oct. 2004.

²⁰John D. Studstill and Laura Nieto-Studstill, "Hospitality and Hostility: Latin Immigrants In Southern Georgia," *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, Ed. Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill, (Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP, 2001) 75.

²¹Studstill and Nieto-Studstill 75.

²²Studstill and Nieto-Studstill 75.

²³Duchon and Murphy 4.

²⁴Duchon and Murphy 8.

²⁵Bastian 6.

²⁶Bastian 6.

²⁷Bastian 6.

²⁸David Griffith, "Hay Trabajo: Poultry Processing, Rural Industrialization, and the Latinization of Low-Wage Labor," *Any Way You Cut It: Meat Processing in Small Town America*, Ed. Donald D. Stull, Michael J. Broadway, David Griffith, (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas UP, 1995) 130.

²⁹Bastian 8.

³⁰Bastian 8.

³¹Bastian 8.

³²Griffith 136.

³³Griffith 129.

³⁴Greig Guthey, "Mexican Places in Southern Spaces: Globalization, Work, and Daily Life in and around the North Georgia Poultry Industry," *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, Ed. Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill, (Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP, 2001) 57.

³⁵James D. Engstrom, "Industry and Immigration in Dalton, Georgia," *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, Ed. Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill, (Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP, 2001) 53.

³⁶Engstrom 53.

³⁷*Farmingville*, dir. Carlos Sandoval and Catherine Tambini, DVD, PBS, 2004.

³⁸"Community Day."

³⁹"New Roots."

⁴⁰Goerman defines Central Virginia as the Thomas Jefferson Planning District which includes Charlottesville City and the counties of Albemarle, Fluvanna, Greene, Louisa, and Nelson.

⁴¹Patricia Goerman, *The Promised Land?: The Gendered Experience of New Hispanic 'Proletarian' Immigrants to Central Virginia*, Diss. University of Virginia (Charlottesville, VA: 2004) 57.

⁴²Goerman 66.

⁴³Goerman 55.

⁴⁴Goerman 60-66.

⁴⁵Goerman 34.

⁴⁶Goerman 34.

⁴⁷Goerman 34.

⁴⁸Goerman 34.

-
- ⁴⁹Goerman 34.
- ⁵⁰Goerman 34.
- ⁵¹The term “ESL students” refers to all students for whom English is not a first language, whether or not they now limited in English proficiency. The term “LEP students” refers to all students for whom English is not a first language and who are limited in English proficiency.
- ⁵²Virginia Department of Education, “Report of Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students Receiving Services as of September 30, 2003,” Accessed 12 Dec. 2004, <[http://64.233.187.104/search?q=cache:1G2uFiq9vf8J:www.pen.k12.va.us/VDOE/Instruction/ESL/LEPEnrollment.pdf+Report+of+Limited+English+Proficient+\(LEP\)+Students+Receiving+Services+as+of+September+30,+2003&hl=en&start=1](http://64.233.187.104/search?q=cache:1G2uFiq9vf8J:www.pen.k12.va.us/VDOE/Instruction/ESL/LEPEnrollment.pdf+Report+of+Limited+English+Proficient+(LEP)+Students+Receiving+Services+as+of+September+30,+2003&hl=en&start=1)>.
- ⁵³Virginia Department of Education.
- ⁵⁴Turner.
- ⁵⁵“Charlottesville Visitors,” *Charlottesville, Virginia*, Accessed 3 Feb. 2005, <<http://www.charlottesville.org/default.asp?pageid=0428B265-D763-4F7F-8818-8E812E30C136>>.
- ⁵⁶United States Census Bureau (2000).
- ⁵⁷“IRC in Charlottesville,” *International Rescue Committee*, Sep. 2001, Accessed 12 Feb. 2005, <<http://www.theirc.org/Charlottesville/>>.
- ⁵⁸Jonathan Robbins, Personal interview, 28 Oct. 2004.
- ⁵⁹Liesel Nowak, “Misinterpreting Justice?: Advocates of Virginia’s Growing Spanish-Speaking Population Say Its Needs Are Not Being Met in the Courts, Where Miscommunication Can Have Life-Changing Consequences,” *Daily Progress* [Charlottesville] 25 April 2004: Front Page.
- ⁶⁰Nowak.
- ⁶¹Nowak.
- ⁶²Nowak.
- ⁶³Jeff Casale, “Obstetrics Crisis. Language Barrier Adds Hurdles,” *Daily News-Record* [Harrisonburg] 7 December 2004, Accessed 12 Jan. 2005, <<http://www.dnronline.com/archives2004/12-07-04/story1.asp>> 2.
- ⁶⁴“The Woman’s Clinic.”
- ⁶⁵Casale 1. For more information on issues of health assess for immigrants in Central Virginia, see Maggie Samra’s 2005 thesis (UVA, Latin American Studies Department).
- ⁶⁶John Borgmeyer, “Hablas Espanol: Jails Tries to Avoid Getting Lost in Translation,” *C-Ville Weekly* [Charlottesville], Oct. 12-18, 2004: 9.
- ⁶⁷Borgmeyer 9.
- ⁶⁸Borgmeyer 9.
- ⁶⁹Borgmeyer 9.
- ⁷⁰Janice Taylor, Personal interview, 8 Feb. 2005.
- ⁷¹Taylor.
- ⁷²Taylor. Suzanne Bombard, Personal interview, 20 Oct. 2004.
- ⁷³Bombard.
- ⁷⁴“Virginia Justice Center for Farm and Immigrant Workers,” *Legal Aid Justice Center*. Alex Gulotta. 12 Feb. 2005, <<http://www.justice4all.org/programs/vjc/>>.
- ⁷⁵Turner.
- ⁷⁶Turner.
- ⁷⁷Turner.
- ⁷⁸“About Madison House,” *Madison House*, Accessed 14 April 2004, <<http://scs.student.virginia.edu/~madison/about/about.htm>>.
- ⁷⁹Sharon Root, Personal interview, 28 March 2004.
- ⁸⁰Root.
- ⁸¹Root.
- ⁸²Root.
- ⁸³Root.
- ⁸⁴Root.
- ⁸⁵Carol Gilbert, “Students Teach English to Migrant Workers,” *Charlottesville Observer*, October 22-28, 1981.

⁸⁶Allison Bowles, "Regulation and Resistance: Public Versus Private Response to the Nation's Migratory Labor Problem," University of Virginia, History Department Distinguished Majors Program, Unpublished thesis, 1999, 84.

⁸⁷Bowles 90.

⁸⁸This name is a pseudonym.

⁸⁹All the names of my Albemarle Migrant Education students and their families have been changed to respect their privacy and confidentiality.

⁹⁰Laura H. Zarrugh, "From Workers to Owners: Hispanic Entrepreneurs in the Shenandoah Valley," James Madison University, Carrier Library: Special Collections Unit, Dec. 2004, Accessed 14 Feb. 2005, <<http://www.lib.jmu.edu/special/ZarrughPaper.htm>>.

⁹¹Zarrugh.

⁹²Jeff Mellott, "More and More New Students Need English Lessons," *Daily News-Record* [Harrisonburg] 29 December 2004, Accessed 3 Jan. 2005, <<http://www.dnronline.com.archives2004/12-29-04/story1.asp>>.

⁹³Zarrugh.

⁹⁴Zarrugh.

⁹⁵Zarrugh.

⁹⁶Zarrugh.

⁹⁷"Local Poultry Companies Announce Exciting New Partnership with Local School Systems," *Rockingham County Public School Highlights*, Dec. 2001, Accessed 3 Jan. 2005, <<http://www.rockinghamk12.va.us/highlights/highlightpoultry.html>> 2.

⁹⁸"Local Poultry Companies Announce Exciting New Partnership with Local School Systems" 4.

⁹⁹Ressler, Anna, "Tyson Has Record of Factory Deaths," *The Weather Vane* 15 January 2004, Accessed 3 Jan. 2005, <<http://weathervane.emu/index/50/13/burg/tyson>>.

¹⁰⁰Ressler 1.

¹⁰¹Goerman.

¹⁰²"INS: Rural Employers Verify," *Rural Migration News*, 1 April 1997. Accessed January 3, 2005, <http://www.migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more/php?id=189_0_2_0>.

¹⁰³Deborah Fast, "Pagans Take Lead in Forming Interdenominational Coalition for Justice," *World Faith News*, 21 Feb. 1997, Accessed 3 Jan. 2005, <<http://www.wfn.org/1997/02/msg00164.html>>.

¹⁰⁴Fast.

¹⁰⁵"Health Promoters."

¹⁰⁶"About the [Promotoras de Salud] Program," *Blue Ridge Area Health Education Center*, Accessed 27 Feb. 2005, <<http://www.brahec.jmu.edu/promotoras.htm>>.

¹⁰⁷Chris Edwards, "Promotoras de Salud: Ambassadors of Neighborhood Health," *Montpelier: James Madison University Magazine* (Winter 2002), Accessed 3 Jan. 2005, <<http://www.jmu.edu/montpelier/issues/winter02/main/promotoras.html>>.

¹⁰⁸"New Roots."

¹⁰⁹This figure is based on individuals' own identification as a Hispanics during the meeting, my prior knowledge of them in other contexts, or my identification of them as Hispanics during this meeting. This is a rough estimate and there may be instances in which I undercounted or overcounted the number of Hispanics in attendance at this meeting.

¹¹⁰Root.

¹¹¹Root.

¹¹²In many Spanish-speaking countries a notary is a trained professional not unlike a paralegal who can provide assistance in legal matters. For this reason many Hispanic immigrants look to notaries in the US to fulfill the same role. However, the role and qualification of notaries in the US is different than in Spanish-speaking countries and most are not qualified to provide legal advice.

¹¹³Nell Tiller, "'We Need Some Spanish Now!' Some Innovative Techniques to Teach Spanish to the Nontraditional Student," *VCAA Journal* 9.2 (1995), Accessed December 26, 2004, <<http://www.vccaedu.org/inquiry/vcca-journal/tiller.htm>>.

¹¹⁴Tiller.

¹¹⁵Zarrugh.

¹¹⁶Zarrugh.

¹¹⁷“Virginia Latino Advisory Commission Final Report,” September 2004,
<<http://www.vlac.virginia.gov/pdfs/Revised%20Final.pdf>> 1-3.

¹¹⁸“Virginia Latino Advisory Commission Final Report” 1-3.

Works Cited

- “About Madison House.” *Madison House*. Accessed 14 April 2004. <<http://scs.student.virginia.edu/~madison/about/about.htm>>.
- “About the Parish.” *Church of the Incarnation: A Roman Catholic Community in Charlottesville, VA*. Accessed 3 Feb. 2005. <<http://www.incarnationparish.org/front/about.html>>.
- “About the [Promotoras de Salud] Program.” *Blue Ridge Area Health Education Center*. Accessed 27 Feb. 2005. <<http://www.brahec.jmu.edu/promotoras.htm>>.
- Bastian, Hope. “The New Southern Accent: The Growth of Latino Communities in the Rural South.” Guilford College. Unpublished.
- Bombard, Suzanne. Personal interview. 20 Oct. 2004.
- Borgmeyer, John. “Hablas Espanol: Jails Tries to Avoid Getting Lost in Translation.” *C-Ville Weekly* [Charlottesville]. Oct. 12-18, 2004: 9.
- Bowles, Allison. “Regulation and Resistance: Public Versus Private Responses to the Nations Migratory Labor Problem.” University of Virginia. History Department Distinguished Majors Program. Unpublished thesis. 1999.
- Casale, Jeff. “Obstetrics Crisis. Language Barrier Adds Hurdles.” *Daily News-Record* [Harrisonburg] 7 December 2004. Accessed 12 Jan. 2005. <<http://www.dnronline.com/archives2004/12-07-04/story1.asp>>.
- “Charlottesville Visitors.” *Charlottesville, Virginia*. Accessed 3 Feb. 2005. <<http://www.charlottesville.org/default.asp?pageid=0428B265-D763-4F7F-8818-8E812E30C136>>.

Duchon, Deborah A. and Arthur D. Murphy. "Introduction: From *Patrones* and *Caciques* To Good Ole Boys." *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*. Ed. Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill. Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP, 2001. 1-10.

Edwards, Chris. "Promotoras de Salud: Ambassadors of Neighborhood Health." *Montpelier: James Madison University Magazine* (Winter 2002). Accessed 3 Jan. 2005. <<http://www.jmu.edu/montpelier/issues/winter02/main/promotoras.html>>.

Engstrom, James D. "Industry and Immigration in Dalton, Georgia." *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*. Ed. Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill. Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP, 2001. 44-56.

Farmingville. dir. Carlos Sandoval and Catherine Bambini. DVD. PBS. 2004.

Fast, Deborah. "Pagans Take Lead in Forming Interdenominational Coalition for Justice." *World Faith News*. 21 Feb. 1997. Accessed 3 Jan. 2005. <<http://www.wfn.org/1997/02/msg00164.html>>.

Gilbert, Carol. "Students Teach English to Migrant Workers," *Charlottesville Observer*, October 22-28, 1981.

Goerman, Patricia. *The Promised Land?: The Gendered Experience of New Hispanic 'Proletarian' Immigrants to Central Virginia*. Diss. University of Virginia. Charlottesville, VA: 2004.

Griffith, David. "Hay Trabajo: Poultry Processing, Rural Industrialization, and the Latinization of Low-Wage Labor." *Any Way You Cut It: Meat Processing in Small Town America*. Ed. Donald D. Stull, Michael J. Broadway, David Griffith. Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas UP, 1995. 129-151.

Guthey, Greig. "Mexican Places in Southern Spaces: Globalization, Work, and Daily Life in and around the North Georgia Poultry Industry." *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*. Ed. Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill. Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP, 2001. 57-67.

"INS: Rural Employers Verify." *Rural Migration News*. 1 April 1997. Accessed January 3, 2005. <http://www.migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more/php?id=189_0_2_0>.

"IRC in Charlottesville." *International Rescue Committee*. Sep. 2001. Accessed 12 Feb. 2005. <<http://www.theirc.org/Charlottesville/>>.

Latino Population Growth in the South: Twelve Southern States, 1990-2000. College of Arts and Sciences Consortium for Latino Immigration Studies, U of South Carolina. Accessed 21 Jan. 2005. <<http://www.cas.sc.edu/cli/SCdatatable3.htm>>.

"Local Poultry Companies Announce Exciting New Partnership with Local School Systems." *Rockingham County Public School Highlights*. Dec. 2001. Accessed 3 Jan. 2005. <<http://www.rockinghamk12.va.us/highlights/highlightpoultry.html>>.

Mellot, Jeff. "More and More New Students Need English Lessons." *Daily News-Record* [Harrisonburg] 29 December 2004. Accessed 3 Jan. 2005 <<http://www.dnronline.com/archives2004/12-29-04/story1.asp>>.

Nowak, Liesel. "Misinterpreting Justice?: Advocates of Virginia's Growing Spanish-Speaking Population Say Its Needs Are Not Being Met in the Courts, Where Miscommunication Can Have Life-Changing Consequences." *Daily Progress* [Charlottesville] 25 April 2004: Front Page.

Population Reference Bureau. "U.S. Hispanic Population Growing Fastest in the South."

Accessed 21 January 2005. <<http://www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=7827>>.

Ressler, Anna. "Tyson Has Record of Factory Deaths." *The Weather Vane* 15 January

2004. Accessed 3 Jan. 2005. <<http://weathervane.emu/index/50/13/bug/tyson>>.

Robbins, Jonathan. Personal interview. 28 Oct. 2004.

Root, Sharon. Personal interview. 28 March 2004.

Smith, Barbara Ellen. "The New Latino South: An Introduction." *Highlander Research*

And Education Center. Dec 2001. 29 Jan. 2005. <http://www.highlandercenter.org/pdf-files/new_latino_south_intro.pdf>.

Studstill, John D. and Laura Nieto-Studstill. "Hospitality and Hostility: Latin Immigrants

In Southern Georgia. ." *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*. Ed. Arthur D.

Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill. Athens, Georgia: Georgia UP,

2001. 68-81.

Taylor, Janice. E-mail interview. 8 Feb. 2005.

Thompson, Charles D. and Melinda F. Wiggins. *The Human Cost of Food:*

Farmworkers' Lives, Labor, and Advocacy. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.

Tiller, Nell. "'We Need Some Spanish Now!' Some Innovative Techniques to Teach

Spanish to the Nontraditional Student." *VCAA Journal* 9.2 (1995) Accessed

December 26, 2004. <<http://www.vccaedu.org/inquiry/vcca-journal/tiller.htm>>.

Turner, Andrew. Personal interview. 26 Oct. 2004.

United States Census Bureau (2000). Accessed 12 Dec. 2004. <<http://www.census.gov>>.

Virginia Department of Education, "Report of Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students Receiving Services as of September 30, 2003," Accessed 12 Dec.

2004, <[http://64.233.187.104/search?q=cache:1G2uFiq9vf8J:www.pen.k12.va.us/VDOE/Instruction/ESL/LEPEnrollment.pdf+Report+of+Limited+English+Proficient+\(LEP\)+Students+Receiving+Services+as+of+September+30,+2003&hl=en&start=1](http://64.233.187.104/search?q=cache:1G2uFiq9vf8J:www.pen.k12.va.us/VDOE/Instruction/ESL/LEPEnrollment.pdf+Report+of+Limited+English+Proficient+(LEP)+Students+Receiving+Services+as+of+September+30,+2003&hl=en&start=1)>.

"Virginia Justice Center for Farm and Immigrant Workers." *Legal Aid Justice Center*.

Alex Gulotta. 12 Feb. 2005. <<http://www.justice4all.org/programs/vjc/>>.

"Virginia Latino Advisory Commission Final Report." September 2004.

<<http://www.vlac.virginia.gov/pdfs/Revised%20Final.pdf>>.

Zarrugh, Laura H. "From Workers to Owners: Hispanic Entrepreneurs in the Shenandoah Valley." James Madison University. Carrier Library: Special Collections Unit.

Dec. 2004. Accessed 14 Feb. 2005. <<http://www.lib.jmu.edu/special/ZarrughPaper.htm>>.