A CHANGE IN THE HEART OF AMERICA: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE AND LATINO/A SETTLEMENT IN A RURAL ILLINOIS TOWN

Karl Daniel Kappus, Jr.

156 Pages May 2009

The author investigates how Latinos formed a community in an entirely European-descent rural town. The meatpacking industry's effect on these midwestern newcomers' choices to locate in rural Illinois is explored.

APPROVED:

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Date Maura Toro-Morn, Chair

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Date Frank D. Beck, Co-Chair

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Date Gina Hunter de Bessa

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The 1990s and 2000s showed a remarkable diversification in Latino settlement patterns in the US. In this work, the author presents the results of several months of ethnographic investigation in a small, ostensibly isolated, midwestern rural town, Barberton, that until recently was almost entirely white and English-speaking. Within the past two decades, the proportion of Latinos in the town's population has increased to almost a third. This project has sought to explain how this shift happened.

Interviews and observation in Barberton show that the demographic shift in Barberton was started by longtime foreign-born US residents who came to work at the town's largest employer, a packinghouse. These pioneers first came in response to latent demand for their labor at the plant. Later they came in response to active recruitment.

The demand at the plant was created by the changing structure of the meatpacking industry. One of the few ways that meatpacking companies are able to increase or sustain profits is by lowering their labor costs. As a result of changes made towards reducing

labor costs, packinghouse work has become less attractive than other work available to the native-born.

For a certain class of worker, however, packinghouse jobs are very attractive. Latinos have long been over-represented in packinghouse work. Many of these are foreign-born. The first Latino workers came for the packinghouse jobs in Barberton. They stayed not only for work to raise families. Long-time foreign-born US residents consolidated their friends and family in Barberton, creating a new community.

Overall, while the choices of individuals who moved to Barberton can be viewed through a lens of personal agency and rational choice, the structural changes and historical moment that made their move to rural Illinois possible are hard to ignore, as is the rational maximizing behavior of the packinghouse within that context.

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KARL DANIEL KAPPUS, JR.

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To All My Teachers

I am grateful for all the scholars who have worked before me in my field, many of whom I have quoted here. I am grateful for the help and guidance of a skilled and understanding people who agreed to be on my thesis committee—Maura Toro-Morn, Frank Beck, and Gina Bessa. This thesis would not be possible without parents who were always there to explain the world, primary and secondary teachers who instructed me, and university professors who inspired me. In the last category, I would especially like to acknowledge Benjamin Feinberg, Lori Girshick, and Arthur Murphy, who introduced me to ethnographic methods, the study of social inequality, and Mexican culture, respectively, while I was an undergraduate many years ago.

Above all, I give thanks for all teachers in my life. The best ones have been research participants in this study, Haitian immigrants to the Dominican *batey* where I lived as a Peace Corps Volunteer, and everyday people everywhere who have told me their stories. May we, together with all beings, find the way to the end of suffering, including the suffering portrayed herein.

Ultimately, despite all the help I have received in this lifetime from many people, there are probably still many imperfections in the current work. I regret these faults, for which I alone am responsible.

To The Idea of a Multicultural America

We all know that newcomers change the idea of what America is and who Americans are. A century ago, the Irish were still becoming white, and pizza was the province of a dangerous minority group. The thought of ordering Chinese takeout was waiting for the lifting of the Chinese Exclusion Acts. White suburban youth needed Martin Luther King's dream so they could discover gangsta rap. Some of my ancestors were yelling at their kids in a foreign language to shut up and behave. And it was America— a place that changes to make room for the new, albeit often in spite of itself.

When newcomers show up— mind you, some of the Chicanos and Native Americans were here first, but no one called "same seats!” — they are typically kept apart, abused, and exploited for heavy work for a number of generations. Then, suddenly, everyone forgets that there ever was a difference. We'll all eat pizza together and get drunk on St. Paddy's day. This is who we are. This is the idea of America, to which I dedicate my work, a place of many different things for many different people: spacious skies and well-dressed *vatos*, mountain majesty and *mofongo*, waves of grain served with Vietnamese hot sauce. Maybe this isn’t really true, but it’s a great idea, the idea of a multicultural America.

My own immigrant ancestors settled in Ohio. When we cleaned out grandpa’s house, there were things we could not get rid of. There were photos of nineteenth century people whose names had been taken away by the tide of time. There were letters and baptismal documents written in a language I don’t read. I didn’t learn German because my ancestors stopped speaking a “foreign” language in order to seem more loyal during World War I.

We can hope that future sociology theses at public universities in the Midwest will be written, at the choice of their multilingual authors, variously in Arabic, Spanish, Mandarin, Farsi, and Tagalog. The majority of Americans will finally understand how to eat properly with a tortilla, and that a meal without rice is not really a meal. One of Juan Diego's descendants will find a sign in the form of roses on a hill just outside of the District of Columbia; we'll finally get the national *santísima Virgen* whose guidance we've needed all these years.[1]

If we want a country that lives up to the myth that we are a society that can eventually include everyone, including those who come from another country or who don't speak English, we'd better get behind the mule, stick our shoulders to the wheel, and get chopping. As this work shows, we've got a long way to go. But it's a beautiful idea, and to it, I dedicate this thesis.

To the idea of America! ¡*Que viva el pueblo nuestro*!

KDK

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Something Has Changed in the Heart of America

For the past twenty years, the American Midwest has witnessed a remarkable growth in the number of Latino residents. Many of these people were born in Mexico and other countries in Latin America (Millard, Chapa, and Burillo 2004; Zuñiga and Hernández 2005; Massey 2008), while some, notably those from Puerto Rico, were born in the United States. As in other parts of the country, these Latino workers do important work that keeps the economy running. There are many rural places that would have experienced net population loss in the past decade if it weren't for the arrival of Latino newcomers (Kandel 2005). Thus it is that small midwestern towns that for many decades had been entirely white, English-speaking, and native-born now are hosts to vibrant young Latino communities where Spanish is spoken.

One early morning a year or two ago, federal migration officials detained 62 residents of Barberton, IL (not the town's real name) employed by Quality Service Integrity, Inc. (QSI). QSI is the company contracted to clean the packinghouse that Cargill Meat Solutions, formerly Excel, operates as a subsidiary of a multinational corporation, Cargill. QSI employees were arrested on immigration and identity fraud charges. An additional 49 people unrelated to QSI were also detained, turning the raid

into one of the largest immigration enforcement actions that had occurred up to that time. It was notable not only for its size, but for having taken place in a relatively remote corner of the Midwest. As such, the raid and its aftermath garnered national media attention.

In order to understand how Latinos have come to new parts of America where their presence is unexpected, I chose Barberton as a site for ethnographic observation and interviews. Journalistic accounts of the raid piqued my interest in the number of foreign-born in what seemed like an odd place for an immigrant community. As detailed in the section "Research Setting and Methods," below, I spent six months visiting, and ultimately living in, Barberton. I had conversations with more than forty Barberton reidents, Latino and non-Latino, about how

On one of the first days I spent in Barberton, I chatted up the staff at one of the two greasy-spoon cafes in town. My waitress, Kate doesn't "mind Hispanics," but she says they've changed things a bit much. "Our kids have to learn to speak Spanish in the schools. I feel like I have to learn to speak another language to just live in the town I grew up in."

The grill cook, Sarah sat down and echoed what Kate said. At first, she says, "I don't mind anyone. I'll live next to them, and I'll just leave them alone if they leave me alone. I have a bunch of Hispanics on my block, and the trailers around the corner are full of them." Then, with a bitter, sardonic touch, she adds, "I won't run over their kids playing the street, and I hope they don't run over mine."

Kate pops in here: "It's not that we wanted them here to begin with, no." I press for a little more about why 'they' have come, and the consensus of all present is that Excel

"sends buses to go and get them from Mexico," has them work "until they get deported," and then sends for more.

Another mealtime, I found myself in one of several taco places in town. I was seated with a reporter from a local paper named Sami, who emphasizes that she "had nothing against Hispanics." But "we," meaning native-born people, "turn ourselves inside out for these people."

She talks about bilingual education classes and rhetorically asks how many different languages the schools would have to support. She believes that the "immigrants," as she described local Spanish-speakers, are not adapting sufficiently to the local customs. In her eyes, the "immigrants" don't care about the history of the place they've come to, but just want to make it "just like Mexico."

She asks rhetorically why they came here if they "didn't want to live in America?" She said "they" want the jobs here without anything else. Continuing, she elaborates on a trip she took with Benito, a bilingual friend of Mexican parentage, to Benito's parents' towns in Mexico. She said how "happy" the people were there with their "simple life."

She also talked about how she went to a weeklong language-immersion course in Cuernavaca. Again, rhetorically, she asked, "When I was in Mexico, did I expect them to accommodate me?" She says that when she was in Mexico, she acted differently in order to fit into the "culture down there." She says that Mexican migrants should similarly learn "our" customs.

When asked if she wanted the new migrants to meet the Anglo community halfway, she said "Yes," and held that the Anglo community went more than halfway, while the "newcomers" went barely a third. She emphasized that she "had nothing against

Hispanics." But she didn't like it when they became "too militant, demanding rights that weren't theirs."

For the native-born in the United States, it comes as a surprise to find small, rural, midwestern towns with large populations of Latinos. The native-born are used to seeing the descendants of northern European immigrants in these places. The towns themselves are sometimes named after their German, English, French, and Scandinavian founders. The descendants of the founders are still in residence. On Sundays, they go to English-language church services that might have been presented in another language when their grandparents were young. But before Spanish speakers arrived, only a few of these descendents of northern European immigrants had thought about other languages than English in a full lifetime.

"The Mexicans have taken some of us a lot of getting used to," said Barberton's mayor. "You know, when you go to Chicago or a big city, you expect to find all sorts of people there, but here?" Indeed, in the past, when Mexican or other Spanish-speaking laborers came to the United States, they ended up predominantly in large cities. Failing this, they labored in agricultural fields in California or Florida, or worked in the states that share a border with Mexico (Massey 2008; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005).

To understand the mayor's surprise or the waitress' upset, it is important to take apart what makes the presence of Latinos defy the expectations of mayors and small town white people. First, the construction of the identity of Mexicans and Latinos as distinct "sorts of people," in the mayor's words, who are different from the "usual" sorts of people in the Midwest, deserves scrutiny. Secondly, we must consider how the settlement patterns of members of this Latino group have changed to produce something that seems

new. Finally, a brief review of the literature reveals that in addition to defying the expectations of small-town residents, Latinos in the heartland have succeeded in defying those of professional scholars. This thesis is about why the assumptions of the townspeople and professionals alike make them misapprehend the presence of Latinos in the Midwest. Since I originally shared these assumptions, it is also the tale of how I as a researcher came to understand differently the emergence of a Latino community in rural Illinois.

The Errors of Laypeople

Groups produce racial or ethnic labels for themselves and other groups as attempts at self-definition. The labels and their meaning for any particular group will vary by the historical context in which the question "Who are we?" is asked. In turn, the labels, and the understanding behind those labels, affect how members of that group act towards members of other groups, and how the group is acted upon (Ignatiev 2008; Oboler 1999; Omi and Winant 1986).

Common labels that white people in Barberton use for brown-skinned, Spanish-speaking people are immigrants, Mexicans, Hispanics, and, to a lesser extent, Latinos. White people call themselves natives or white people. Spanish speakers call white people *Americanos*, *güeros*, *anglosajones*, or, perjoratively, *gabachos*. They usually refer to themselves by a national or regional label—*mexicano, dominicano, puertoricano, Boricua, cubano, tolucano, michoacano, chilango, salvadoreño, guatemalteco*—and, less often, collectively as *latinos*. Relatively less common are *hispano* or *immigrante*.

Hispanic was a term adopted by the US government in the 1970s in response to civil-rights era demands by Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Mexican-American activists who

demanded recognition (Oboler 1999). The creation of this term allowed people of Latin American or Spanish descent to be counted as a group for the first time. Paradoxically, it also allowed the public to pinpoint a group of people who were undeserving foreigners whose different cultural practices allegedly made them poor (Oboler 1999) .

In the United States, the difference between "native" and "non-native" was established as a legal fact in the early part of the last century. The US' first comprehensive restrictions on immigration were put in place in 1927 in the form of a national quota system (Ngai 2004). The national quota system set numerical limits on how many people could immigrate to the US each year from each country in the world. These numbers, or national quotas, were calculated proportionate each country's contribution to the "native stock" of the US.

Nonwhites, including Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Asians, African Americans, and Native Americans, were not included in the universe of "native stock." "Immigrant stock" was defined as those European people who immigrated after the founding of the US state. Hence, these immigration laws constructed a white American race consisting of people from northern and western Europe (Ngai 2004).

The process of creating these laws fed upon a then-novel category of identity, "national origin." The Westphalia system of sovereign nation-states was strengthened in the wake of the First World War. In this strengthening, the sovereign rights of states to exclude. According to Ngai (2004), Hannah Arendt called this trend "the end of the rights of man" in favor of the rights of citizens and sovereignty.

As soon as Mexicans, Guatemalans, Dominicans, Cubans, or other Spanish-speaking people cross the border into the US, they become "instant Hispanics."(Oboler

1999) The label homogenizes difference. The use of the word “Hispanic” or “Latino” is a way of denying difference. “Hispanic heritage” is an idea that feeds on a lack of information about native Mexican Americans, colonized Puerto Ricans, and other groups. In the popular imagination, the term homogenizes (Oboler 1999). If some members of this group have been unable to establish legal status in the US, then all may be seen as “illegal.” If some have arrived recently from abroad, it may appear that all are recent immigrants. This is how the identity of “Latinos” or “Hispanics” is constructed in the US, including Barberton.

These partially erroneous ideas about Latinos are reflected in the speech of the waitress and the more careful explanations of the newspaper editor, but also in the works of academics and the author of the current study. The common false belief is that all who can be labeled as Latino or Hispanic are foreigners without roots in the US. The labels negate the vast differences in experience that those labeled Latino may have. The commitment of those who have lived most of their lives in the US is discounted. Even those born in the US are less likely to be credited as native citizens who “belong here.”

The Errors of So-Called Experts

The current literature emphasizes two causes of international migration. First, neoclassical economics theorizes that migration is the result of difference in wages for the would-be migrant’s labor between origin and destination, the subjective economic risks from the migrant’s viewpoint that migrating or not migrating might entail, and the would-be immigrant’s wealth relative to other members of the community of origin. Secondly, Massey’s cumulative causation model concentrates on the effects of

transborder social networks of co-ethnics that both make immigration cheaper for the immigrant and more likely to continue in the future (Massey 1987).

Neither of these theoretical strands seemed to explain why Mexicans and other Spanish-speakers settled in a small town in the middle of cornfield Illinois. Barberton did not have a recent tradition of receiving foreign-born immigrants of any sort, so no network of co-ethnics would have motivated the first migrants to move there. I assumed that wages in Barberton would be less than in other places such as Chicago or Los Angeles. I set out to understand why Mexicans and other foreign-born Spanish-speakers had spontaneously immigrated to a rural midwestern town. I was poised to contrast the relative importance of agency (e.g. rational choice based on economic factors, cumulative causation based on instrumental use of social contacts) versus structure (e.g. capitalism's need for an army of reserve labor, segmented economy, globalization) in influencing individuals to cross a border and end up in Barberton.

Their Errors Are My Errors, Too

My conceptualization of my research problem echoed the prevailing biases of many in the US who believe that Latinos are new to the United States. My research shows that relatively few Spanish speakers in Barberton arrived directly from other countries. Most of the Spanish-speaking people encountered in the course of research had lived elsewhere in the United States before coming to Barberton. Indeed, many of these "immigrants" have lived in the United States for the majority of their lives. Some have lived the majority of their lives in the United States, but not in Barberton. Only a much smaller number immigrated directly to the US across the border with Mexico or across the ocean from another country in Latin America.

Hence, as I continued my research, my focus shifted away from "why did people choose to immigrate across an international border to Barberton?" to "how did Latinos come to populate Barberton?" While the literature on international labor migration still forms a good basis for explaining why people move from one place to another, I found myself studying something else entirely: the diversification of locational choices made by the Spanish-speaking foreign-born in the last two decades, and the continuing social construction of Latinos as a group of people who are ostensibly well-suited to demeaning and difficult work.

Demographic Diversification and the American Midwest

Geographical concentration in large cities and Mexican border states has been a quintessential characteristic of the last forty years of Mexican and Latin American immigration to the U.S. (Massey and Capoferro 2008). Charles Hirschman and Douglas Massey have gone as far as to name what they call the iron law of spatial concentration: "New immigrants tend to settle in the largest cities where earlier immigrants of the same national origins have previously settled." (Hirschman and Massey 2008). The usual models of cumulative causation and chain migration that scholars are used to do not predict that a large coterie of foreign-born Spanish speakers would appear in a small Illinois town that had no recent history of immigration (for example, see Massey (1987)). There has been a significant shift in where immigrants to the United States from Latin America settle. Where the Latinos from Mexico and Latin America used to have the strongest impact in a small section of the United States, the shift has made immigration into a truly national phenomenon that has surprised both the native-born lay people as well as professional scholars of Latin American immigration. As recently as a decade

ago, many students of Latin American migration would have failed to foresee the recent dramatic increase in the number of foreign-born, mostly Mexican, Spanish speakers in rural locations outside of California and the Southwest (Leach and Bean 2008) . Indeed, when I proposed this project, it was to be about migration across international borders. I was going to find out why people from Mexico and Latin America chose to cross the border in order to come to Barberton, as opposed to the destinations that have been more usual for such immigrants.

Recent scholarly work details a new settlement pattern for foreign-born Spanish speakers in the United States. According to the Census, in the 1990s, the portion of the nation's foreign-born Spanish speakers living in the six US states that had long been home to three-quarters of all foreign-born decreased (Passel and Zimmermann 2001). After decades of growth that had lead the state to have the largest concentration of foreign-born in the US and a third of the total, California's population of foreign-born plateaued in 1995. Some Latinos created a new geography of ethnicity by moving to the Midwest and southern regions from areas of high concentration. Following them, new immigrants bypassed traditional gateway destinations for Latino immigrants—New York, Chicago, and the Mexican border states of the American far west and southwest—in favor of migrating directly or secondarily to these new locales (Leach and Bean 2008).

In addition to the overall trend of living in many more places in general, foreign-born and Puerto Rican Spanish-speakers are more likely than ever to live in rural places. Quantitative investigations based on Census data show that for the first time ever, more than half of all rural-dwelling who identified themselves as "Hispanic" and as having been born outside of the US now live outside of Arizona, California, Colorado, New

Mexico, and Texas (Leach and Bean 2008). While this group made up only 1.9 percent of the nonmetropolitan, or rural, population in 1990, they represented 3.2 percent of the total in 2000, a 68 percent increase. During the same time period in some metropolitan, urban areas, the population proportion made by this group actually decreased (Donato, Tolbert, Nucci, and Kawano 2008).

In a recent volume edited by Massey (2008), several scholars posit that this change, which they call "geographical diversification," resulted from several different factors. One, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) legalized many undocumented workers. According to Massey, one of the results of legalization was that newly legalized foreign-born were able to seek out work outside the usual ambit of undocumented workers. They left sweatshops and agriculture for formal employment opportunities elsewhere.

Second, the largest per-capita receptor state for immigrants, California, became a less welcoming place for undocumented workers in the 1990s. Popular anti-immigrant sentiment in the state in the early 1990s resulted in the passage of proposition 187, a ballot initiative that restricted access to public services for undocumented workers. While many of proposition 187's mandates were overturned as unconstitutional in court, it was a signal that immigrants were less welcome. The economic niches filled by people born in Latin America had become oversaturated with people looking for work. Concurrently, California entered into a short recession.

Thirdly, IRCA set into motion a selective militarization and hardening of the border that forced new undocumented arrivals to the US to bypass the California and Texas borders in favor of more dangerous and remote transborder routes elsewhere. As

the old standby illicit crossings, such as those through Tijuana/San Diego and Ciudad Juarez/El Paso, became more difficult to cross, migrants skipped Texas and California altogether. Fourth, substantial restructuring in several industries—notably construction and meatpacking—generated strong demand for foreign-born workers. Finally, migrants chose to move where housing would be cheaper and work more abundant.

Exploring Diversification with Ethnography

While census data tell a grand picture of trends, they miss a lot of context. Recovering this context is the task of ethnographers and qualitative sociologists. For example, Millard, Chapa, and Burillo (2004) investigated the causes and consequences of the growth of Latino communities in several rural towns in Indiana, Nebraska, Michigan and Ohio. The authors in the work edited by Zúñiga and Hernández-León (2005) focused on relations between foreign-born Latino newcomers and other groups in small-town Nebraska, North Carolina, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Georgia and Iowa. Michael Broadway and Donald Stull have published numerous ethnographic explorations about Latinos in the meat and poultry industry (Stull and Broadway 2004; Stull, Broadway, and Griffith 1995). In a yet more recent volume, Odem (2008) examined how the suburbs of Atlanta, Georgia became a "major gateway" for immigrants from Latin America, while Smith and Furuseth (2008) chronicled the construction of a Latino community in Charlotte, N.C.

Following in the spirit of these earlier ethnographies of Latinos and Spanish-speaking immigrants, and in order to come to a more concrete understanding of what has motivated the demographic shift in the rural Midwest and Southeast, I conducted interviews and fieldwork in a rural Illinois town, Barberton.[2] This paper presents the

stories of twenty-one Spanish-speakers, all born outside the United States, who migrated to rural Illinois, along with information from the many others I interacted with during research. It makes a small-but-sturdy contribution to the literature on the subject. It corrects an implicit assumption in much of that literature that the new faces in new places have arrived directly across an international border.

Research Setting and Methodology

There are probably many towns like Barberton in the rural Midwest. Germans and Russians settled Barberton in the early 1800s. Originally, it thrived because of its location along a water transit route between two major cities. Later, it became a hub for railroads. By the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, Barberton had several thriving blue-collar employers and a thriving blue-collar middle class. The industries that had for many years sustained a way of life in the community disappeared or vastly reduced their presence. These included an aluminum fabrication plant, shops for the regional electric and natural gas utility, and a railroad switchyard. The remaining large employer, a slaughterhouse for pigs that employed about two thousand, was sold in 1988 to a company, Excel (now called "Cargill Meat Solutions"), that drastically reduced pay and imposed difficult working conditions.

As in many rural midwestern places that underwent these changes, the result was population loss and economic distress. According to respondents in this research, the town would have dried up entirely if it weren't for the arrival of newcomers from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the Southwest United States. These newcomers were different from many of the people who had previously resided in Barberton. For one thing, many of

them were darker skinned than the northern-European-descended majority in Barberton. For another, many of these newcomers spoke Spanish, and had different customs.

The Spanish-speakers started to arrive in small numbers around 1993. By 1997, their community became large enough to receive press coverage in the local paper, and cross-cultural community groups were formed to improve relations between Latinos and whites. Nowadays in Barberton, there are two specialty shops, four restaurants, and a bakery oriented towards Spanish-speakers. Indeed, the finest Dominican restaurant in the region is in Barberton. The annual Mexican Independence Day celebration in September attracts internationally recognized artists and performers from far away. These are impressive accomplishments for a town that everyone, foreign-born and native, Spanish-speaking and English-speaking, Latino and *americano,* agrees is out of the way, *retirado*, *perdido*.

The 1990 census found only 31 (.5%) "persons of Hispanic origin," in Barberton out of a population of 5,270 individuals. By contrast, the 2000 Census lists 1,032 (19.8%) persons of Hispanic origin out of a total population of 5,766. There are 33 times as many persons of Hispanic origin in Barberton in 2000 than ten years before, a change of 3,329%. The number of Spanish-speakers has continued to grow significantly since the last decennial census. According to a school official, there were 296 Spanish-speaking children in the school district in 2000, but more than three times as many—- 608— at the time of this writing, 2008. This last figure may support the assertion of many respondents that Spanish-speakers, many foreign-born, are now at least 30% of the population.

Between 1990 and 2000, Barberton's Hispanic population grew at 245 times the 13.15% population growth rate for the nation as a whole, and 373 times the growth rate

for Illinois. Barberton itself grew only by 9.41 percent; the discrepancy can be interpreted to mean that as people of Hispanic origin moved in, non-Hispanic people left the town. The increased number of persons of Hispanic origin outpaced both state and national growth for the same segment (57.94%) by more than 3000 points.

The analysis that is presented in the current work is the fruit of a period of six months of research. Data collection methods included a series of thirty-two semi-structured formal interviews, archival work, and extensive participant ethnography. Beginning in March 2008, I regularly visited Barberton from Bloomington, IL, a trip of about two hours each way at the time. In May, I moved to a village that was quite a bit closer, and for the month of September, I rented a room in Barberton itself. I spent much of this time winning the trust of potential interviewees, and participating in the life of the town.

From press and radio accounts of the QSI raid, I learned names of public officials and others whom journalists interviewed. These included social service workers, elected officials, and religious leaders. In turn, these social service workers, elected officials, and religious leaders introduced me to foreign-born and Puerto Rican Spanish-speakers they knew. Some of these foreign-born and Puerto Rican Spanish-speakers, about twenty-four, agreed to to semi-unstructured qualitative interviews that lasted fifteen minutes to an hour. Usually these interviews took place in participants' homes. Sometimes, these interviews led to follow-up visits or friendship. In total, I took notes on observations or interviews with almost fifty different individuals, including union officials, the mayor, a community organizer, a school official, a former packinghouse manager, and the former and current human resources director at the packinghouse.

My role as a participating observer gave me insight into life in Barberton that I might not have gained through interviews alone. I believe that living in Barberton as a participant helped me overcome the understandable suspicion that some interviewees probably harbored against me as a native-born member of the US majority ethnic group, and a speaker of Spanish merely as a second language. I attended baby showers and special dinners. I joined the committee that put on the annual Mexican Independence Day celebration. I lived in a rented room and shared a kitchen with two single men who had come to work at the plant. I ate many meals courtesy of the people I wanted to get to know, and in return, baked a couple of pies for them.

I was concerned that by recording peoples' life experiences, I was putting these people at risk of incarceration or deportation. Because of these risks, I did not record the voices of those whom I interviewed, but instead took copious notes. At the prompting of my thesis committee, and the institutional board responsible for protecting human subjects, I promised to rename all of my research participants and the town in which they live.

Because I did not use a tape recorder, all of the direct quotes here are reconstructions from careful notes made during and immediately after interviews and observation. Many quotes are presented in English even though they were spoken in Spanish. When a particular key phrase seemed to shine forth best in the speaker's native Spanish, I have preserved it here. The real Barberton is not called Barberton. Thus, names have been changed to protect research participants. Still, the hope is that "Barberton," and the interviewees represented here under nicknames, will provide an accurate account of a change that is happening in America.

I defined the population under study as “foreign-born and Puerto Rican Spanish-speakers.” Nevertheless, I’ve opted to use the much less awkward term “Latino” as a shorthand to refer to this population. Membership in an ethnic group is the product of historical and social processes that constantly create and recreate meaning around nationality, race, and ethnicity. Nationality, race and ethnicity are themselves categories that are created and recreated.

Foreign born and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers are interesting to study because meaning has been attached to being having been born in Puerto Rico or abroad and speaking Spanish. Whatever their inscriptive identities may be, social process relegates foreign-born and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers to a common ascriptive identity, one shared with some native born people—“Latino.” Whatever their inscriptive identities may be, people who were born in certain places, who speak Spanish, and/or who have a certain appearance, are likely to be treated by other actors as “Latino.” Membership in this group, even if a figment of our common social imagination, has real consequences that are hard to ignore.

In places where I refer to US Census data or the works of other authors who used the term, I use the word “Hispanic.” This is a term that the US federal government has latched on to in the last hundred years to describe the people who might otherwise be grouped as “Latino.” I have chosen not to use “Hispanic” because it is not the usual, preferred term by which people in this group refer to themselves, even if some do use it. Mentions of specific nationality, like “Mexican,” refer to people who were born in the country specified, or are quotations.

Within the past five years, Barberton and neighboring Prisaville have also come to be home for a growing community of French-speaking Africans, most of whom are from Togo. Respondents contacted for the current work believe that there are about five hundred "Togolese" between Barberton and Prisaville. While they are much less noticeable than the Spanish-speakers, their presence is also very much a part of Barberton—and the packinghouse where many of the people interviewed for this study work— today. Because this research is focused on the geographic diversification of Spanish-speakers, the Togolese have not been specifically included in this study.

The current study tells how one town, Barberton, participated in this demographic shift during the 1990s and 2000s. Overall, the effect of the town's largest employer's labor practices were the most important in founding a Latino community in the heart of the Midwest. These practices, in turn, were related to the deindustrialization of cities and the restructuring of the meatpacking industry of which that employer is a part. But a key finding is that Latinos stayed in Barberton because it was better place to fulfill social commitments to family than more established Latino communities. While native-born people are likely to see Latinos as "newcomers" or immigrants, the Latinos that participated in this project see themselves as having made a commitment to a small town in the Midwest.

This paper represents a concrete example of one place that has experienced the diversification of Latino settlement in the United States discussed in the previous section. It attempts to relate the demographic shift to the tension between personal agency and structure in international migration theory. It provides the stories of the "new" Spanish-

speaking Midwesterners. It explains how they came to the rural Midwest and why they stayed.

By telling the story of how Latinos born so far away came to make up such a large part of Barberton's population, I hope to throw some light on topics within the literature on international immigrants and the causes of migration. I question the tendency of immigration theory to focus on individual agency. While the very popular ideas of wage differentials and chain migration clearly played a part in bringing Latin America to this Midwest town, these ideas obfuscate the equally important roles of state policy, a meatpacking plant, and the structure of the market.

Overview of Thesis

In addition to the present introductory chapter, there are four chapters in this thesis. The second chapter reviews the literature on international migration. Using a historical approach, it details how certain controversies within that body of literature have persisted for more than fifty years. It highlights one of the most widely read theorists in the field, Douglas Massey, and examines a particularly useful critique of his work. Chapter three introduces twenty-one of the many research participants from this study. The history of Latino migration to Barberton unfolds from the life stories of these twenty one, a subset of the many people I interacted with in completing this project. In chapter four, I hold up these stories for further investigation, detailing important themes that emerged during my visit to Barberton. In the fifth and final chapter is written the answer to the question that motivated this project: How did Latinos, many of them from other countries, end up in an ostensibly isolated and rural Midwestern town?

My observations document an important chapter in the continuing story of migration from Latin America and Mexico to the United States. Foreign-born Latinos, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, whose voices are sometimes marginalized and unheard, are given an opportunity to explain their lives. Beyond merely showcasing the voices of those I interviewed, I hope that this work details the small part of the American story of immigration and cultural change.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview of International Labor Migration Theory

In asking questions about migration to the rural Midwest, I am fortunate to be able to connect with a large body of theoretical literature that seeks to explain international labor migration. Despite the fact that a minority of the population under study moved to Barberton directly across an international border, controversies in international labor migration theory about agency and the role of social networks are directly related to explaining how migrants moved to Barberton.

In general terms, within the last fifty years, there have been three large currents in this body of theory. Microstructural approaches have been based on individual choice and neoclassical economics. Macrostructural approaches are concerned with power, conflict, and constraints on individual action. The remaining stream consists of attempts to bridge the gap between these diametrically-opposed theoretical vantages. Below, I have listed the major genres of migration theory.

Neoclassical economics. Migrants act as rational maximizers. They move across borders to increase the returns on their human capital. It is the agency of individuals that has the greatest effect on migration (Todaro 1969).

Historical-structural approaches. Migrants leave the global South to pursue the fantastic ways of making money practiced in the global North. These fantastic ways of making money have prevented the people of the global South from selling anything but their own labor (Sassen-Koob 1982). The people, of course, carry their labor to market across borders. A function of the capitalist state in the United States is to ensure that the endless accumulation of excess labor value (i.e. profit) continues to be possible. For some industries, continued accumulation requires a continued stream of easily-exploitable and disposable labor (Burawoy 1976). Changes that resulted from incursion of new systems of production or political relations, often linked to modernization and US imperialism, compelled the migrants to leave their agricultural communities and antiquated manufacturing shops ((Massey 1999)). Historical actors, the structure of production relations, and the state affect migrant outflows.

Household strategies. Migrants are members of income-pooling groups called "households." The forms that these income-pooling groups can take are limited by macrostructural forces. Within these limitations, however, households work to balance their subjectively-defined consumption needs against the product of their collective waged and unwaged labor (Pessar 1982). Alternatively, households work to minimize financial risk, invest capital wisely, and ensure their social status relative to others in the community (Stark 1991; Stark, Taylor, and Yitzhaki 1986). To pursue these goals, sometimes it is in a household's best interest to send a migrant off to work across a border.

Social networks. Migrants leave because they know other people who have crossed into the new country, hear from those people—uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers, and *paisanos*—how it could be done, and are inspired. Human sociability, which is the tendency for individuals to develop relationships with others, creates social capital (Bordieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Portes 1998). The use of this social capital is what drives migration. Social networks may continue to support continued migration even after the end of the economic or social conditions that impelled the first migrant to cross the border have disappeared (Massey 1999; Massey 2005; Massey and Espinosa 1997). Sometimes, these networks create multistranded links that allow immigrants to live in a cultural and cultural scene that transcends borders, affecting both sending and receiving places (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992).

Migration systems approaches and cumulative causation. There is an interplay between individual choice, historical context, and the effects of the individual's relationships with kin, friends, and countrymen. As such, a combination of factors drives migration (Massey 1987).

In the pages that follow, I elaborate on each of these genres of migration theory. More specifically, I explain how historical-structural approaches emerged to address the inadequacies of the neoclassical economic model. I then detail how household models, and later social networks, were brought in to bridge the epistemological, theoretical, and methodological divide between macrostructural analysis and neoclassical economics.

Finally, to illustrate the issues that have driven debate about migration theory, I examine a critique by Fred Krissman of one particularly popular approach (Krissman

2005), which is Douglas Massey's "migrant network model" (Massey 1987; Massey 2005; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003). At this moment, the migrant network model has gained the center ground in the migration literature, but in gaining this central place, it has become the target of critique and the topic of academic debate. I analyze this ongoing debate to suggest that the same key disagreements that motivated the development of alternatives to the neoclassical economic model in the mid 1970s continue to animate the academic controversy around migration theory today in a way that relates directly to my work in Barberton.

Periodically throughout, I turn my attention to migration to rural Illinois and Latin America, as well as the population diversification mentioned in the first chapter.

Economics: Self-interested Rational Decision-Making and Functionalism

Discussions of migration theory often begin with neoclassical economics. As mentioned previously, the most pervasive explanation for migration is that individual migrants are motivated by self-interest to leave their homes in expectation of securing better wages for their work. Owners of some products may ship those goods to the market where the goods will fetch the highest price, but people who mostly own their own labor must themselves travel to that market (Stark 1991). Economic explanations are powerful because they are rooted in the idea that individuals are capable of taking action based on making a rational and self-interested choice.

The work of Todaro (1969) is the most oft-cited economic model for migration. His is a neoclassical approach that has since been referred to as the "expected income" model. Migrants decide to migrate if the odds of earning a greater income through migration are higher than staying at home. Among other things, migrants' calculation of

risk may include the chance of unemployment or deportation (Stark 1991). In sum, this is a theory of rational choice.

The microanalytic description of migration based on individual choice has a corollary macroeconomic model. From a macroeconomic perspective, streams of immigrants are likely to occur whenever wages in some places are higher than in others. Wage differentials demonstrate demand for labor that is unevenly distributed geographically; the uneven demand is related to a similarly uneven distribution of productive capital resources that could be combined with labor to generate profit (Wood 1982). According to neoclassical economics, migration will continue until the global market for labor reaches an equilibrium point. This equilibrium point, in theory, would occur when enough people had moved that wages for similar sorts of work in sending and receiving regions were the same, and where capitalists have been able to invest productive resources evenly around the world, including former "third-world" regions. The macroeconomic corollary to individualistic, anomic rational choice is a naturalistic and fuctionalist theory.

In interviewing any recent migrant to rural Illinois about the reasons they came, it is certain that the first motivation he or she will list will be the desire for a better job, more money, and an improved quality of life. Economic self-interest is a powerful motivator driving migration, even if it fails to explain where the self-interested migrate to, or predict when streams of migrants will emerge.

Critiques of the Standard Economic Model

The primacy of the neoclassical model means that the other theories have been developed as responses to its shortcomings. Many of the critiques leveled at the

neoclassical economic model for immigration are equally applicable to neoclassical economics in general, and even functionalist social theories as a class. Neoclassical economics as a theoretical framework, with its functionalist ideas of mechanical equilibria, has been criticized as using real live humans as mere "clothespins on which to hang propositions of economic ideas." (Schumpeter, cited by Portes (1995b)). While neoclassical economists have critiqued at least one sociological conception of human action— the conception based on norms, value introjection, and group solidarity—as naively lacking self-interest as a motive force, sociologists have similarly critiqued neoclassical economics for ignoring the social context that shapes and constrains economic transactions (Coleman 1988; Granovetter 1985; Portes 1995b; Portes 1998).

When neoclassical economics are applied to immigrations, individuals flock to the place where their labor produces the most value, just as water flows downhill toward the sea (Stark 1991) or as metal filings are inexorably towards a magnet (Abu-Lughod 1975). The actual individual and his/her social context may be sacrificed to the "natural" force of markets working towards equilibrium.

Differences in wages do not fully explain migration as it actually happens. Stark (Stark 1991) claims that while researchers have gathered data about wages at the origins and destinations of migration, they have ignored information about places that did not produce migrants, as well as expected wage information about places to which migrants could have migrated, but did not. As such, Stark argues, research using the neoclassical economic model is often tautological. He continues to argue that scholars have shown that areas with similar wage differences may not generate similar flows of migrants. Nor do migrants always chose to migrate directly to the country where they could rationally

expect to earn the highest wage, even holding constant the cost of transportation and the various risks, like deportation. In fact, Douglas Massey claims that even though wages in real terms paid to migrant labor in the United States have *decreased* over the past forty years, the number of immigrants to the United States over the same time period has *increased dramatically* (Massey 1998).

There is no way to find out whether arriving at a point of equilibrium, where wages and capital were distributed evenly across the globe, would cause an end to migration. Equilibrium never actually arrives. As such, the idea of equilibrium is not falsifiable using empirical means, but must be accepted on the basis of faith (Wood 1982). The assumption is that social problems are self-correcting over time, assuming functional markets, and that relationships of power or conflict are irrelevant. It is this faith that supports neoliberal laissez-faire policies, including those, like free trade and structural readjustment, which have had disastrous effects in Latin America (Veltmeyer and O'Malley 2001).

In addition to these overall critiques, scholars have noted a strong gender bias in the neoclassical model of labor migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999). The neoclassical model originally emerged before feminist scholars began to challenge androcentrism in the social sciences. Those who wrote about migration assumed that it was men who carried their labor to market across borders, and that women were mere appendages (Pessar 1999a). Men made rational decisions about where to sell their labor for the highest economic gain, while women made food and babies, and gender as a factor influencing migration stayed invisible to researchers.

> Children are carried along by their parents, willy-nilly, and wives accompany their husbands though it tears them away from environments they love. (Lee 1966)

In fact, men consult their spouses and family members when they decide to migrate. Legal migrants to the United States are just as likely to be women as men (Houstoun, Kramer, and Barrett 1984). While a sex ratio of the population of undocumented workers would be hard to definitively establish, ethnographers studying immigrant communities inevitably find women who moved across borders without husbands or male companions (for examples, see (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999).

Thus, despite the power of an explanation based on rational choice, migration scholars have created new theoretical frameworks to compensate for neoclassical economics' inability to account for social context, ignorance of gender, lack of predictive power, and ineptness as a tool for critiquing exploitative relationships.

Most importantly, neoclassical economics says little about why migrants would move to semirural Illinois now, as opposed to other places with comparable wages, or what historical trends would motivate migration at this time. While wages in Illinois have arguably been higher for many decades, or perhaps centuries, than in the immigrant-sending countries of Mexico and Central America, it is only within the past decade that an influx of immigrants to the heartland of the United States has gained enough strength to win the attention of the popular media, politicians, and native born Anglo-Americans, among others. Additionally, while the packinghouse provides good work, there are at least *some* other similarly-paying jobs in the "traditional" settlement areas of foreign-born Spanish speakers. Even while providing a simple reason for individuals to act,

neoclassical economics provides an incomplete explanation of why this novel influx would happen here and now.

Historical-Structural and Segmented Economy Approaches

The first response to the expected income model arose in the 1970s from scholars who, like many of their contemporaries, adopted theories of power, conflict, or Marxist political economy. The work of such scholars in migration has emphasized relationships of power in the context of a global political economy, the particularity of experience within a certain historical moment, and the constraints placed on individual action by large social forces— especially capitalism and the State. In reaction to the claims of ahistoricism, value-free positivism, and mechanistic naturalism on the part of neoclassical economics, historical-structural scholars adopted a critical stance that sought to use social science as a tool for correcting inequalities (Zolberg 1989), asserted that migration can only be studied within the transformations happening in the social structure at a given moment, and used methods that were interpretive and dialectical (Wood 1982).

For historical-structural theories, the direction and membership in migrant streams is an indication of relationships between different modes of production or between a stratified set of regions, such as Wallerstein's "core" and "periphery," in an exploitative world system of production at a particular time (Gibson and Graham 1986; Sassen-Koob 1982; Wallerstein 2004). National borders are "only" important inasmuch as they define migration as being international, and because they enforce global inequality. While neoclassical scholars of the 1960s were associated with the "modernization" view of economic development that stated that if technology and capital were effectively transferred to "underdeveloped" or even "precapitalist" countries, those countries could

increase their standard of living, the first historical-structural theorists were grounded in dependency theory, which showed how economic relationships between rich and poor countries often benefited the former while perpetuating the suffering of the latter (Wood 1982).

Burawoy (1976) studied systems of migrant labor in the agricultural sector of the United States and the mines of apartheid South Africa. In both cases, he showed how the practices of the State, i.e. guestworker programs that prohibited migrant labor from settling permanently in the host country, created a system by which the costs of producing a labor force would be borne by migrant sending regions instead of the firms that employed migrants. Costs related to childbearing, childrearing, education, social welfare, and the maintenance of families were externalized to the sending country. Similarly, in her study of Juan Pablo, a village in the Cibao region of the Dominican Republic, Pessar (1982) theorized that the cost of labor for capitalist industry in the United States was lowered by externalizing these costs to the noncapitalist and agrarian sector of the Dominican Republic.

Some scholars concentrate on how the coming of new technologies forces people in developing countries into the market for wage labor, making those with traditional farming or craft skills look for work elsewhere. When capitalist economic relations penetrate formerly isolated places, the land becomes commodified while the people become landless peons and are forced to participate in wage labor (Sassen-Koob 1982). Aside from the penetration of capitalism, scholars have looked at other historical processes, notably colonialism, as generating migration streams (Maldonado-Denis 1974).

Yet other scholars, especially those influenced by Michael Piore, focus on how the interaction of the US economy's structure with the social values of natives creates a class of jobs—"secondary sector jobs"— that must be filled by migrants, a theoretical framework sometimes called "segmented labor market theory." Natives only want jobs that confer a certain amount of prestige, wages, and security. Additionally, the wages that are paid for certain sorts of work are the product of a process called "social inflation;" when wages for lower-prestige jobs are raised, employers must raise the wages paid for all jobs that are higher in the socially-created prestige hierarchy. As such, jobs that offer little permanency, low wages, little possibility for advancement, or have low social prestige are filled with machines or temporary workers, like students or retirees. There is a market, called the "secondary labor market," comprised of those jobs for which a capital outlay on machinery would be too great, for which paying a native to do would be prohibitive because of prestige and permanence expectations, and for which temporary native migrants are unavailable. For jobs in the secondary labor market, non-natives must be hired (Piore 1979).

As mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis, immigration officials arrested more than sixty people in Barberton's packinghouse on charges related to working in the United States unlawfully (Sander 2007). Those arrested were working for a contractor hired to clean a meatpacking plant, QSI. The raid illustrates the increasing level of state harassment and border enforcement aimed against Mexican immigrants to the United States. Because of their tenuous status as undocumented migrants, or even people perceived to be undocumented, migrants are more easily exploitable than native-born workers, and thus more desirable for some sorts of employers. In studying Mexican

and Central American migration in Barberton, one would call upon the ideas of Sassen (1982) and others who imply that the enforcement of restrictive immigration policies facilitates the extraction and accumulation of value from the work of migrants, or the ideas of segmented labor market theorists like Piore who believe that the social expectations of natives affect the structure of US labor markets such that cleaning a meatpacking plant would fall to others.

In reacting to the functionalism of the neoclassical approach, historical-structural migration scholars created an approach that was diametrically opposed. While neoclassical economics uses the individual as the unit of analysis, structuralism adopts the entire migrant stream. Migrants are no longer like metal shavings drawn to a magnet; instead, the historical-structural approach treats migrants more like columns of empty grocery carts wheeled back and forth between origin and destination under the relentless demands of the world capitalist system (Abu-Lughod 1975; Bach and Schraml 1982; Gibson and Graham 1986). Where the neoclassical economic framework is lacking information about the social structure that shapes and constrains migrant choices, historical-structural approaches on the whole obscure information about the individual as a decision-maker.

Household Models and the New Economics of Migration

By the early 1980s, migration theory had reached an impasse between structuralism and the functionalist theories provided by neoclassical economics (Boyd 1989; Pessar 1982; Wood 1982). Scholars from each camp were engaged in a "dialogue of the deaf" with scholars from the other (Wood 1982). The methods, epistemology, and assumptions of neoclassical economics and structuralism were so different that

meaningful dialogue would have been difficult. What migration scholars needed was a middle ground.

They found this middle ground in the then-novel idea of “household strategies.” They proposed to use the household as an intermediate level of analysis between the individual and macrosocial structure. Both historical-structural and rational choice thinkers could agree that households are groups of people who pool income, thus forming economic units. A household could work collectively to maximize economic returns, something that would please those who were involved in neoclassical economics. But using households would also connect to the literature behind historical-structuralism, notably the theories of Immanuel Wallerstein (2004),[3] that insist that a household’s configuration, and its options for allocating their labor, are the product of political economy.

As a bonus, it would address a feminist critique of neoclassical economics and earlier push-pull theories. As stated earlier, neoclassical models of labor migration treated women as mere appendages to men, but women participate in migration, even when they don’t migrate themselves. Furthermore, nonmigrant women’s unpaid labor in childraising and other domestic tasks was not accounted for in the earlier literature on migration. By focusing on the household, the value of this otherwise uncounted labor could be studied, as could the effect of nonmigrant household members. For these reasons, household strategies became popular, especially in the 1980s and into the 1990s.

Patricia Pessar is well-known for her development of the household strategies approach. Her 1982 publication in the *International Migration Review* explained how the economic choices of households in Juan Pablo, a town in the Cibao region of the

Dominican Republic, were constrained by external forces, in this case the "dependent development patterns typifying many peripheral countries." At the same time, following Wallerstein's concern for political economy and varied sources of household income, household members worked together to maximize returns from migration, wage labor, and noncapitalist (nonwage) production. Households acted in response to the penetration of a new economic system, import substitution, that effectively lowered the market price of agricultural and craft products from Juan Pablo while simultaneously increasing households' need for wage earnings. Additionally, they responded to decreased yields from agricultural land and a scarcity of available arable land.

By, among other things, sponsoring a member's emigration to the United States, Juan Pablo households balanced consumption against the combined product of their waged and unwaged labor.[4] Pessar found that household members will probably migrate if there are more people than can be put to use generating goods and services from the household's land or other "productive resources," at least to the extent that additional goods or services would be useful in meeting the household's subjectively-defined consumption needs. Pessar has commented about her early work (Pessar 1999b), and published several ethnographies of the Dominican Republic and migrant Dominicans.

Economist Oded Stark's equally well-known version of household strategies—"the new economics of migration"— stands in contrast to to the otherwise-structuralist Pessar's (Stark 1991; Stark, Taylor, and Yitzhaki 1986; Stark and Taylor 1991). Wheras Pessar attempted to extend her structuralist theoretical orientation to explain why some from Juan Pablo were more likely to migrate than others, given the same macrosocial constraints, Stark's version answers why, given the same wage differentials between a

community and an destination, some households are more likely to send forth a migrant. In fact, he explains why some households will send forth a migrant even when it is relatively unlikely that the migrant will "make it" in the receiving country or place. In the process, he reveals his own training in neoclassical economics, a training that limits which factors he considers are important for migrant household cost-benefit analyses.

Based on his fieldwork in Michoacán, Mexico, Stark concludes that households send a migrant forth in order to bolster their social position among other households in the community, insure themselves against mishaps, diversify their income sources, and manage their fiscal capital for a net gain. In the first case, bolstering social position relative to other households, Stark notes that households make invidious comparisons with each other, and that the extra money that migration might bring in is worth a lot more to households in the middle of a community's income distribution than to households at the top or bottom. In places where there is little social stratification, few households will feel poor, or deprived, relative to other households. Alternatively, if some households are much richer, perhaps they have sponsored their members' emigration, other households will, indeed, feel "relatively deprived," and may take action to keep up. At the same time, however, the poorest households, feeling that they are less likely to be able to catch the top edge of the income distribution curve, even with migrant remittances, than are households already situated in the middle of the income distribution, will be discouraged from having one of their members emigrate.

In other findings, Stark produces mathematical models that show that even if the chance of earning more through migration than at home is less than .5, households may still produce a migrant in order to insure themselves against crop failure. Orchestrating

the emigration, perhaps through paying for transportation, or the coyote services needed, of a household member is a form of investment and/or insurance; depending on local capital markets, returns in the form of remittances on investing in migration may be greater than other possible uses of the capital. In a final scenario, Stark compares migration to a lottery that a household pays: given diverse enough sources of income in the household, and a high enough payout, it may make sense to play, even if the odds of winning are relatively slim.

While a rigorous examination of sending-household economics, as in Stark, or an ethnography of a sending community, as in Pesar, is beyond the scope of the current work, household models can be used as “sensitizing concepts.” Migrants in Barberton said they sent money to kin in Mexico, and, while they missed their families, agreed that their remittances were more important than their presence.

Migrant Networks, Social Capital, and Transnationalism

Household strategies have proven fruitful for migration studies. One might ask, however, if blood kinship and marriage are the only, or even most important, personal relationships that affect migrants’ decision-making. Predictably, the consensus is “no,” as the following three stories illustrate.

According to John and Leatrice MacDonald (1974), most of the Italian-born population in early twentieth century Middletown, Connecticut could trace directly or indirectly the information that enticed them to move across the ocean, and hence, trace the founding of their ethnic community, to two individuals, a sailor and a circus performer. The sailor, the circus performer, and the vast majority of other migrant Italians in Middletown shared origins in the same village in Southern Italy. And there was

nothing unusual about Middletown: the population of each North American city's Italian enclave was associated with its own Italian village.

In fact, according to the MacDonalds, Italian immigrants were not distributed randomly across North American Little Italies, but rather clustered based on their acquaintance with others from their same Italian villages. A process of "chain migration" had occurred whereby successive waves of migrants found opportunities to migrate to the United States based on their relationships with prior immigrants with whom they were acquainted. These relationships helped them migrate, and were reconstituted in the new land to help them succeed in the new country.

According to Jacqueline Hagan, in 1978, Juan Xoc[5] moved from his rural Guatemalan village to Houston and found work as a custodial worker in a grocery chain. Soon thereafter, he was promoted to supervisor, and he created a job for his brother in law, who came northward, too. Soon, Juan saved enough money to bring his wife to the States, too, and she started working as a domestic. Xoc's wife helped other women from Totonicapan get a job. Between 1978 and 1998, Hagan estimates that 1200 Mayan people from the same area moved to Houston, all connected to some degree to Juan Xoc (Hagan 1998).

Robert Smith (2006b) writes about people from a small town, Ticuani, in Puebla, Mexico. These people have recently gathered money to build the town a new water system. The catch? Most of the people from Ticuani, the Ticuanese, about whom Smith writes, don't actually live in Ticuani; instead, they live in New York City! The New York City Ticuanese raise money for municipal projects, and even hold a annual saint's day celebration during which the youth run from Manhattan to Brooklyn imitating an

overnight pilgrimage, an *antorcha*, for Padre Jesus, the Ticuanese saint figure. However, many of the transplanted Ticuanese return every year to Puebla to run the authentic *antorcha* and worship at the cathedral that holds the actual Padre Jesus icon. Actually, it is they, the *nuyorcuanese*, the transplants, who manage and raise funds for the eleven-day-long Feast of Padre Jesus of Ticuani in Puebla. Even children born of Ticuanese in the United States return, and their parents are proud to see that their children, though brought up in the United States, will be Ticuanese. Hence, the social ties between Ticuani and New York shorten the distance between the two points, and create a circular flow of ideas, goods, and people that makes further outmigration more likely.

It can be seen from these stories that migrants of all sorts participate in social relationships— relationships beyond the family— that span vast distances, even international borders, and these relationships often help individual migrants move across these same distances and borders. Migrants are members of formal groups as well as participants in more or less durable informal relationships based on acquaintance, common identification, and kinship. These contacts and memberships tie individuals into a structure of sociability that sociologists have long compared to a web or the interconnected strands of a fisher's netting work. Sociologists have studied how this structure, or network, conveys advantages, called "social capital," to the individuals it enmeshes. Migration scholars have studied how this webbing transcends and crosses borders, creating a transnational moral community that makes migration easier and more likely (Boyd 1989; Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Choldin 1973; Fawcett 1989; Hagan 1998; MacDonald and MacDonald 1974; Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa, and Spittel 2001).

Studying these linkages has a long history in migration studies and sociology (Gamio 1930; Scott 2000; Thomas and Znaniecki 1918). Nonetheless, studying networks and transnational linkages gained newfound currency towards the end of the 1990s, and has continued to be popular since. There are several reasons for this. As contrasted to the reductionist economic calculus of neoclassical economics, or the permanent, one-way journey of earlier "push-pull" theory (Lee 1966), network theories of migration show how migration is produced out of a sustained and bidirectional connection between two distant places. Secondly, like household strategies, networks and transnationalism provide a means of crossing the canyon between structuralism and economism (Boyd 1989). Thirdly, the interest in migrant networks coincides with a resurgence in the subfield of economic sociology, and, providently, economic sociologists have identified migration as a "strategic research site" where the theories about social capital and networks that have re-energized economic sociology in recent years can be put to practical use (Portes 1995c). Finally, studying "transnationalism," seminally defined by Glick Schiller, Bach, and Blanc-Szanton (1992) as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement," is an apt strategy for the many scholars who are intrigued by the quickening impact of globalization (Adler 2000; Itzigsohn, Cabral, Medina, and Vazquez 1999; Levitt 2001; Portes 1999; Smith 2006a).[6]

Scholars focus on how networks make it easier for people to migrate (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Massey 1999; Massey 1987; Massey 2005; Massey and Espinosa 1997; Palloni et al. 2001; Singer and Massey 1998), how these same networks affect the outcomes of migration in the receiving country (Menjivar 2000; Portes 1995a), how

migrants' choice of destinations are affected by the presence of co-ethnics or people who might be in the same network (Zavodny 1999), and how the social capital in networks may enable a migration stream to become self-perpetuating despite economic downturns or changes in the macrosocial context (Cornelius, Martin, and Hollifield 1994; Massey 1987; Massey and Espinosa 1997; Palloni et al. 2001). Most of these works are based on the assumption that people are embedded in social networks that confer resources—what Coleman (1988) calls "social capital." These resources make it easier for individuals to achieve their ends[7] because social capital is convertible to other sorts of capital (Portes 1995b; Portes 1998); for example, migrants can turn hearsay about jobs across a border, a form of social capital, into wages.

Social scientists use networks either as metaphors, or as analytic units of a well-defined methodological strategy called "network analysis." In the metaphor, social interconnections are likened to the weft and weave of the fisher's reel or the weaver's cloth. In social network analysis, by contrast, algebra and graphs are used to show the distance, measured in shared contacts, among a group of people, or certain qualities of those contacts. These qualities might include, for example, power dynamics, personal like or dislike, density, reciprocity, strength of contact, or centrality of key individuals to the structure of the mass of people as a whole (Carrington, Scott, and Wasserman 2005; Krissman 2005; Scott 2000).

Though inspiring research has been produced in other subfields with formal analytical methods, migration scholars have stuck with the metaphorical sense of "network," arguably to their own peril (Krissman 2005). Granovetter's work on finding a job, and Lee's article on finding an illegal abortionist are often mentioned as early

notable work using social network analysis (Granovetter 1973; Lee 1969); the former famously showed that people who are alike in many ways often have the same, relatively useless information, but that odd people on the periphery of groups ("weak ties") often have interesting and relatively useful information to share. A cursory search for more recent articles using social network analysis reveals writing about interlocking board structures amongst the transnational corporate elite (Carroll 2007), the effect of social network structure on the adoption of a new stock trading practice (Bohman 2006), the recruitment of terrorists (Koschade 2007; Pedahzur and Perliger 2007), the effect of a novel communications tool- electronic mail—on the structure of voluntary organizations (Weare, Loges, and Oztas 2007), and network position and chances of being victimized in the workplace (Lamertz and Aquino 2004). These studies, like hundreds of others, carefully represent the structure of networks, the relative importance of individuals to the whole, and how structure affects the sharing of influence and information among groups.

Generally, social network analysis is good for describing how innovative practices or novel information, not unlike the practice of moving to a faraway city or information about jobs available there, flow among groups of people given structural constraints. Despite all of these research contributions, and recent advances in the methods that can be used for analysis, scholars of migration have been much more likely to use the idea of a "network" in a metaphorical sense than they have to study the formal structure or topography of migrant social contacts. This sometimes has some impact on what fans of the "migrant network" idea actually figure out about migration, as will be detailed in the next section.

Several notable studies about migration networks, do, however, focus on the ways that the resources conveyed by networks are not equally available to all. An important project undertaken by scholars of gender and feminism has been demonstrating how participation in network exchanges is differentiated by gender and class (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999; Menjivar 2000). For example, Menjivar (2000) showed that despite strong ties of kinship, shared regional or national identity, or *compadrazgo,*[8] Salvadoran immigrants to San Francisco were prevented from participating in network exchanges by a restructuring in the United States economy that curtailed demand for the services that new immigrants could provide and by political divisions left over from the Salvadoran civil war. Hagan (1998) illustrated how gendered vocational expectations among Guatemalan immigrants to Houston negatively affected women's connections to social networks compared to men, and in turn, their ability to apply under the amnesty provisions of 1986's "immigration reform" law. These studies that illustrate how networks are often fractured by relationships of power and inequality have been cited by critics of certain formulations of the "migrant network" approach, as detailed later, but also advance the claim, as stated by Boyd (1989), that social networks both transmit and are shaped by macrosocial effects, connecting the individual to the larger context.

Interviewees in Barberton consistently identified Toluca (a way of referring to the state of Mexico) and Michoacan (also a Mexican state) as being the largest sources of Spanish speakers in the town. Emiliano, from a small town in Michoacan, runs one of two Mexican specialty stores in Barberton, and has managed to settle several dozen of his relatives from that town into Barberton. In the case of Toluca, there were two chains of

immigration, one originating from a town in the northern half of the state of Mexico, and one from a southern town in that state. If this is so, perhaps these *Tolucanos* used the social capital that having a set of “more or less durable set of social relationships” (Coleman 1988) confers. Perhaps wage differentials, or the global production relations of the capitalist world-system, have relatively little to do with why there are *Tolucanos* in Barberton. Instead, they’ve moved where the first migrants from Toluca moved.

The Continuing Debate About the Causes of Migration

The most prolific and often-cited advocate of social networks in the study of migration is Douglas Massey. He may owe some of this popularity to his work with Jorge Durand on the Mexican Migration Project, a long-term data gathering project originally focused on the western Mexican state of Jalisco which has created a publicly available data set a number of other researchers have used. Instead of adopting neoclassical economics or macrostructural analysis, or merely using family and network analysis, Massey produced a theoretical synthesis that took advantage of all these ways of looking at migration, but which nonetheless emphasized the importance of social networks. Massey’s mix has proved to be a recipe with enduring popularity, gaining the central ground of the discipline.

In gaining the central ground, however, Massey’s work has become a likely target for criticism. As a coda to the foregoing discussion on migration theory, an examination of the drubbing given by one author to Massey’s ideas will show that migration theory continues to evolve based on long-brewing tensions that originally underlay the split between microstructural economism and macrostructural power and conflict theory.

These tensions persist despite serious efforts to resolve them through the examination of intermediate levels of analysis, such as networks or households.

In *Return to Aztlán* (1987), Massey illuminates how emigration to the US from the state of Jalisco was started and has been sustained since. Migration from the rural areas was a product of harsh industrialization and land rationalization policies of the Porfiriato (1876-1911) that coincided with the heady industrial expansion in the United States. The result of this coincidence was that many of the rural Jaliscans[9] who were impoverished by Porfirian policies left to work across the border. In the two urbanized areas that Massey examined, emigration to the US followed industrial modernization in the years after the Second World War, where machines and process improvements increasingly displaced human workers in manufacturing. The stream of migrants that started from the rural places, and expanded to displaced workers from industrial areas, has continued in fits and starts since the turn of the century, a product of macrohistorical transformations in both the sending and receiving countries.

Return to Aztlán (Massey 1987) and several subsequent works (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Massey 1999; Massey 2005; Massey and Espinosa 1997) assert that while these historical changes in production relations may start migration, it is the formation and institutionalization of migrant networks that explains the perpetuation of migration. Massey calls this "the social organization of migration." Once the first people have emigrated, further migration becomes more possible because of these ties of "friendship, kinship, and *paisanaje*"[10] within the network, and households can rely on emigration as a survival strategy. In addition, as communities become more saturated with people who have migrated in the past, it becomes more likely that households will, in fact, use this

strategy. Eventually, the continuance of migration is furthered by symbiotic processes of settlement and return migration; those who settle in the US anchor networks that continue to make migration more possible, while those that return spread the knowledge about and familiarity with transborder migration more likely. This progression of events is what Massey calls "the principles of international migration."

In making this argument, Massey privileges "push" over "pull," the choice of individuals over the product of macrostructural force, and embeddedness over anomic rational maximization. Out of the broad menu offered by the whole of migration theory, Massey mixes and matches a select number of dishes into his mix. His dining choices are open to being critiqued, as Fred Krissman has done in recent work (Krissman 2002; Krissman 2005).

Krissman takes up several points in opposition to Massey. Krissman's overall concern is that Massey doesn't show how US employers, smugglers, and their agents affect the migration process. He claims that Massey's metaphorical 'network' excludes these and other important actors, and furthermore, that it fails to account for the sometimes nonreciprocal and coercive nature of important migrant relationships. He characterizes Massey's conception of the macrostructural conditions that start migration as a "black box," whose workings are too far abstracted from actual historical events and people, and challenges Massey's assertion that a migrant network can perpetuate migration even if these original conditions change. Finally, and bitterly, Krissman claims that Massey's model provides a rationale for immigration policies that further exploit migrants, whom he characterizes as victims of "global socioeconomic integration."

For Krissman, it is US employers who are responsible for immigration, and Massey's unwillingness to place labor demand at the center of the picture is an attempt to exculpate abusive employers and State practices. He agrees that social networks influence migration, but insists that an accurate analysis of these networks using formal methods would yield significantly different results than Massey's. To wit, in Krissman's account, industrial and agricultural bosses use pioneering migrants to anchor social networks of recruitment. By recruiting compatriots and kin to work irregularly, these straw bosses ensure a steady stream of compliant and docile workers. At the same time, using a straw boss, the employers can distance themselves from knowledge of where their employees come from and how they are treated, something that may help them avoid legal sanctions.

Krissman's critique of Massey is a single example that shows how the same tensions that have shaped the theoretical debate about the causes of migration for the past forty years continue to fuel the debate today. These debates are summarized in Table 1, next page.

At first, when migration theorists adopted "household models" as a compromise between macroeconomics and macrostructuralism, Bach and Schraml (1982) warned that the household unit was liable to be reduced either to the sum of macrostructural forces or else a collective version of economism's rational, benefit-maximizing individual. This is to say that without care, this meso-level unit of analysis would no longer truly exist at some midpoint between structure and individual agency, and would hence lose all utility as a bridge between structural analysis and economism. If this is true for households, it's also true of social networks.

Table 1.
Continuing Controversies in Migration Theory

Fundamental question	Position	Contrary Position
Where does the impulse for migration start?	“Push” from the sending country	“Pull” from the receiving country
What level of analysis is most important?	Individual choice	macrostructural forces
What is the best model for explaining human practice?	anomic rational maximation	embeddedness in social structure and normative order/value introjection
Whose action has the most influence on migration?	Individual migrants and their social contacts in the sending country.	Employers and the State in receiving countries AND/OR similar actors in the reproduction of the international division of labor.
Are there “principles” or “laws” of migration that can be applied universally across time?	No. Migration streams are unique and embedded in historical structure.	Yes. The same process puts migration underway, no matter where or in what epoch.

I would allege that Massey’s choices fail to show how migrant social networks both shape and transmit macrosocial forces. Instead, his migrant networks and family ties

are largely reducible back to economism and theories of rational action. This is partly what Krissman implies when he claims that the 'migrant network model' is "both ahistoric and post-factum." After the first emigrants leave, and establish contacts in the receiving society, Massey suggests that the "kinship, friendship, and *paisanaje"* between migrants will be enough to sustain migration, even if the economic conditions that started migration change. Krissman and I, on the other hand, would question whether emigration really would continue even after a radical restructuring of the international division of labor, or even the small changes that Cecilia Menjivar chronicled in *Fragmented Ties.*

The foregoing critique of Massey illustrates many of the differences that motivate debate in migration theory, and that these differences persist despite attempts at bridging them through the use of meso-level units of analysis. Despite many years of research, there are many ways in which current theoretical interpretations of migration can still be challenged or clarified. To that end, I now turn again to the local context of Illinois, and the subject of my thesis project.

Bringing the World Home: Latin@s in the Midwest

The neoclassical model provides a theoretical backing to the most intuitive explanation for labor migration, namely migrants' desire to make more money. Structural models arose to make up for the incompleteness of economism by illuminating the effects of structure and history on migrant streams. serve to explain why migrants moved in the past two decades to Barberton, as opposed to moving in other times to other places. Other models attempt to bridge a gap between structuralism and the anomic personal agency of economism. These theories are useful sensitizing concepts for examining how Latinos have settled in Barberton.

Despite the efforts in bridging the chasm between individual agency and structural determination, the same tensions that motivated criticism of the neoclassical economic model forty years ago continue to be at the center of the debate in migration theory today. A discussion of how Latinos moved to Barberton must balance the rational agency of individual Midwestern pioneers with the constraints of the historical moment and the power of powerful actors like the state and the packinghouse.

In my research, I have found answers to these outstanding questions. I have found that migrants' experiences of social networks conform better to Fred Krissman's assertions about the importance of labor recruitment than Douglas Massey's model of egalitarian networks of kinship, friendship and *paisanaje.* For another question, my research explores the interaction of labor demand, as in Piore (1979), and powerful State repression of migrants. The role of personal agency, power, social networks and capital, and the bifurcated structure of the US economy inform the analysis that appears in Chapter IV. The relationship between *international* labor migration theory and Latinos in Barberton is based on the erroneous assumption that Latinos in the US have recently crossed an international border, but the body of theory still frames the analysis presented here.

As previously stated, Massey claims that migration will continue because of migrants' social contacts with kinsmen, family, and coethnics, even if the macrostructural conditions change. Krissman, on the other hand, asserts that relationships of power, contacts with State actors, and relations with recruiting employers will have strong effects that control what migration happens where. Is there something about the nature of migrant networks that will cause a continued stream of migrants to Barberton even after

the QSI raid? If many migrants have been arrested and deported, and the plant changes its practices, will Latinos still move to Barberton? Is the plant more responsible for the demographic change than friends and kin?

CHAPTER III

THE STORIES OF FIFTEEN MIDWESTERN LATINO PIONEERS

More than thirty people were interviewed for the current work. Of these, twenty-four were foreign-born or Puerto Rican Spanish speakers, the target population for this study. In this chapter, I have selected the stories of twenty-one Midwestern Latino pioneers as a basis for the discussion that can be found in the final chapter. The stories are grouped by several themes: the pull of the packinghouse, the importance of chain migration, the fulfillment of family obligations, the broadening economic possibilities of a new community.

While names have been changed, these are true stories of real people, not reconstructions or composites of several individuals' stories. Each of these stories contains important information about how Barberton acquired a Latino community. A detailed analysis of these themes and others appears in the next chapter.

The Pull of The Packinghouse

When those who live in Barberton are asked why Latinos have come to Barberton, most people identify the packinghouse as the cause. While individuals look for work in the packinghouse to get the most money for their work, and migrate to Barberton to do so, the firm that runs the packinghouse, Cargill, acts to get the greatest returns on wages paid to workers. Rational economic agency is the domain of both the

individual and the fictive corporate person. Like many other facilities in the meatpacking industry, the Barberton plant has systematized its recruitment of Latinos. The lengths to which the packinghouse has gone in order to recruit members of this group are best illustrated by the stories of Adela, Rudolfo, and Soledad.

Adela

Adela is bilingual, female, and employed by the packinghouse in Barberton. These are the few facts available about her. Despite the fact she was not interviewed in any length for the current project, her experience must be included in any discussion of how Barberton has attracted so many Latinos. Born in Panama, she was one of four Spanish-speakers that were employed at the plant as of 1993.[11] The corporate owners of the packing plant have forbidden managerial employers like Adela from speaking to outsiders. The company, Cargill, appears nervous about how the public perceives their employment practices. After a phone call in which she nervously agreed to meet "only if you meet me in the parking lot outside the plant at midnight tomorrow," Adela backed out.

After more than fifteen years with Cargill, Adela has risen to recruiter, trainer, and supervisor. When there are new hires, especially Spanish-speakers, it is Adela who finds them a place on the line. She travels often for the company, giving recruitment talks, accepting applications, and making contacts with unemployment offices. She's repeatedly been to Texas, Arizona, California, Miami, and Puerto Rico. Adela didn't get to explain her travel directly to me, but hers is a story that must be mentioned. Every one of the following people has made her acquaintance at one time or another. She's an

important person in a small town, the personification of one of the forces that has transformed the cultural and linguistic landscape of this rural place.

Rudolfo

At noon on a Monday, the smell of fried food, rice, and beans has overwhelmed the enclosure of the house, seeping out onto the street to be discovered by passersby. In the kitchen, women walk about frenetically, stirring a pot here, lowering the temperature there. In the living room, seated, is a man of about fifty years, his left arm in a sling, named Rudolfo.

"*En antes*," he can be heard to say, "*se acababan con marranos, pero ahora se acaban con seres humanos*." Used to be that they'd kill pigs, but now they're finishing off the humans, too. When he started to work nine years, the standard was to process 7750 pigs in an eight-hour shift, but now, with fewer people employed the plant puts out 9700 in the same eight-hour shift. While some attribute these increases in output to efficiency and ergonomic improvements, Rudolfo would say it's the result of pure human sacrifice.

Rudolfo first heard of the packinghouse that has employed him when he was living in El Paso, Texas. This was in 1999, and there was an Excel employment ad on a Spanish-language radio station. He applied for the position and the company gave him a loan for his travel expenses to Barberton. The company helped him find a place to live.

Rudolfo has worked for the packinghouse ever since he moved, with the exception of the last eight months. For these past eight months, he remains on the packinghouse payroll, but he injured his shoulder severely in a fall at his worksite, so he no longer goes to work. He was sitting at the table with his arm in a sling because he had just undergone surgery to have pins put in his shoulder. According to him, the company

kept him working after he was injured. Its doctor was very slow to admit that he should have the surgery that was ultimately necessary. He has no particular prospect of ever returning to his job now. Intermittently as we spoke, he yelled out answers to an employment application for busdriver that his English-speaking daughter read.

If Rudolfo, in his mid-fifties, seems a bit used-up, it should be no surprise. He was born to a poor farmer in Canatlan, Durango. He quit school after the primary grades. Eventually, he found the best job available to someone with his limited education: the Mexican Army. He moved around a bit and made some good money. But eventually, his commitment with the army ended.

A soldier that Rudolfo met when Rudolfo was serving in the Mexican Army told Rudolfo about his experience emigrating to California and explained the possibilities across the border. So when Rudolfo was 30, he crossed the border into CA. First, he picked strawberries. He did well and solicited a letter of sponsorship from an employer. He succeeded this way in getting his permanent residency and later his citizenship. Later, he sent for his wife. Several of his children, like the one translating the employment application, were born in Texas or California. The grandchildren live in the house with Rudolfo.

Soledad

Soledad was born in 1972 in San Luis, Rio Colorado, Sonora. Tatica Guzman, whose story appears later in this chapter, is from the same town, but they didn't meet until they arrived here. Soledad's lack of legal papers, have given her life a very different character from that of her *paisana* Tatica.

Soledad's mother left shortly after Soledad was born in order to look for work in California. She had to leave because she had no way to give her children any food. The mother moved to Gonzalez, California. After a few years, Soledad's mother was able to bring the older siblings to CA *por mojado*, and finally sent for Soledad in 1986. Soledad doesn't know how her mother found out where in CA to go, but she says that there have always been people in Sonora who have crossed the border.

Soledad was 14 when she arrived in the US the first time. She crammed into a studio apartment that already held five of her siblings, her mother, and several others. She spent two years in US schools. At sixteen, she returned to Sonora. In 1990, at eighteen, without having finished school, she again joined her mother in Gonzalez. Soledad started to work in the fields.

She mentions lettuce, tomatoes, chili peppers, cauliflower, and grapes as examples of items she would harvest. One harvest would end just in time to work the next one. Sometimes the next harvest was in another state, or sometimes it was right in Salinas and Gonzalez, CA. Sometimes, the same labor recruiting agency took her from Yuma, AZ all the way back to CA to pick something else. She lived the usual lifestyle for migrant agricultural workers in the West, the *corrida*. It was hard, backbreaking work, with very little redeeming chance of advancement. "If you don't study [stay in school], you don't get very far in life," she says.

Soledad came to Barberton in 2000 because she wanted something more permanent and reliable than her earlier work. She had been looking for such a position, but they all wanted people who could read and write in English or do basic math, academic skills she never acquired. She saw a flyer from Cargill when she visited a

temporary labor company in Salinas. At the time, she had been working for a company putting pasta— spaghetti— in a box for about a month, the most recent in a long run of short-term jobs. She can no longer remember the name of the agency, though she knows it wasn't Manpower or Labor Day, other agencies that had occasionally employed her. From the flyer, she found Adela's number, and called Adela. Adela told her that the company would loan her money for airfare, and that Soledad should call once she had put her affairs in order. It took about two months for Soledad to be ready. She got the loan, left the kids with her mother in Gonzales, and moved to Barberton. She sent for the kids soon thereafter.

She opines that Mexicans are just used to this sort of labor. She contrasts this with the Puerto Ricans, who are used to industry, she says, but not hard work. "I think they work in pharmaceuticals or something like that." "We're ready to work hard. This is a job for those who want to work, who know what work is. For us [Mexicans], hurting is just part of the job," (*es parte del trabajo que lastima*). For Soledad, Cargill is a step up, as is Barberton. Here, she owns a house, albeit not in her real name, and has steady, year-round employment with modest benefits. She contrasts this with her mother, who has absolutely nothing in her old age, and is declining slowly in a decrepit studio in Gonzalez.

The raid and the checking of social security cards have changed the makeup of the plant, according to Soledad. Soledad remembers her shift as having been 80% Mexican when she started; now it's about 20%.[21] They are checking documents more frequently, and firing more people for incomplete or false documents. She contrasts the current rate

of firings for improper work authorization documents—10-15 a month—to how it used to be—10-15 persons yearly.

Soledad says she legalized her status in about 1990, and achieved citizenship in 1994. When the raid took place, her main concern was whether the plant would continue to operate: she has to work to pay for the house and her car and so forth. But from my perspective as an interviewer, there are a number of things that make me doubt her claim to citizenship. The house is not in her name, for instance, and she doesn't have banking accounts in her name, either. Others identify her as not having documents. Some people call her by a different name. While she still has her job— she's on disability leave from the plant while she's pregnant with her sixth child— her existence seems a lot harder and more precarious than those with a good education or identity papers.

William

William, a monolingual speaker of Spanish, was born in Cleveland, OH, and lived there until he was five. He moved with his mother back to Corozal, Puerto Rico. He dropped out of eleventh grade to drive trucks. When William lived in Corozal, he worked as a contracted, self-employed truck driver, sometimes from six in the morning all the way to midnight. He earned about 600 dollars a week.

About a year ago, at the local equivalent to a city hall, there was an announcement that someone from Cargill would be arriving to talk about careers. The woman, Adela, said a lot of things that William characterized as lies. True, the work is just about as she said, and the pay is just about as she said, but she seemed to indicate that anyone could own a huge house and live very nicely in Barberton, among other things. First, his wife

went to Barberton, and he followed soon after with the kids. The wife was expecting a mansion, but her hopes did not match any reality.

Despite not being everything Adela represented it as, he likes Barberton because it's quiet and there's not a lot of crime. For instance, he has often seen someone leave the keys in the ignition of a parked car while doing an errand; no one steals the unlocked car that is left this way. And while he makes about the same amount of money as he did before, the hours he works are much shorter.

He says that he personally would help friends of his migrate to get jobs in Barberton. When he came here, he was "*en nada*." Now he's "*en casa*."[22] He has a house here, so he could put them up until they could find a place of their own. But he emphasizes the difference between what the company promised his wife and what it delivered, and just how hard the work is.

Chain Migration

Both the packinghouse and individual Midwestern Latino pioneers use the pioneers' networks of social contacts to pursue their aims. Migrants to Barberton have established links between Barberton and the rest of the world. These networks are used by friends, family, and home-town acquaintances to find work and housing from a distance. Meanwhile, the packinghouse gives substantial cash rewards to employees who refer new workers. In 1997, in anticipation of a proposed immigration reform bill that would have included a greatly expanded "guest worker" program for Mexican nationals, managers reportedly asked employees for the names of relatives and friends residing in Mexico. By the time the legislation ultimately failed to pass, the company had collected

more than two hundred names of guest workers it would have recruited had the guest worker program expansion passed.

Celino

Celino works for the union as the head steward. He was one of the first Latinos to get a job in the Barberton plant. Before he arrived, in 1993, there were four Spanish-speakers in the plant: two Panamanians (Adela being one of these) and two Mexicans. Celino was born in San Antonio, Temascalcingo, Mexico, Mexico in 1967.[12] His mother was a homemaker and his father ran a butcher shop. He says he's always known people who had lived in the United States. When he was a child, a number of his cousins and his acquaintances had already traveled across the border. He says that fifteen of his cousins had moved to Chicago before he was fully grown.

Celino says he mostly left to "pick his own route." He had no intention of staying around to work for the old man in the butcher shop. Starting from the moment he was old enough, he was in contact with second cousins who had traveled all over the US. He was two months short of graduating from the *prepa* when he left home at age 20 in 1988. He crossed the border with a second cousin and continued to the central valley of California— Selma— to work in construction. He helped remodel houses for a company in Selma for six months. Then, another second cousin who lived in the Quad Cities area of Illinois— East Moline— told Celino and the cousin with whom Celino crossed the border to come to Moline to look for more permanent work. Celino got a job washing dishes at a restaurant, stayed for four years, and was promoted to head chef just in time for the restaurant to close.

In 1993, Celino went to work for the International Beef Processors plant[13] in Joslin, IL, near where he had been working, but only lasted about four days. He claims that they fired him when he complained of mistreatment, a claim he can make with pride as one who is now a union representative. Subsequently, he found out about another plant, Excel— now Cargill— that was hiring in Barberton. The wages were said to be good, and the work not quite as hard. He moved to Barberton and married someone who was born there. Over the period of fifteen years, he was slowly promoted up to his current position as the head union steward.

In addition to being head union steward at the plant, Celino is a leader and respected friend of the many people from Toluca in town.[14] Many of them are people he mentored, or his family members. Currently, six of his second cousins are working in the plant. His early arrival in Barberton may be one of the reasons that when asked where Mexicans in Barberton are from respondents always start with Toluca before enumerating the other places, like Michoacan, from which they hail.

Isidrio

Isidrio came to Barberton in 1997. Because there were not as many Latinos then as there are now, there were few services for them. “One had to accustom oneself to a different way of life,” Isidrio said. “There wasn't even a tortilla to eat here in Barberton.” That was eleven years ago. He now has three kids, all born in the county hospital. His wife is pregnant with a fourth child that Isidrio wants to be their last.

Isidrio’s fastidiously-groomed sideburns and quiet, unassuming demeanor do not belie the messy and dangerous nature of his daily labor. Isidrio’s job at the pork processor is to slit the pigs' throats with a massive hydraulic scissors. This step occurs in the

matanza, or kill floor, after the pig has been killed, soaked in water, partially skinned and hung up on the line by its feet, but before the head is severed and put on its own line, the viscera removed, and before all of the steps that take place in the cold or cut floor.

Isidrio likes his job. Previously, he'd worked in a clothing factory in CA and a candy factory in Chicago. He did similar work to what he does now in a meat packer in Perry, IA immediately before he moved to Barberton. The work at this plant is harder than some other work he's done, but the pay relative to the local cost of living is easily double what he has earned elsewhere.

For each position, he has needed documents. The quality of the documents he's needed has varied from entirely fake to real-but-not-his. In Chicago and California, for example, he just had to show something—anything, really— that looked like a social security card and driver’s license. But the people in Iowa and Illinois demanded much more realistic documents. For example, both packinghouses wanted social security numbers that checked out against databases of valid numbers. He waited a full month in Iowa to be able to get these documents and start work.

Much of Isidrio's extended family lives in the United States, even those who, like him, were born in La Barca, Jalisco. Significantly, many of his mother's siblings live in Chicago and California, having been born in the United States when their father, Isidrio' grandfather, was a *bracero*. Additionally, many of his father's aunts, younger sisters of Isidrio' father's mother, moved to California in the 1970s. One of these great aunts moved to LA in 1970; she helped the rest of her sisters to move to LA, where they all eventually fixed their papers.

Hence, when Isidrio was growing up in La Barca, he often heard about emigrants to the US. Meanwhile, his father worked a number of different jobs, notably as a taxicab driver and lineman for the national electric corporation (CFE).[17] When Isidrio turned seventeen, he contacted his great aunt in CA who helped him find a *coyote* and negotiate the border. After two years, he returned to Mexico, but when he again came to the US two years later, and in every move thereafter within the US, his aunts and uncles have been indispensably helpful. "Without my *tíos*, I would not have survived," acknowledges Isidrio.

He has crossed the border twice: once at seventeen and once when he was twenty. "One time, the first time, I was cold up in wildlands along the border. It was raining; I was soaked, and miserable. But the Border Patrol never grabbed me, thank God." The second time, in 1995, instead of sneaking across the border, the *coyote* arranged to have him use the green card of someone who looked similar. Isidrio just showed the card to the border inspector, and he was in without problems.

The second time he crossed, he ended up working in the candy factory in Chicago while living with an uncle. A friend of this uncle's spouse was working in Perry. Isidrio heard from this family friend that the wages were higher in Perry than in the candy factory, and the cost of living was lower than in Chicago. He moved to Perry. Soon, however, another packinghouse worker at the Perry plant told Isidrio about an even better opportunity at Cargill in Barberton.

Once Isidrio moved to Barberton, he saw that the town held many opportunities for him and his family. He communicated with his two younger brothers, who were still living in La Barca, and his one older brother, who was living in California. After four

months, his younger brother came and found work at the plant. After ten months, the brother from California moved. Finally, after fourteen months, the youngest brother arrived. All the brothers still work at the packinghouse; one, the youngest, met his wife in Barberton.

"What happens is that the community gets bigger based on who people know," he opines. Since his arrival, Isidrio has managed to bring his three brothers to live in town, and they are the majority of his siblings. Only his sister stayed behind in La Barca, Jalisco—now a suburb of Guadalajara— with his parents.

Because most of their family members live here, Isidrio and his wife don't really think about going back to Jalisco. After all, they have three kids, soon to be four, all born here. Barberton is a quiet place to be together with family and earn a living. When asked if he would return to bury his parents, he gave an equivocal "maybe," given the expenses involved. In a year, Isidrio will have spent more years in the United States than in Mexico.

Emiliano

Emiliano came from San Jesús Coapexco, Mexico, Mexico. His parents were small landowners in a region that has long produced cut flowers for florists. Emiliano attended high school, and even managed to attend university for a while. But Emiliano left Mexico in 1995 during an economic crisis in Mexico that caused a heavy downturn in the market for cut flowers. In October 1995, he flew to Tiajuana with two of his second cousins. Each paid $1300 to *coyotes* to have himself smuggled across the border at Tecate.

Everything that Emiliano did when he first came to the US was done through his cousins. These are not necessarily just the children his mother's and father's siblings, but also his father's cousins, who are the offspring of Emiliano's father's aunts and uncles. Actually, Emiliano says he prefers working with his second cousins over his closer relatives. One of thee cousins, Noe, was living in Vista, CA when Emiliano crossed the border at Tecate. Emiliano spent a month cutting lawns with Noe in order to earn his keep. Another cousin, Moises, knew where they could get a job in a Tyson meatpacking plant in Iowa— IBP. It was the middle of winter, and a bunch of the relatives got into an old pickup truck headed for the midwest. Only a couple of people could sit in the front cab. The rest sat in the bed of the pickup, which was open to the cold winter air. The old Ford pickup could only travel at about 45 miles per hour, which it did all the way from Vista to Columbus Junction, Iowa, 1900 miles.

They arrived early in the morning. They waited for Emiliano's cousin Leicho to wake up and receive them. Eight cousins crammed into a one-bedroom apartment. Emiliano stayed there, supported by his relatives, for about four months. As far as Emiliano can remember, there was a large enough Mexican population in Columbus Junction that he hardly had to interact with white English-speakers at all. He remembers that the other non-English speakers who came to work at the plant learned Spanish instead of English, since this was the language used in the town. Just about everyone there was born elsewhere, as far as he remembers it, though official statistics paint a much different picture.

He couldn't get a job because he didn't have documents. The solution to this problem came when he met a Puerto Rican who was working in the plant. The Puerto

Rican had moved from New Jersey to Iowa to work at IBP. The *boricua* told Emiliano and others about a popular place in New Jersey where other Puerto Ricans sold their US-identity documents. So Emiliano and one of his kinfolk drove the better part of one day to get documents off of the *boricua* on the street corner, and all day the next to return. The documents cost them $300 per person. Emiliano was careful to buy the documents of someone with a similar face, though the seller was a full eight inches shorter than Emiliano. “Thank goodness licenses have headshots,” he chortles, “not full-body shots.”

Emiliano got a job doing cleaning chores at the plant in Columbus Junction. This didn't pay as well as it might have. A friend of Emiliano's second cousin Jaime had been introduced to Barberton by a friend, Gregorio. Jaime and Gregorio met working at the plant in Columbus Junction. Gregorio had married a woman from Barberton. Gregorio passed Emiliano an application for Cargill through Jaime when Jaime came to visit Barberton. Emiliano filled out the application and put it in the mail. When Cargill called him for orientation, he moved to Barberton. It was 1996.

Emiliano worked for a while at the packinghouse. He met his wife, Vickie, when he took an ESL class that she was teaching. Vickie was raised in Barberton; this was not her first marriage. While Vickie’s family gave her grief for marrying a Mexican, the US government gave Emiliano citizenship for marrying Vickie. He calls it a miracle. He says he had to leave Cargill, as there really was no way to account for his earlier (fake) name, get the taxes to be paid in his real name, and get a job under his real name as a newly legitimized citizen.

At about that same time in 1997, the owners of the one bar, restaurant, and Mexican store in town, El Flamingo and Su Casa, were interested in selling. There had

been a shooting in El Flamingo, someone burned down the bar, there was a cross burning, and threats were made against Juan Hidalgo, who owned the Flamingo and Su Casa. It was, literally, a fire sale. First, Vickie and Emiliano set up some of Emiliano's relatives to run the place. When these relatives were arrested for embezzling money transfers— that is, taking money from customers to send to Mexico, but not actually transmitting it— Emiliano and Vickie paid the relatives' legal costs and ended up with the store in return. A few years ago, they had to close the restaurant because of competition and because it was too labor intensive. Emiliano still runs the store, one of two "Mexican" stores in town.

Emiliano has managed to bring two of his brothers across the border, paying their costs. Other cousins— eleven of them— have settled in Barberton at one time or another with Emiliano's advice and help. Most recently, Emiliano has successfully solicited his father's residency. He jokingly attributes this success to having married a *güera*, native English speaker. Since his mother is dead, much of his surviving immediate family live in Barberton.

Marco

For some years now, Marco's parents, agricultural wage workers in Charro, Michoacan, have been employed on Ulises' farm. Ulises has lived intermittently in the United States for almost forty years. Marco himself had been back and forth between Michoacán and Oceano, CA since 1984, when he was fourteen. He married a woman, who stayed in Michoacán, when he was sixteen. Every year, he returned to California to work a harvest or two, sending money back to his wife to support her and their children. When the harvest was over, he would travel to Michoacán and work alongside his parents

in the fields of the often-absent landowner, Ulises. At first, he had to cross the border illegally, but by 1987, he won legal permanent residency through the amnesty provisions of the 1986 immigration reform bill.

In the fall of 1999, Marco had returned to Charro as part of his usual circular pattern of coming and going. He was considering where to go next. He had six children that needed food, school supplies, and uniforms. He'd done well enough over the fifteen years that he had maintained his family in Michoacán through seasonal work in California. Nonetheless, he dreamed of a time when he would be able to reunite permanently under one roof with his wife and children. He would need, he thought, a job that was more stable and provided a more predictable level of income than fieldwork.

In December, when he stopped into an Agencia Morelia bus station, he saw a poster for a packinghouse in Nebraska. The packinghouse advertised openings in the slaughter of beef cattle and pigs. It advised interested individuals that the packinghouse company would loan qualified candidates the money to relocate in Nebraska. Marco discussed this possibility with the owner of the land he and his parents worked, Ulises. Ulises was in Charro at that time, having returned temporarily from his work in California. He planned next to visit his gravely ill son, a packinghouse worker who lived in Barberton. Ulises recommended that instead of going to an unknown town where he would be a stranger, Marco travel with him to Barberton. "You'll have a job within a couple of weeks if you travel with me," Marco remembers Ulises saying.

In 2000, the pair arrived in Barberton. The plant speedily responded to Marco' employment application. He has been working there ever since. He says it was hard work at first because it involved standing in place for a long time and repeatedly performing

the same action with his hands. Over time, he accustomed himself to it. More importantly, he was able to save the money needed to bring his wife and kids to Barberton.

It ended up costing almost $11,000 to bring his wife and brood of six to Barberton. First, he had to hire lawyers, fill out paperwork, and pay fees for short-term visas for the seven. The children were given visas for students, and the wife got a tourist visa. Because he had to travel to Mexico to get them, this first step cost almost $5,000, including plane fare. Then, as the visas only lasted a year, he had to shell out even more cash to lawyers and the government authorities in order to adjust their status from temporary nonimmigrants to legal permanent residents. Despite the cost, he believes that he will have saved money in the long term, since maintaining two households was even more expensive. Of course, Marco notes that neither the value of family unity nor that of vastly improved educational opportunities for the children can be quantified.

Marco believes he will stay in the plant for the indefinite future. He has few other options. Since he dropped out of primary school in fifth grade to help with farmwork, he barely knows how to read and write Spanish. He's found it difficult to access ESL classes because he works, but also because he's not very literate. Jobs in restaurants, trucking, and stores, among others that he mentions, all require one to speak English or be able to write. At any rate, some of these jobs would not pay as well as the plant. Marco is satisfied with his situation.

Santiago, Manuel, and Mercedes

I met Santiago at a party at the ranch owned by Tatica Gúzman's ranch. Perhaps because Santiago was drunk, he invited me to come to his house. Perhaps because he's

been drunk most times I've visited his house, I've never actually gotten to talk to him at length. Instead, I've talked to his family, especially his mother, Mercedes, and his cousin, Freddy, after Santiago has gone off to his room to pass out, or is no longer making much sense. But I understand that Santiago is the reason Freddy and Mercedes are here.

Santiago moved to the United States when he was 16. A number of years later, he arrived in Barberton before there were many Latinos. He met the native-born mother of his two children before he knew how to speak even the limited English he knows now; they got together, Santiago says, for the novelty and thrill. Now she is the owner of one of the two liquor stores in town. Perhaps because of communication issues or cultural differences, the two have not married, but continue to raise the kids together while living separately. Like many of the other people in this study, Santiago worked at another packinghouse before he moved here. He worked in California when he first arrived in the US from Mexico in the early 1990s. He's also managed to regularize his immigration status. Unlike most, he has a better-paying job at a plastics manufacturer in another small town, where after being brought on as a strikebreaker several years ago, he is the only Spanish-speaker.

At the Gúzman's party, Santiago had gestured to a tall tree in the distance with no leaves and said that he lived in a trailer next to it. The next Saturday, I went to visit him in his home.

I yelled "*buenas tardes*" at the folks on the porch and in the doorway. They were an old woman and a young girl, the latter in a wheelchair. The woman ducked back inside. I walked up and spoke to the girl, who didn't respond, and was, for what it's worth, no longer in the wheelchair, but merely walked in and yelled "Mama, there's someone

here looking for someone." The woman said "oh, oh, you're here for Santiago, right?" I said yes.

She later told me she thought I was the *migra*. Santiago appeared from within the trailer, however, and straightened things out. "He's making a documentary about the Latino community." Santiago introduced the woman as his mother, and the old man, half-naked on the couch, as his father. They were just finishing eating a meal prepared by the woman, whose name was Mercedes.

It was a small, dirty abode. The linoleum had come up off the floor leaving bare plywood. There were flies. Passing through the front door into the front room, which was evenly divided between a living-room-like area on my right and a kitchen on my left, I walked the short distance through the kitchen to the opposite side of the single-wide trailer. I sat down at a round table with Santiago and a young man who introduced himself as Manuel.

I had reached Santiago at the end of a long day of hard drinking. He told me he started downing cans of cheap beer five hours previously. Manuel was in better shape to talk than his cousin Santiago. I explained myself to him. Meanwhile, Santiago finished his beer, excused himself, and did not reappear for the rest of my stay in the trailer. Manuel seemed a bit nervous, but I interviewed him anyway.

Manuel was born in 1975 in D.F. His mother was a homemaker, while his father had a job as a janitor with the municipal government. He worked his way through school, finally finishing the Mexican equivalent of a GED when he was 26. He started at age 16 laboring at different office tasks including data entry, mail clerk work, and couriering. Once he finished the GED, he moved to the border with the United States in Ciudad

Juarez to work in a plant that maintained mailing address records for a US catalog company. The job was attractive because the company would pay his salary to go to technical school.

But in Juarez, one of his co-workers told him about jobs in Weaverville, NC, picking tomatoes. He says he crossed into the US on a visa that was designed, pre-9/11, to allow people who lived along the border to pass back and forth on business within the region. His friend helped him move to Weaverville and find housing, but when Manuel arrived in Weaverville, tomatoes were out of season. Not finding a job, he was forced to shoplift food. After only a month and a half, he was out of money, didn't speak the local language, didn't know anyone, and was completely lost. That's when he called his Aunt Mercedes, who was by then living in Barberton. If he could find his way to Barberton, Mercedes and Santiago would take care of him.

He arrived in Barberton in July of 2002. His cousin Santiago helped him buy fake documents. He secured a job working at the plant. In 2005, he married, and subsequently bought a house. Everything was going fine until the late summer of 2006 when Cargill fired him for not having proper documentation of his right to work. According to Manuel, Cargill only started to check documents after the QSI raid. He comments that the agents involved in the QSI raid did not bother anyone who was an employee of Cargill. Manuel, like several other interviewees, speculates that Cargill and the immigration authorities have worked out a deal: no massive migration raid if Cargill does a more thorough job checking employment eligibility. Manuel says they take a ten percent random sample on a regular basis; the company fires anyone whom it originally hired on the basis of fake documents.

He was working the night of the raid. When he was leaving after his shift, the security guard had been replaced by migration authorities. They checked his Cargill ID before he was let go. There was a line of cars— possibly the next shift, possibly more agents— that stretched from the gates all the way back to the highway. Later, there were rumors of another raid, and some people without legal status did not show up for work. These absent workers were fired. Manuel thinks that if Cargill were to have invented such a rumor, there would be no better way of purging undocumented workers, though there's no way to know.

He observes that without Cargill, there is no work here for Latinos. He's had different jobs off and on, but nothing steady. For example, he's worked seasonally in farmwork. Many people have left town. He and his aunt agreed that they wouldn't recommend anyone come to Barberton anymore. While they certainly would have recommended the town to their friends and family in the past, the raid has changed their opinion.

When I finished speaking with Manuel, I spoke with Tia Mercedes, who had sat down to listen to the conversation with Manuel. Mercedes has been in Barberton for almost a decade. Along with her husband and her grandaughter, she came from Michoacán in 1999 to visit Santiago. The occasion of her visit was the celebration of the granddaughter's— Santiago's eldest daughter's—first birthday. But during the visit, Santiago's father became sick with diabetes. He's now disabled beyond any possibility of traveling back home.

Mercedes 's upbringing included more hardship than that of most of the people I've spoken with. Her father was a day agricultural worker, a *jornelero*, who owned a

one-room shack, but had no land of his own to farm. He worked for a tiny daily wage helping with labor-intensive local wheat and corn farming. Her mother was a homemaker. Eventually, the sort of jobs that Mercedes 's father worked gave way because of mechanization, and their lives became even more precarious.

Mercedes started to work well before she finished elementary school; she had a hard time reading the informed consent statement. She started out working as a domestic when she was eight years old for $60/month. At the time that she left, she and her spouse were running a fresh-fruit cart.

"There were many people who were scared out there in the desert. I just tried not to panic. I put my fate in God's hands, and thanks to Him, I survived. He put little angels around us." The arrangement for finding a coyote was the same as in Daniel's case. There was a well known fixer and driver in the town nearby. He agreed to make a packaged tour of the Arizona desert by arranging things with the coyote. She notes that when she came, the fixer for the coyote wanted $2200 per person. At first, they agreed to halve that cost for the baby, but once the fixer arrived with his bus at the border, he reneged on their word, charging the full amount.

Marcela

Gender, gendered violence, and war all intertwine in Marcela's life history. Ultimately, she landed in Barberton because of whom she knew. Marcela cries when she retells her story. "The only thing left for me to do is to send money. I'm crying because in telling you this story, I'm reminded of my father, whom I may never see again!" She detailed how her mother and her brother have died without her being able to say goodbye. They were in El Salvador, the land of Marcela's birth, land that she has not visited since

she left for the United States in 1989. Thankfully, she's been able to bring two of her three children— the eldest two— here.

Marcela was born in 1955 to a smallholding farmer in La Unión, El Salvador. They were well-off enough to occasionally hire day laborers to work on the land doing farmwork. Her mother was a homemaker. Marcela went to school through the sixth grade. After that, the family couldn't afford the books and clothes for her to go to school. She was the second of six siblings in her family.

When she was seventeen, she left for the capital city, San Salvador, to work as a domestic in the house of a woman she knew. Marcela knew her employer because the woman grew up in La Unión before marrying a man from the capital city. Marcela worked as a domestic until she, too, married to a man from San Salvador. Her new spouse was a petty officer in the Salvadoran military. Over time, he would drive her to immigrate to the US.

The man she married was a womanizer, and he liked to drink. When they didn't get along, he would beat her. In 1980, she gave birth to her son. Two years later, in 1982, she had a baby girl. When she showed up at the hospital to give birth, her husband was there with another woman! After her second child, she started working again. In those years, the US-backed right-wing government was waging war against the country's civil society and armed leftist guerillas. Marcela worked in a packinghouse that made army rations for the government. Later, her husband got her a government post.

She never told her parents he beat her. The pressured her to stay with him, and soon she was pregnant with a third child, who turned out to be a girl. She gave birth to a third child by the army man, and was still dedicated to him. But when the man wounded

himself with his service pistol one drunken night, Marcela decided she'd had enough. She was afraid of what he might do to her, or her children. She left the capital with her kids to move in with her parents in La Unión.

He followed her there, though. He belonged to the military, the powerful and abusive *Guardia Nacional*, and she felt as if she might not be able to escape without leaving the country. Her parents recommended she emigrate from El Salvador to LA to live with her two younger brothers, Rigorberto and Francisco, who had moved there about six years before.

It was 1988. Apart from her brothers, she didn't know anyone who had emigrated. But upon inquiring, casual acquaintances were able to recommend a coyote, a smuggler, a *viajero*.[18] He charged five thousand Salvadoran pesos per head to transport Marcela and 40 others up to and through the US border. They were in a big group crossing the desert south of Arizona when migration officers trapped most of the group. She was in a subgroup of about five who escaped.

The five had no idea where they were. It was the middle of the desert. One of the five, a man, carried with him a child. They continued on for a while. There was a helicopter overhead, obliging them to hide every so often. After a time in the desert, they came to a house, where they begged for food and water. The homeowners gave them sodas and hamburgers, but called the *migra*. On the way out of this house, the *migra* detained them. They were taken into custody with about 17 of the others in the overall group.

They ended up in the Tucson jail. No one spoke Spanish. She tried to call her brothers, but they wouldn't answer. Because of jailhouse rules, she could only call during

the hours that her brothers were at work. Finally, a worker from the jail cafeteria helped her to get in touch with the brothers. The brothers posted $1000 bond. Marcela's captors gave her money for a bus ticket back across the Mexican border and taxi fare to the Greyhound station. Instead of buying a ticket south, she bought a ticket to Los Angeles, subverting the intent of the migration officials. Her brothers met her at the LA Greyhound bus station and took her to their home. It was 1989.

A friend of her brother helped her find childcare work. Then her godmother, who was also living in LA, arranged for Marcela to be her replacement when she left her job as a housekeeper and dogsitter with a wealthy family. Marcela started at $150 a week, and stayed until 1995, when they didn't want a fulltime worker anymore. She was forced to take a minimum-wage job at a factory that made shoes and clothing.

At about the same time that Marcela started at the clothing and shoe factory, Juanita, a Salvadoran friend, had moved to Iowa to reunite with her husband. The husband was working at the International Beef Processors[19] (IBP) plant in Columbus Junction, IA. Marcela and Juanita had become friends when the other woman had been a nanny in the neighborhood where Marcela worked as a housekeeper and dogsitter. While Marcela doesn't know how her friend's husband originally found work at IBP, she certainly recalls that the wage at IBP was about twice what she was making at the clothing and shoe factory. So she came to the Midwest to work.

In 1997, IBP in Columbus Junction shut down one of its shifts. Like several of my other interviewees, Marcela explains that people who work in packing plants know of other plants that might hire. People who work in one packinghouse may have worked at another, and the skills that one gains at one packinghouse, minimal though they may be,

are somewhat transferable. Hence, when IBP laid off a bunch of people, 54 of them applied in Barberton at the time, including Marcela. Adela, the company recruiter, found housing and jobs for all of them.

Marcela has been in Barberton ever since. She worked for the packinghouse for eight years until 2005, when she had a difficulty proving that she was legally authorized to work in the US. She had permission to work, or so she believed, pending an immigration action she says had started in 1990 with the authorities.[20] But Cargill wouldn't accept the letters and other items she presented about her situation. They let her go.

First, like a lot of Salvadorans without papers, she got a job with the contract cleaning firm, QSI, at the plant. (This, of course, was the same company that was eventually raided.) When she found that the wages that QSI paid were insufficient, she moved to another plant in Milan, MO, two hours away, for a while. She's had other jobs since. Right now, over the summer, she's worked for a potato packer. She would have left Barberton entirely after being canned by Cargill, she says, but she has a house to maintain in Barberton, and family living here.

When the children arrived— she had arranged for them to enter the US illegally— they were in their twenties. It cost about $7k for each, paid to a *pollero* (smuggler). The eldest remembered Marcela. He hugged her and never wanted to let her go. The girl, who was four when her mother left, was not so warm. She didn't want to hug Marcela. She couldn't remember Marcela well, anyway, and had a vague feeling of having been abandoned. Eventually, the daughter married someone native-born from a nearby town.

In the raid last year, they carried off her brother Rigoberto. This time it was Marcela who rescued Rigoberto. About $5000 went to legal fees. He was being held in Wisconsin, but was brought for trial in Chicago. According to Marcela, the reason they only took people from the cleaning company, but not Cargill, is corruption. Cargill's management has the immigration authorities in its pocket. She says also that sometime after her brief stint as an employee with QSI, she received a tax bill from the IRS. Someone at QSI was continuing to assign Marcela's identity for someone else.

Monica and Ariel

Monica came to the United States to flee domestic abuse. "It's very hard to be a single mother in Mexico. They don't think that women are equal. It's easier for a woman in the United States." She came to Barberton because of the success her relative Ariel experienced in rural Illinois.

Monica is the third from youngest of the ten children in her family. She was born in 1972 in Tavalopa, Mocorito, Sinoloa. Her parents owned a small farm which they worked, occasionally using the informal temporary help of friends and family to bring in corn. They had livestock, as well. In 1983, when Monica was eleven, her father died, obliging the family to move to the slightly larger nearby town of Juamuchil. Monica's older siblings helped support their mother. Monica continued to attend school. In part, she was maintained as a *hija de criado*. She worked for a rich family in exchange for school supplies and food.

When she finished the *prepa* at age 18, she went to Tiajuana, where some of her elder sisters had moved. She finished a technical degree to be a secretary. Her sisters worked in restaurants, as cashiers, and the like, while Monica managed to obtain a job in

an office. In 1992, at age 20, she married the driver, Jorge, at the office where she worked. She left her secretarial job in order to have her first child in 1993. She stayed home as a homemaker and mother, and in 1996, she had a second child.

Jorge quit his job as a driver in favor of opening an auto shop. The auto shop proved to be successful, but some of its clients would lead to the demise of Monica and Jorge's marriage. Jorge, according to Monica, "fell in with a bad crowd"-- drug smugglers. They had him install their contraband in different parts of the cars he was working on. He put a bit of cocaine in the headliner, or a packet of heroin in the interior of the dashboard. At about the same time, his behavior changed a bit, it seemed to Monica. Perhaps he had started using drugs.

Whatever the case may have been, Jorge no longer treated Monica with respect. He abused her, though Monica doesn't specify exactly how. In 2001, she decided to leave. Fortunately, the majority of her family were already settled in the United States. They were disposed to help her, especially since a number of them thought that her marriage to Jorge was a bad idea in the first place. They didn't like him, says Monica: he was a jealous, possessive, and macho man who tried to isolate her even from the rest of her own family.

It was Yoyo and Ariel who had truly succeeded as migrants. These were Monica's two elder brothers. They had both immigrated to California in the late 1980s. Yoyo married a woman in California whose cousins were working at the packing plant in Moline, Illinois. Yoyo moved to Moline to work at the beef packing house. After about five years of seasonal work in California— picking watermelon, grapes, oranges, and

lettuce, among other crops— Ariel was in the market for a job that would provide a more steady income. So in 1995, he went looking for his brother in Moline.

Ariel liked the pay at the plant, but the work was much harder than the work in the fields that he was accustomed to. He also was on the night shift. He met someone who said that there was another plant where the work was a bit easier— perhaps he'd like it more? Hence, after a month in Moline, Ariel moved to Barberton and started working. "It's good work, and I take pride in my work. At first, the first three months or so, your hands are tired and swollen. But the body gets used to it. If you stick around long enough, too, you can transfer to a nicer job."

He estimates there were only six or seven Latino families here at the time of his arrival in 1995. He has seen the entire growth of the community. More recently, he's seen the plant turn away from the use of Mexican labor in favor of Puerto Ricans and people who are more likely to have proper documentation. But in the late 1990s, almost everyone who started working, according to his memory, was Mexican.

Now they check documents a lot more closely at the time of hire. According to Ariel, the company recently hired an assistant to the HR manager who does nothing but verify the employment eligibility of candidates and current employees. Unlike before, says Ariel, they won't hire you if you don't have your papers in order. Luckily for Ariel and Monica, they both have married US citizens and are not at risk of losing their jobs anytime soon.

Starting in 2000, Ariel managed to bring the majority of his family to Barberton, including Monica. Their number included, eventually, eight of his siblings, seven of whom are still here in Barberton. Some of these people, mostly women, brought their

spouses and children. There are sixteen Mexican-born family members in Barberton now, including children, who settled in the wake of Ariel's success there.

Family Responsibilities

In addition to explaining why people came to Barberton, it is useful to understand why they have *stayed*. They may have ended up in Barberton due to a process that started with their own economic concerns, with the recruitment efforts of the plant, or with the necessity of escaping violence or political persecution. They may have used their networks of acquaintances to find Barberton. No matter why they came, many, especially women, have stayed in Barberton because it is a good place to enact family roles as parents, loyal offspring, devoted spouses, or breadwinners.

Tatica Gúzman

Tatica came to Barberton in 2002 to take care of her brother-in-law, Alejandro, who had a debilitating case of pneumonia. First she worked at Excel. She found this work difficult, but was glad to have something after a month of unemployment when she first arrived.

There are two main parts to a packinghouse. In the “hot,” or “kill floor,” the animals are killed. Carcasses are dipped in a huge scalding water bath to remove hair and pathogens. The head is removed from the body, along with the viscera. The different parts that can be made into meat cuts are separated—e.g. legs and bellies. The temperature in the kill floor is uncomfortably hot; additionally, the kill floor smells of animal feces and bodily fluids. Workers liken it to hell.

At the end of the kill floor line, the carcass parts are placed in a refrigerated room. They remain in this room for about a day, and then pass into the “cold” or “cut floor.” In

the cut floor, the distinct parts of the animal are turned into cuts of meat. For example, hams are deboned and trimmed.

Both Tatica and her husband were placed on the kill floor. Tatica says it was sad work. One gets pig fat all in one's hair or clothes, and the smell never really goes away. Soon, though, the managers at Excel found that she had skills beyond what were needed for the line. She successfully bid for a job as a supervisor at the plant. Ultimately, however, the managers did not like her performance as a supervisor, and she was forced to leave. Since she speaks enough English to make herself understood, and because she has identity papers, it was easy for her to find other employment. In the years since, she's worked as a translator at the public health agency, and most recently as a teacher's aide for a special needs child in the school.

Tatica was born in 1953 in San Luis, Rio Colorado, Sonora to Cirilo and Cirilo 's wife. Cirilo, in turn, was born in Gardenas, CA to Pablo and Maria from Zacatecas. Pablo and Maria were poor, landless people who came to California in the late 1920s. Maria gave birth to Cirilo and some other children in the time that she lived in Gardenas: these children all received citizenship, a fact that has helped Tatica Guijosa and her siblings immensely.

Tatica's grandparents, Pablo and Maria, heard that they could get land under the agricultural reforms of Làzaro Cardenas if they returned to Mexico from Gardenas, California and settled in Sonora. These reforms were a result of the Mexican Revolution. Pablo and Maria moved from Gardenas to San Luis Colorado, Sonora, just across the international border from the US state of Arizona. There, they settled on a ranch. In San Luis, Cirilo, Tatica Guijosa's father, the son of Pablo and Maria, met a woman from

nearby Mexicali who was working as a customs officer. They married; Tatica was the first issue of this union, the child of a US-born citizen.

Tatica lived with Cirilo and Cirilo's wife on the ranch until 1977 in San Luis. In that year, one of Tatica's eight siblings wanted to go to engineering school. In 1978, Cirilo returned north to Yuma, AZ to work on someone else's ranch and make some money to support this child's education. Several years later, in 1985, Tatica Guijosa had finished academic coursework to be a bilingual secretary. She had married, given birth to several children, and divorced. After the divorce, she moved across the border to live with her father; as the daughter of a citizen, she had residency.

In 1996 in Yuma, Tatica remarried. Her spouse, Juan, was in town following the seasonal demand for agricultural labor that carries people from California to Arizona and back, *la corrida*. Juan had first come to the US to work when he was a teenager in 1973. Tatica is quick to note that he fixed his papers in the 1986 amnesty.

Juan's family is all from Zitacuaro in the Mexican state of Michoacan. Juan's parents raised livestock there on a piece of land they owned. However, there were eleven kids, and everyone had seen that people could make a lot more money working in the US than sticking around rural Michoacan— according to Tatica. Hence, many of Juan's first cousins, who are the issue of Juan's father's siblings, along with Juan's eleven brothers, ended up in Salinas, CA and other places, mostly cultivating lettuce and performing other labor-intensive agricultural work.[16]

In 1998, Florencio, Juan's first cousin and Tatica's cousin-by-marriage, arrived in Barberton. He went to work for the plant. Florencio quickly informed the rest of his family about opportunities in Barberton. Florencio's brother Santiago, and his cousins

Willy, Guadalupe, Miguel, and Alejandro, all came. Alejandro is Juan's brother; another one of Juan's siblings, a woman, also came. Finally, Juan and Tatica arrived in Barberton after Alejandro got sick. Tatica and Juan came to Barberton temporarily to take care of Alejandro, but stayed. Their intent was to help the sick brother by paying his bills and providing other support. Tatica would be especially useful, they supposed, because she could translate documents needed for insurance and other services so that Alejandro could fill them out.

The Gúzman are a well-known family in town. They own a number of rooming houses and rental units. Notably, the family has two adjacent horse ranches where they practice the *charro*, or Mexican-style bronco roping, raise livestock, and tend to chickens. The family's hobby is to maintain this ranch, something they say they could not do in California. When the family discusses Barberton, they often comment that the combination of steady work in the plant and cheap land allows them to have a lifestyle that would have been far beyond their means in California. They value living together in a small town where all seven cousins, the cousin's wives (including Tatica), and numerous children can be together.

The Development of Secondary Services in the Latino Community

Once Latinos were firmly established as a group in Barberton, specialty services and shops developed to serve members of the new Latino community. A niche opened for entrepreneurs and bilingual professionals. Juliana and Celia are two people who occupy that niche.

Juliana

Tienda La Gloria is one of two Mexican-oriented specialty stores in the town. A truck arrives every day from Chicago with fresh bread from a *panaderìa* and other goods from that city's long-established Mexican-American community. La Gloria sells specialty food items, such as chilies, chocolate, dried legumes, tortillas, *masa preparada*, and Latin American style bread. There is a deli counter that dispenses fresh items like sausage, tripe, and pulled pork pieces (*carnitas*) in bulk. Piñatas, imported from Puebla, adorn the back walls, awaiting purchase by the hosts of some future party. Kitchen items, tamaleras, candles for offerings to the saints, *cafeteras*, *comales*, and tortilla presses abound. Despite all appearances, the store's greatest sales volume is produced by the shelf full of liquor and the electronic devices on the cashier's counter that transmit money transfer orders— *remesas*— to recipients all over the New World.

Juliana, the owner, jokes that she is not sure whether she should thank God or *la migra* for her current business success. "I had one man, and I gave up everything for him," she says. "When I left him, I made some money, found another man, and he, too, helped me go broke." In 2002, with this last man, the father of her youngest child, she went to the immigration office for an appointment. Her US-citizen siblings had successfully petitioned the government to grant Juliana residency. The appointment was set for her to finalize her new status, and to petition legal permanent residency for her husband. At the end of the appointment with *la migra*, Juliana's residency was confirmed, while her request for her husband was denied. According to Juliana, the husband admitted he had violated new laws, enacted in 1996, mandating that anyone who crossed

the border thereafter without authorization would be excluded from the country for ten years before he or she could gain residency.

"The migration officials said to me, 'you can go,' but to him they said, 'you stay here with us.'" That was the last time that Juliana saw him, and she thinks it's for the best. He had almost ruined her various businesses by his profligacy. He would one day tell Juliana to spend her money on one thing, and then change his mind the next. For the sake of having more money to spend on trifles and booze, he sold things that Juliana had worked hard for. Juliana explains that if her estranged husband were here now, she would be working in the plant instead of running a business.

Juliana was born in 1967 near Ciudad Guzman, Jalisco. She has thirteen siblings, eleven of whom live in the United States today. Her father was a landless farmworker until he immigrated with his wife, a homemaker, to the United States. In those years, there was the bracero program for agricultural labor, but when Juliana's parents lived in Southern California, and then in Chicago, her father worked in foodservice. Her mother gave birth to the majority of her fourteen children during the family's time in the United States. By the time that Juliana was born, however, the family had moved back to Jalisco. They bought three parcels of land that they kept in different varieties of legumes, along with corn. "We were well off then," Juliana asserts, "we never wanted for anything."

From age eleven, Juliana worked in a pharmacy while she was going to school. The employees wore the typical white medical smock found in similar medical offices and pharmacies in the country. She dreamed about being a doctor. When she married, she was almost finished with *la prepa*, and, through saving carefully over the course of eight years of part-time work, had bought enough inventory to open up her own pharmaceutical

shop. She ruefully explains that she married young— 17— in order to get away from her strict parents, especially her mother, and left school.

Her new husband, being less resourceful than she, had no real idea of how to make money. Without other plans, the husband decided he should move to Indio, California where a brother had settled. He wasn't sure where the money to cross the border would come from. He started dropping hints about needing cash. Then one day he asked Juliana to sell all the pharmacy inventory she had acquired so he could use the proceeds to emigrate. She sold everything and gave him the money. He made it to Indio while she stayed in Jalisco, pregnant with his child.

With the little bit of cash left, she was able to sustain herself during her pregnancy. Her husband never did send her any money, but a few months before the baby was born, he told her that she should come join him in Indio. To finance her exit from the country, Juliana bought a steer and a cow to fatten, and then used the profits from their sale to pay the coyote. Three months after the baby was born, she was with her husband in Indio, CA. It was 1987.

She and her first husband parted ways soon after this. Juliana doesn't detail the reasons for their separation, merely commenting that she was stupid and young, and didn't know any better. Leaving him, she caught up with one of her siblings who had moved back to the family's old stomping grounds in Chicago. Juliana had spent nine months unemployed in Chicago when she heard a recruitment ad for a packinghouse on a Spanish-language radio station. The packinghouse— Iowa Beef Packers (IBP), now Tyson, from Columbus Junction, IA— had temporarily rented an office in Chicago so that prospective employees could meet hiring officials and fill out applications. To those

offered employment, the company also made loans to cover the cost of relocation and a months' living expenses.

Juliana moved herself and her young daughter to Columbus Junction in 1988. She was twenty. She started to work in the plant, processing pork neck bones. She emphasizes that she was young then, and able to put up with that sort of work. Days lasted from six in the morning until six at night, sometimes as many as six days a week. But she hadn't been working at the plant more than a year when she suffered from a horrible accident. A whole pig fell on her from the overhead line.

She could not work. At first, she was completely paralyzed. She collected disability. It paid the bills, but she was unhappy. "I couldn't just hang around with my hands folded in my lap," she says. As she got better, to make a little bit of extra cash, she made a boardinghouse out of the building where she lived. She charged $70 a week for room and board. To her great luck, the building was located directly across from the packinghouse's entrance. She was always full with young Mexican men who worked at the plant. After a while, she also started to sell supper out of her kitchen— *raspadas, posole, tacos*.

In 1991, after three years in Columbus Junction, she had a successful business. IBP, the packinghouse, finally paid out a small settlement for her injuries— $26,000. She used the settlement and the accumulated profit from the boardinghouse to buy apartments and a bar/restaurant. She stayed in business for the better part of a decade this way, until she met her second husband in 1997. He had all sorts of ideas for her money. Based on his advice, she says, she almost went belly-up.

Her second husband was born in Numaran, Michoacán. This town is the birthplace of many people who now live in Barberton. It is one of several places enumerated when people are asked where the majority of Mexicans in Barberton are from- Numaran, Michoacán; two towns in Toluca; the capital, DF. This second husband had family and *paisanos* who lived in Barberton. Through them, he heard of an amazing deal on a *tacqueria*, "El Sombrero" in Barberton. In 2000, Juliana sold her various apartments and other enterprises to buy the *tacqueria*, which she renamed "La Esperanza." In those times, it was the only *tacqueria* in town.

Sometime later, she sold the *tacqueria*. She put the money into twelve apartments in Red Oak, Iowa, on the poor advice of her husband. But she absolutely lost her shirt on the deal. The seller reneged on his contract price, and extorted an additional several thousand dollars by threatening to report her to a collection agency. She sold the apartments in 2002 when her husband was deported. With only ten thousand dollars on hand, she thought she would have to earn money by working at Cargill.

Instead, she rented a vacant building at the corner of Fourth and State. She sold tacos, beer, liquor, and food products. She wired money. The business was again a success, and in 2003, she was able to put a downpayment on the building. She renovated it, and now has it rented to Guido. She moved into her current location when a bar owner, faced with foreclosure on his falling-apart location, approached her with a deal; if she would pay him two thousand down, he would hold the financing on the remaining $40,000 for her. In 2005, after remodeling, she moved the store.

Lately, she's been having some legal problems. She has been arrested on charges of embezzling funds that she was supposed to deliver to the money transfer business, sale

of prescription drugs without a pharmacist's license, and document fraud. She was briefly imprisoned in 2006. It's true that people say she has sold documents, defrauded people out of money, and been a bad actor. Her competitors in Su Casa have been especially prone to complaining that she is a criminal. Juliana concedes that her critics are thinking rationally when they question how a single woman could start a business off of $10,000 and end up with two commercial buildings, a store, and multiple apartments to her name, but she says it's just jealousy.

Celia

Celia is currently a UIUC social work intern with Cass County Mental Health. She started in May to learn about what goes on in the office, but now has advanced enough that she performs with clients. This is not the first position that she has had in public service in Barberton. She's lived in Cass County since 1997, and, after a few days working at the plant, found work as a translator for the school district. Later, for five years starting in 1998, she worked for a "birth to three" program as a "developmental therapist."

Instead of doing the sort of work that one might consider matching the title "developmental therapist," however, she ended up translating for all sorts of different people, including the police department, the schools, and the courts. In her words, she wasn't "merely doing therapy, but spent ever-more time doing linking and case management." She continued to work as a so-called developmental therapist until she went back to school in 2003.

Celia was born in 1972 Mexico, D.F. to decidedly middle-class parents. Her mother was a homemaker. Her father was a club manager for an upscale nightclub.

"There used to be different levels of clubs in Mexico," she says. "Nowadays, if a famous artist comes through, he or she fills a stadium and has a huge show for a lot of people all at once. But a long time ago, the best clubs in Mexico had the best musicians come for a week of shows for a small group of people each night." Because his employer needed him to travel to fine clubs in the US to understand the opulence that they wanted him to provide, they had helped him obtain a tourist visa. He had managed to obtain tourist visas for his family, as well.

Celia went to public school through elementary and junior high. She went to a private *preparatorio*. In 1991, she completed two semesters of college at Universidad del Valle. In her third semester, she stopped going to class and was forced to withdraw. Celia's aunt was in San Diego, so Celia decided to visit her. Her aunt had come to California in the 1970s; subsequently, three of Celia's cousins were born in the state.

Once she moved to San Diego, Celia found jobs taking care of elderly people in their homes and cashiering for a gas station. She lived in a rented room, and became friends with her landlord's son. The landlord's son, in turn, introduced Celia to his friends. One of the people he introduced Celia to was a young man who was serving in the Army and stationed in San Diego. Celia and the soldier married in 1994; in the same year, she had her first child.

In 1996, Celia's husband's military service was over. They were both unemployed. They moved back to Celia's husband's family place, in Bluffs, about thirty minutes away from Barberton. You see, Celia's husband was born in Whitehall, and graduated from Meredosia High School, all small rural towns near Barberton. His family, a white family,

didn't necessarily like Hispanics, Celia says, but Celia's father-in-law was a preacher, one who was willing to extend God's love to Celia as an "exceptional Mexican."

It wasn't long before they started to look for work. Celia inquired at Excel about secretarial positions. Told there were none, she started on the line. But it was only three weeks before she was recognized as a college-educated person who spoke fluent English and Spanish. She stopped working for Excel immediately to work as a "bilingual facilitator" for the school district. She was the first successful "bilingual facilitator" that the school district hired.

She has since helped both her parents legally immigrate to the US.

The Construction of Latino Identity

The packinghouse has decided to recruit Latinos. It recruits using Spanish-language media. Former managers expressed a belief that "Hispanic" or "Mexican" people worked harder because "Hispanics" or "Mexicans" have less education or fewer opportunities for good work. Cargill recruits members of this group for their supposed common desperation for work. They often have been unable to see the vast variety in experience that makes some workers more pliant packinghouse labor than are others.

In the section that follows, we consider the story of Daniel, Diogenes, Micaela, and Blanca. Daniel has lived all of his adult life in the US, while Diogenes, Micaela, and Blanca show just how greatly the experiences of "Latino immigrants" vary from the stereotype. As will be made plain, these last three respondents' interaction with the packinghouse reveals a good deal about *what sort* of Spanish-speaking worker would be most valuable to the operation of a packinghouse.

Daniel

Daniel's position is that Mexicans do work that Anglos would not do, do it more cheaply, and do it without complaint— *se quedan, y no se quejan*.[15] He's had a lot of time to think about this subject as he has been in the US for eighteen years, six of those in Barberton. Recently in Barberton, especially since the raid, he has entertained a number of journalists and academics. He’s done this in spite of what he perceives as certain risks for himself as an undocumented worker. "I've thought about it," he says. "Even if my silence would mean I'd be able to stay here forever [without fear of deportation], I'll take my chances on speaking up in favor of what's right." If it weren’t for economic necessity, Daniel and and his wife Mirieli would be living in Mexico with their family, people they miss dearly.

Daniel used to go back and forth across the border to visit family on a regular basis. Then, it only cost about three hundred dollars to hire a coyote to get across the border. Now it costs ten times that, and one has to take a risky, sometimes deadly, journey through the Arizona desert. They think about returning permanently to Mexico, despite certain adaptations they would have to make. Daniel would buy a truck and haul in goods to sell in the little town from the city. All his brothers and sisters are gone to the city or the US; his parents could use help.

Daniel's parents were farmers in rural Guanajuato. He has three sisters and two brothers. His parents grew corn and had a small store selling produce. When Daniel was sixteen, he met someone who had been in the US. This person came to Daniel's hometown dressed like a king, and had amazing amounts of cash to spend. Daniel was in la *prepa* at the time and might have liked to have become a civil engineer. But he could

see that his options were, in fact, much more limited. Two years later, he immigrated to the US.

Thirty migrants gathered in the *municipio*. They all boarded the bus having arranged for passage into the US. According to Daniel, there are two sorts of workers that helped him and the others cross the border. First off, there was the bus operator or guide, whom we agreed to call a *buscón*. The *buscón* was known in the *municipio* for his work arranging crossings into the US. He accepted money, transported the migrants, and referred those without papers to coyotes. As such, the *buscón* profited from providing a service without dirtying his hands with anything illegal, like smuggling. When the bus got near the border, the *buscón* dropped those without documents in the hands of a *coyote*, and kept driving on with the rest. The *buscón*'s ability to provide this service was commonplace knowledge among the people in the area surrounding the *municipio*. The first time he tried to cross, it took three attempts. After the first two, he said to his brother, who was with him, “If we get turned back, we're going back all the way to Guanajuato." They made it through on that third attempt.

Daniel first arrived in LA, and then the central valley of California. Some of his *paisanos* went on to Chicago, but Daniel settled into picking strawberries. When he first arrived, he recalls having no money and no food. A Mexican labor contractor hired him for a day of weeding the rows before the season started in earnest. Daniel and the people he was with were hired last for berry picking because they had never done it before. They took that day work of cleaning out weeds because they were desperate and hungry. At the end of the day, the Mexican man who had contracted all of them would not pay them.

The first years in CA were hard. He was young, and separated from his fiancé, Mirieli. He came and went several times across the border until he had raised enough money to wed her. After several more years of circular migration, he fathered two children with her. Finally, he saved enough money to bring Mirieli and the two children to the central valley. He subsequently bought a house for all four of them to live in. In those days, they were being paid fifty dollars a day in California when the going rate for a day of work in Guanajuato was the equivalent of only ten a day. It seemed like a miracle to him.

In 2002, after a decade of living in the central valley, a friend that Daniel had met while working in the fields told him about a packinghouse job in Missouri with a company called Excel. Daniel moved in order to take the job. He found the life of a packinghouse worker more agreeable than that of an agricultural laborer. Daniel worked only five days a week instead of the six or seven-- the norm in his former employment. Work was steady from week to week and month to month, providing a reliable paycheck that seasonal agricultural work could never rival.

The other difference was that in contrast to the practice in the Central Valley, where nobody checked to see if workers had eligibility documents, Midwest employers required at least realistic-looking imitations of the real thing. Daniel emphasizes, however, that the employers on the West Coast were just as anxious as the Midwestern employers to hire him, and were happy to help him obtain fake identity documents.

Soon after Daniel arrived in Missouri, the plant closed. Daniel's employer, Excel, asked Daniel to consider working in another one of its plants. The company gave him the option of working in its plant in a small Iowa town or its plant in Barberton. He visited

both towns, but liked Barberton better, especially because during his visit, he met someone from his hometown in Guanajuato.

Compared to other places that he might have moved, he likes Barberton because it is safe and semi-rural, sort of like the small town he grew up in. His kids are safe and he doesn't have to worry about them joining a gang. He contrasts this, for example, with the experience of living in LA or even in the central valley of California.

Daniel notes that the plant has had a hard time operating since the QSI raid. In the four months after, Cargill couldn't find enough cleaners to keep the plant going at full speed. They tried hiring Anglos, but the Anglos complained. Daniel says for the 100 Mexicans that used to do the work, they had to hire 150 Anglos. Of course, says Daniel, they also tried to hire Puerto Ricans, thinking that they'd be just like the Mexicans, but the *boricua* only lasted for about two weeks. Finally, they hired some folks from Africa. Daniel makes an oft-repeated claim "*nadie se aguanta tanto como un Mexicano*"—- no one holds up [to hard work] like a Mexican.

The Cubans

In July, I first met the group of people that I'll call "The Cubans" when I went to a welcome-home celebration for Willy, the cousin of Tatica Guzman's husband. The party was held at one of the two adjacent ranches that the Gúzman's own. Willy is in his late twenties and by accident of birth missed the sorts of opportunities for amnesty that some of his older cousins availed themselves of. He had just gotten out of jail for attempted fraud.

Willy had worked at the plant for a long while under false documents. These are available from Puerto Ricans or from forgers of differing skill. No one cared if he used

fake documents at the plant; this is commonplace. Everyone agrees, however, that Willy exhibited poor judgment when he tried to use his fake documents to get an Illinois driver's license. He was exuberant because he had saved up several thousand dollars in cash to be able to buy a nice, if used, truck. He believed that in order to register this truck, he'd need to get a driver's license in his fake name. He went to the Drivers' Services office in Springfield, but instead of getting a license, he was arrested and had the several thousand dollars in cash that he was carrying confiscated as suspected drug money. On top of this, by being arrested, he lost his job at the plant. At the time I met him, he was not sure he'd be able to work there again.

At the Guzman's party, the seating in the corral was gender-segregated. Most of the men sat in cowboy hats on a bench, and held their plates of food on their laps. They faced a table where the women and children sat. Beyond the table were more women, these standing, they all being those who were serving the food. The men on the bench all had bottles of beer, but not the women. The women were much more discreet in their drinking, but some of them, too, were also becoming intoxicated. The several people who were outsiders to the family, myself included, all sat at the table with the women, despite the fact that some of us were male. Perhaps as guests, we were afforded the more comfortable accommodations. Ranchera and Norteña music blared from the stereo of a truck nearby.

Yolanda, Gustavo, and Martina were at the table for the honored-guests-cum-outsiders. I stayed at the party for five hours that summer afternoon, and got to know them. First, Martina told me about her long time in Spain, and why she didn't like Europeans. Then, for some unhappy reason I can no longer recall, Gustavo started to talk

about Fidel. He became increasingly drunk and furious; his spouse had to restrain him from drinking another round. In general, despite Gustavo's long rant, I learned that they were part of a group of Cuban acquaintances who had all signed up together to come work at the plant.

Over several months, I followed the trajectory of these twelve Cubans. The Mexicans that I had interviewed all said that Cubans and Puerto Ricans "*no se aguantan en la planta*," don't hold up under the harsh conditions at the packing plant. This opinion must be based on but a small amount of evidence as my respondents told me that until the time of the raid, there had been very few, if any, *boricua* or *cubanos* in Barberton. The recent influx of island-born people comes in part from the plant's post-raid recruiting strategy, which seemed to emphasize trips to Miami and tested the waters for visiting San Juan. They would recruit from these places to get a mix of recruits that was less likely to open the company up to raids or legal liability.

In the wake of the raid, the plant has recruited many more Puerto Ricans and Cubans than it did before. Perhaps the plant managers, who wouldn't talk to me, think that everyone who speaks Spanish is the same. But my observation is just what others have said— Puerto Ricans and Cubans don't put up with the plant like Mexicans do, and it's all because of other opportunities. In the case of the twelve Cubans I spent time with, only three still work at the plant that recruited them. As will be discussed later on, the experience of the Cubans suggests reasons that the packing plant targets Latinos for recruiting.

Diogenes, who butchers pigs, English, and Danish. Diogenes heard from his next-door neighbor and friend, Martina, about the recruiting session that the plant recruiter,

Adela, would hold at the Workforce Development Center in Miami. Adela, in turn, heard about it from Blanca and Micaela, because she was in an English as a Second Language course with those two women. Blanca had heard about the recruitment event because Santiago and Martina, who were on unemployment, had seen an ad for the event when they went to the Workforce center. Santiago and Adela told Gustavo, Santiago's cousin. They didn't all know each other in Miami, but they were connected.

Diogenes was born in 1955 in Cuba. He has some academic preparation, but no formal degree, in Computer Science. He was working as a software engineer and teacher when he met his wife, a Danish woman, got married, and left Cuba for Denmark. He stayed with her until 1996; they had several children. He worked as a trilingual interpreter between English, Danish, and Spanish. Later, he divorced his wife and used his EU citizenship to move to London. In London, he worked as a programmer for the government. After some time in Europe, he decided he didn't like the slight mistreatment he faced as a foreigner, a sentiment echoed by his friend Adela. So he moved to Miami.

In Miami, he couldn't find a job in his field, but some friends told him he could get a position as a surgery tech and EMT. He applied for these jobs with no experience. Nonetheless, he was selected because his English was better than the other applicants. He worked in this role for four years. Still, he longed to work with computers.

When Adela first told him about the job fair with Cargill, he was skeptical. He wasn't sure that there was any point in trying work for a packinghouse. But when the recruiter told Diogenes how big Cargill is, and that he could work his way up from the line, he decided to investigate. He did an online search and found out that Cargill was

indeed huge. He decided to ditch his apartment, job, and stability in favor of coming to Barberton for the chance to work up the ladder.

The meeting was held in the morning in the Dade County Workforce Development center. 40 people, mostly jobless Cubans, listened to three Cargill employees give a presentation. Adela was there from Barberton, but there were also people from the Kansas City plant. After the presentation, applications were available, and those who were ready to apply were given alcohol and drug testing.

He believed he was coming at the end of this particular recruiting batch, a group of 10. Within two days, he received the phone call. The company would pay for his plane flight and housing once he arrived. He took reimbursement in lieu of tickets and drove his own car up here.

I met him in the library when he first arrived that first week of July. He was in the three-day standard orientation at the plant. Later, he would repetitively weigh and sort pork ribs, and yet later, quit in exasperation. But when I first met him, he had nothing bad to say about the plant at all, and expressed enthusiasm about the quiet nature of this small town.

Micaela, the nuclear engineer of the packinghouse. Micaela escaped from Cuba by using her wits. She was working for a scientific research institution as a researcher in nuclear physics. She had written a woman at a Canadian university to see if she could gain admission to a doctoral program there. She even received funding from this university in Montreal. But her bosses would not give her permission to leave the island.

When she found that she would be unable to achieve her dream of a doctoral degree in nuclear physics, she became dismayed. Then she came up with an exacting

plan. She would leave the country by painstakingly assembling the necessary documents and authorizations. First, she needed permission from her employer. She left her job at the research institute, where she was absolutely indispensable and needed. After a year of not working, she looked for, and found, a position where she'd be valued less: a computer job at the Ministry of Justice.

Next, she needed a letter of sponsorship from an employer in the country she would travel to, and a visa from that country's government. She picked Haiti as a destination because no one wants to go to Haiti, and because one of her grandmothers was Haitian. Since no one wants to go to Haiti, the Haitian embassy is happy to give out visas to anyone who wants one. Using her long-dead grandmother as a public justification, she joined all sorts of Haitian-Cuban associations in hopes that she would be able to find someone with a friend in Haiti who would write a letter of sponsorship.

Beyond having the paperwork in order, one must have saved money for the round-trip plane ticket. The work permission was easy for Micaela once she had demoted herself to a position of insignificance. Then she claimed to her boss that she didn't really want to go to such an ugly place, but that her distant family absolutely insisted that she visit them— and how could she say no?

The sponsorship letter was a bit more difficult. Someone from Haiti finally wrote her with an invitation, but failed to notorize his signature. Without being notarized by a Haitian, the sponsorship invitation was not valid. To rectify this problem, she looked for a Haitian in Cuba who would forge his name and have it notarized at the Haitian consulate. She found a Haitian police officer in the hospital and befriended him. He promised to get the sponsorship letter notarized as if he were its author.

She arrived at the airport, documents in hand. But even at the last moment when it was time to get on the plane, she almost didn't make it. The immigration officers looked over her visa and papers. They almost refused to let her board the plane because, they said, the expiration date of the Haitian visa was not filled in. Anguished, she begged to use the officers' telephone to call the Haitian consul. “I'm Cuban,” she yelled, ”I am not a counter-revolutionary!” The officers repeatedly pointed to a public phone, but Micaela would have needed dollars (*divisas*) to use it if she were to call the Haitian consulate, dollars that she did not have. If the plane left without her, she would forfeit the nonrefundable round-trip ticket she had bought; she would have to start from scratch to save money and acquire documents.

Because she was so visibly distraught, and because the plane was held up by the snafu, someone in the airport pulled her aside and let her use the phone. The Haitian consul on the phone gave her the expiration date and told her to write it in. Instead, she had an airline official, who waiting for the snafu to be resolved so he could let her on the plane, print the information on the document.

She arrived in Haiti. She did not have her sponsor’s address, but only the address of the police officer who signed and notarized the sponsorship letter as if it were his own. Before she had left Cuba, she had tried to call the true author of the sponsorship letter, but she could not get him on the phone. Nonetheless, weeks before Micaela arrived in Haiti, the Haitian policeman from the hospital had returned to his native country. By great coincidence, he was acquainted with the wife of the sponsorship letter. Micaela suspects they were having an affair.

The policeman told the sponsor's wife that Micaela was coming. The wife called her husband, the sponsor, to return home from abroad to meet his guest. When Micaela called from the airport, the sponsor instructed her to take a taxi to his door. From afar and sight unseen, he had grown infatuated with Micaela. In the most genteel way possible, he asked if she had come there to be his lover. When she said no, he said "Ok, I understand. But you will stay here and we shall see if with time you fall in love with me." She obtained a position teaching at the finest private school. She had learned French in anticipation of immigrating to Haiti, but was pleased when the school allowed her to teach in her native Spanish.

After two months, her sponsor forced her to move because he thought she had a lover. Another man gave her a ride home from a late-night party event, and the sponsor became jealous. Her sponsor, who had vainly hoped she would fall in love with him, told her to pack her things.

During her short time in Port au Prince, Micaela had befriended some Dominicans. One Dominican woman worked as a hairdresser in a salon that served as a social nexus for the Dominican community in Haiti's capital city. When Micaela's sponsor asked her to leave, she moved to the well-connected hairdresser's house. There she befriended a Dominican man who, not unlike the sponsor before him, had romantic desires for Micaela.

Seven months after Micaela arrived in Haiti, this man proposed that Micaela leave for the Dominican Republic with him and a group of his friends. She wasn't interested in being this man's girlfriend or lover, but she was ready to leave Haiti. She decided she would go with the man and his friends, even though she didn't trust his intent.

Despite a long effort to get a Dominican visa, she was unable to do so. Cuban officials had successfully pressured the Dominican Republic not to provide any visas to Cubans living in Haiti so that Cuban doctors on missions would not flee to the eastern half of Hispaniola. Ultimately, Micaela was forced to travel illegally with her friends across the border. She saw money changing hands between her friends and the police at the border, money that she's pretty sure was being paid as a bribe to cover the drugs that she now knows her friends were smuggling.

After the intrigue of the trip, Micaela arrived in La Vega, Dominican Republic, and got a job as a worker in one of that city's well-known chicken farms. But a friend of a friend met with her and said “working for the chicken company is no place for a nuclear engineer." This person made contact with someone in the capital, who made a contact with the head of the National Committee on Nuclear Affairs. This was how Micaela ended up with a job interview, and eventually a job, as a professional in Santo Domingo, a member of the National Nuclear Affairs Council. This group regulated the use of radiologic devices in the Republic, and coordinated the standards of the Dominican Republic with international agencies.

According to Micaela, the moral of her story of fleeing Cuba is “If you firmly decide to do something, the world will conspire with you to make things work out.” She’s currently hoping the world conspires with her to establish permanent US residency or citizenship.

Micaela got a tourist visa to come to the US about a year ago. She did not like that her continued tenure at the regulatory agency was controlled by the perpetually unstable winds of Dominican politics and patronage. She wanted something long-term; perhaps if

she came to the United States, she thought, she could get a better-paying job as a physicist here? She left her boyfriend, a cellist in the national orchestra, and her fine condominium in the best capital neighborhood in favor of working on US citizenship.

All Cubans who arrive in the United States may automatically receive legal permanent residency. Micaela found a job at a McDonald's in Miami, studied for her GED, and took ESL classes. Through these classes, she met the other people in the group of Cubans who arrived in Barberton. First, she was a nuclear engineer who cut up hams in the plant. She survived this work for about a month until a sociology graduate student she knew introduced her to the bilingual outreach coordinator at the school system. She quit the job at the packing plant, and now is a bilingual helper in a Kindergarten class.

Blanca, who counts pigs. Gustavo stood in the doorway of the trailer giving Micaela compliments. “How beautiful you are. When I first saw you, I knew I wanted you, and I still do want you. I am a gentleman who speaks frankly,” he said.

Eventually, Gustavo left. Micaela and I took up talking about how this form of relating between men and women is different than the US custom. Blanca joined in, and eventually Blanca was talking more than Micaela . Micaela fell asleep napping while Blanca continued a discourse on Cuban customs— *confianza* and its limits, *frescura, desconfianza*, and being friendly, much more *vivo* than US people usually are.

Blanca recently arrived from Cuba. She came to Miami in February, six months ago. She managed to leave Cuba through the "*bumbo*," the exit-visa lottery. She waited seven years for her name to come up in the lottery. She is 44, and has worked in accounting for many years. When she arrived in Miami, her grandchild helped her a bit.

As a Cuban refugee, the state of Florida gave her a public assistance benefit for the first six months.

"I've always done for myself. I'm not one of those who has to let other help them. Since I'd always been this way, I decided I'd try to maintain myself by" moving to Illinois and working in the packinghosue.

Later in the day, Blanca revealed a few more things about her situation. She has adult children. She worked as an accountant in Cuba. Currently, she says she has until early in the next calendar year to apply for permanent residency, though now she has permission to work. While she is a professional in her own country, she doesn't speak a word of English.

¿Cùales Quedaron? Which Ones Stay?

I continued to follow the activities of the Cubans for two months. Informants told me another group of Cubans had lived in town, but none of them were present during my observation. "They were old single men," says the owner of the Dominican restaurant, "who bought lunch from me every day. But I think because of their age that they just didn't have the strength to continue in the work." Of the group of ten that arrived with Diogenes, none were particularly old, but only five were still working in the plant two months later.

They started out very united. Several were heard to declare "*Donde se llegan los Cubanos, se seca la yierba*": we work together to clear a space for ourselves. They shared small trailers and crammed into rental homes. Gustavo, his cousin, and his wife Rosa all quit after about a week. Rosa felt she could get a job in the hospital as an RN, Gustavo

believed that he could get work as an electrician, and his cousin, a plumber, wanted work that corresponded to his skills.

As mentioned before, Micaela got a job as a “bilingual facilitator” in the schools. Chino, who claims to have a doctorate degree in marine engineering, and speaks both English and Spanish well, has done the same. Diogenes realized that working on the cut floor of a slaughterhouse has nothing to do with computers; he moved to Peoria, lives in a shelter for homeless men, and takes courses on information technology.

The only folks who stayed were those who were relatively less qualified, and/or those who had relatively less facility with English. Martina, who is monolingual and only has an eighth grade education, is at the plant. Blanca is working at the plant because she doesn’t speak English and has no accounting credential that would be recognized in the US. Yolanda is a certified nurse’s aide who ran out of work in Miami; possibilities for her employment are even more limited where none of the elderly and few of the hospitalized speak her only language. Willy and Mirielli, who were both unemployed laborers in Miami, speak no English, have no education beyond high school, and must support their two young children.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have laid out the stories of 21 Latinos who moved to Barberton since 1994. These were only a part of the people in Barberton who provided perspectives on the growth of a Latino community. In the next chapter, I detail the shared patterns that emerged from the stories of the 21 people profiled here, but also from interactions with other respondents. Using these examples, I explain how the stories of Latinos in

Beardstown relate to the larger demographic shift of Latino settlement in the United States.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

What some interviewees said may be true: nobody works harder than a Mexican. This claim notwithstanding, the experience of the Cubans who were featured in the last chapter indicates that no one works harder than a low English proficiency, uneducated, and undocumented employee. That's why Adela was so happy to hear from these Cubans; she figured at least two out of three characteristics would get some of the people she met in Miami to stay in Barberton. The packinghouse's active recruitment of Spanish-speakers is one of the key reasons that Barberton sports a much larger Latino community than it did fifteen years ago. In this chapter, I offer a synthesis of the lessons learned from speaking to the Cubans, Mexicans, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans in Barberton about how this rural Illinois town came to participate in the larger shift in Latino settlement patterns in the United States.

Overview: How Did Latinos Settle in Barberton?

The demographic shift in Barberton was started by longtime US residents. Typically, these pioneers were born in Mexico and had years of experience in the United States. Often, they had worked in agriculture in California or Texas before moving to jobs in the Midwest. The pioneers in Barberton came because they heard about the plant's

need for their labor. The vast majority of the Latino pioneers who came to Barberton were working at other packinghouses immediately prior to moving. They found out about Barberton's packinghouse through packinghouse workers who had worked in Barberton before.

Those who were coming from other packinghouses found conditions in Excel's (now Cargill Meat Solutions') Barberton facility to be better than other packinghouses. Those who had previously been working in agriculture liked the predictable hours, dependable pay, and higher wages offered by the packinghouse. Once these pioneers were established, they consolidated their friends and family in Barberton. In many cases, these friends and family were already in the United States. Others reunited with their friends and family across international borders.

Having come to Barberton for the packinghouse jobs, Latinos stayed because Barberton is a relatively inexpensive and quiet place to live. Interviewees said that the quality of life they have obtained in Barberton would not be possible in rural California, Texas, or a large city. They perceive these more "traditional" destinations for Latinos as full of temptations for their kids, crowded with people, and expensive. Because of Barberton's strengths relative to traditional destinations, respondents settled here to start families, raise children, or unite extended families.

As the new residents of Barberton gathered their families and friends in the small town, Cargill began actively recruiting other immigrants. The packinghouse managers may perceive that Latinos as a group have desirable characteristics such as the willingness to consistently perform difficult labor at relatively low rates of pay. The

managers also find it convenient that this group, especially the Mexican-born, are enthusiastic to recruit their coethnic friends and family.[23]

Based on turnover, it is apparent that Cargill experiences a constant need for new workers. In order to fill these vacancies, it has targeted Latinos as a group by running ads in Spanish-language media nationwide and by sending its recruiters to places where members of this group are concentrated.

Other Organizations and The Institutionalization of an Immigrant Community

Aside from the packinghouse, other employers soon learned to recruit Latinos. While the first Spanish-speaking pioneers in Barberton came exclusively for the jobs at the plant, many subsequent arrivals never worked there. While Latinos remain concentrated in agriculture—especially swine production and vegetable harvesting—and manufacturing, the opportunities in later years have included a secondary set of jobs with public service organizations (e.g. schools) that need Spanish-speaking staff in order to serve a new clientele. Additionally, entrepreneurs have started businesses that cater to the new demographic.

Because the packinghouse is no longer the only employer of Spanish-speakers, the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Guatemalans who call Barberton home occupy a broad and stable variety of niches in the local economy. Even if the packinghouse closed, there would still be a Latino community in Barberton. Their connection to the place is greater than an economic tie to one particular employer.

Settlement in Barberton

On an individual level, the reasons that members of this group left their lands of birth in favor of the United States are diverse. Monica and Marcela left Mexico and El

Salvador, respectively, to flee the dangerous men they had married. The Salvadorans and Nicaraguans in this study arrived in the US fleeing civil wars. The Cubans fled that country's difficult political and economic situation. One man interviewed said that he left Guadalajara as a youth "*por loquito,*" for the heck of it.

All the respondents agree that economic necessity or opportunity is the biggest reason that anyone would leave for the US. Emiliano left his parents' farm because of a crisis in the cut-flower industry. Others, like Soledad and her mother, left because there was simply no way to earn enough money in their place of origin. Those who are from rural areas in Mexico said that while their parents smallholding farmers or day workers, this subsistence way of life was not available to new generations because it has been replaced by a cash economy fed by remittances. There is no one to tend the farm and no local economy for farm goods because everyone buys what they need with money sent from abroad.[24]

Whatever the reasons of individuals may be, the packinghouse, now owned by Cargill Meat Solutions (formerly Excel), is singularly the most important actor in the process that created a Spanish-speaking community in Barberton. Interviews with union leaders and former plant managers revealed that the plant management has continually changed working conditions in such a way that the work is relatively less attractive to native-born workers.

While Spanish-speakers are still the minority at the Barberton plant, packinghouse managers have worked to attract members of this group because they perceive them to be hard-working and stable employees. Packinghouse recruiters have made connections with state unemployment agencies in places where Latinos have traditionally settled. They

have placed ads in the Spanish-language media, such as the radio ads that Rudolfo heard in El Paso, and they have conducted recruitment meetings in Puerto Rico, Miami, South Texas, Fresno, Los Angeles, and Chicago, among other locales. In turn, a segment of Latinos finds the work at the packinghouse to be better than the other sorts of work that are available to them. Hearing about the plant from their friends and family, through a packinghouse recruiter, or from packinghouse workers at other plants, they have moved to Barberton.

The Draw of the Meatpacking Industry

In the first half of the twentieth century, the meatpacking industry was concentrated in urban centers[25] near rail lines, the technology that made industrialized meat processing possible. Animals to be rendered into meat were shipped into urban stockyards and butchered; meat products were shipped out nationwide for sale to consumers and retailers. As the century progressed, however, meatpacking concerns relocated to rural areas of the country (Stull and Broadway 2004; Whittaker 2006).

The Barberton plant, opened by the Oscar Mayer Company, was one of many killing floors that opened in rural areas as part of this trend. Packinghouse owners moved away from the cities ostensibly to relocate closer to the farms that produced the animals they needed, hence lowering shipping costs, but also to circumvent expensive collective labor bargaining agreements and strong unions found in the cities (Whittaker 2006). By changing locations, and sometimes company names, meatpacking entrepreneurs were able to opt out of union contracts. The industry's relocation was made possible by a new transportation technology: the limited-access interstate highway network.

The shift to the countryside was also made possible by an ongoing process of "deskilling" in packinghouses. Whereas early packinghouse workers were craftsmen and skilled butchers, packinghouse management continually divided jobs into smaller positions that required ever-less skill. In moving to the countryside, packinghouse owners were able to exploit unskilled and un-unionized workers. In addition, upon finding that these lower-paid and lower-skilled country cousins of the unionized workforce were less likely to stay on the job for any length of time, abattoir entrepreneurs re-engineered their labor practices to profit from high turnover (Whittaker 2006).

It takes a lot of expensive equipment to compete as a meatpacking enterprise—it's "capital intensive." The per-unit profit margins are low because the product is a commodity. Meatpacking companies are forced to take the market price on their goods, and generally can only make more money by selling in greater volume at lower cost. Since prices are so competitive, and the means of production so expensive, companies succeed by, on the one hand, reducing labor costs, and, on the other, exploiting economies of scale to get the most out of each piece of expensive equipment (Stull and Broadway 2004; Stull, Broadway, and Griffith 1995).

Thus, the meatpacking industry has tended to consolidate in the hands of ever-larger agribusiness companies. By 1990, the entire industry was heavily concentrated in the hands of but three companies: IBP, Excel (later bought by Cargill), and ConAgra (Whittaker 2006). As of 2008, four large agribusiness concerns, Smithfield, Tyson, Swift, and Cargill, own two-thirds of all pork abattoirs in the United States (Whittaker 2006).

Working conditions. A second result of these market conditions is that meatpackers are driven to reduce labor costs through tight control of wages and working conditions. Workers perpetually are forced to labor faster and produce more. In 1970, the plant butchered 5000 hogs in a single eight-hour shift; this number has nearly doubled without a proportional increase of workforce. Notably, since 1999, the line speed has increased from 7750 to 9700 pigs per shift, or by one quarter.[26]

Despite the original trend in midcentury meatpacking towards non-union shops, the Barberton plant had unionized shortly after opening. Wages, while perhaps less than they would have been in an urban area, increased slightly but continually. In the 1979-1982 contract between the United Food and Commercial Workers' Union (UFCW) and Oscar Mayer, workers earned $10.69/hr. They were given a daily production quota that many workers could meet by noon. When they met this quota, they were paid a bonus for each additional hog they finished.

However, in 1981, Oscar Mayer, the owner of the plant, was sold to the General Foods Corporation.[27] In a pattern of labor-management relations that was common in that decade (Whittaker 2006), the new owners threatened to shutter the plant unless the union made substantial concessions. The UFCW, concerned for its members' jobs, accepted severe cuts to wages and benefits for the 1983 contract term.

Since the 1983 contract, wages at the packinghouse have stagnated or declined in real terms,[28] while the rate of work steadily increased. Despite labor concessions, Oscar Mayer, now under management by Philip Morris, the company that bought General Foods, apparently found that it was too small to compete. The plant closed in 1986.[29]

Excel, a subsidiary of global agribusiness firm Cargill, purchased, re-engineered, and reopened the facility in 1987. Later, Excel was repositioned as a mere sales brand for Cargill products. Cargill Meat Solutions is currently the part of the Cargill corporation that operates the plant. As a large agribusiness corporation that owns a number of meat processing plants and livestock-related industries internationally, Cargill has been able to compete with the other large players in meat processing through savings that arise from vertical integration and economies of scale. Additionally, in the case of the Barberton plant, the new owners added a night shift to increase their return on capital.

Retirement and medical benefits were significantly reduced, and tight work rules, including mandatory overtime, were introduced. The former managers, current union officials, and present-day workers interviewed all agreed that turnover under Cargill's work rules has increased to as much as 70% per annum. Among other matters, work rules state how long an employee has from the beginning of his or her employment to consistently meet production quotas, how many unexcused absences are allowed in a given period, and how many minutes at the beginning of the shift are available for donning protective gear. Other practices that also increase turnover are an up-to ninety day probationary period during which the packinghouse may fire a new employee without any extensive warning process or union involvement, and the tendency to fire new workers who complain of sore muscles or joints from repetitive work.

The cost-reduction conspiracy.[30] The packinghouse's critics claim that this high turnover is a ploy to consistently reduce the company's liabilities for workers' compensation claims and retirement benefits.[31] Rudolfo said, in a half-serious way, that the plant used to kill pigs, but now kills people. His lament echoes the accusation that many people in Barberton level at the plant. By hiring people who will not last for more than a couple months and by firing anyone who complains of pain, Cargill avoids potential liabilities. It also has limited the doctors that workers injured on the job may see for a free evaluation. Without the cooperation of the packinghouse, or review of federally-available workers' compensation records, it is hard to examine this claim.

In a consonant but contrasting theory, some extend this theory about Cargill's intent to explain why foreign-born Spanish speakers are attractive to the plant: *Se quedan, y no se quejan*. According to this conjecture, Latinos stay because they are, as a group, less likely to be proficient in English, and less likely to have legal authorization to work in the United States. This sort of retention is fine with Cargill, according to the conjecture, because this group is less likely to make claims against the company than is the general workforce. Those without English proficiency or legal permission to work in the US are much less likely to risk losing their job at the plant by violating the strict discipline[32] of plant rules, or complaining about working conditions. The alternatives to work at the plant are much less satisfactory.

A human capital theory approach (such as what the authors in Massey 2008 adopt) posits that the lack of other options is based on a low level of desirable work skills, while a more critical approach would state that the nature of our economy is such

that it confines certain easily-exploitable and disposable people in dangerous, unstable, and unpleasant jobs ("capitalism's reserve army of labor").

In their study of Mexican-born oil workers in southern Louisiana, Donato, Tolbert, Nucci, and Kawano found that Mexicans were attractive to employers for their perceived "soft skills." First among these was a perceived ability to work hard. For the Mexicans interviewed in their work, the willingness to work harder than their native-born peers came from a familiarity with much more difficult working arrangements in their country of origin. The conditions in the offshore drilling industry that looked unattractive to native-born-economic instability along with hard, dangerous work-seemed downright generous to those who used Mexican employment terms as their frame of reference (Katharine M. Donato, Charles Tolbert, Alfred Nucci, and Kawano 2008).

Another interpretation of the exploitation of Latinos is that even if only a minority of a group is undocumented, or subject to deportation, the entire group looks suspect. It is the *deportability* of some that makes everyone in the group more easily exploitable, even in the absence of actual deportations (DeGenova 2006). Restrictionist immigration policy constructs the identity of Latinos in such a way that all group members potentially belong to a group of undesirable "illegal aliens," paving the way for their exploitation in packinghouses and similar enterprises (Ngai 2004).

Whether in recruiting Latinos, managers are acting instrumentally to lower labor costs or not, the result is the same. Foreign-born Spanish speakers do work that has become less appealing to native-born people. Cargill needs their labor in order to stay in business. Cargill decided at some point to pursue a labor strategy that targets non-native born. While there are a number of people who have moved to Barberton on the advice of

friends to work at jobs that are not at the plant, Cargill's thirst for labor is key to explaining why so many foreign-born and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers have moved to this rural place.

Better than other sorts of work. Just as Latinos are an attractive population for the packinghouse, packinghouse work is very attractive for a certain class of Latino worker. Latinos, probably mostly foreign born, have long been over-represented in packinghouse work. Their involvement in packinghouses has been continuous from the first three decades of the 20th century (Whittaker 2006), but their representation in the meatpacking workplace has increase dramatically in the last two decades of the same. 8.6% percent of packinghouse workers were Hispanic in 1980; that percentage increased to 28.6% by 2000, easily twice that group's proportion in the workforce as a whole (Parrado and Kandel 2008).

Respondents in the current study revealed that slaughterhouse work is attractive principally to people whose other options for employment are severely limited. They are restrained from finding better work because they have lower levels of educational attainment, are less adept at speaking English, or do not have authorization to work legally in the United States. In general, these people view work in the packinghouse as being a step up from their other options, and often view the packinghouse as the best option of all.

For example, had she not found the packinghouse, Soledad would still be working temporary jobs in California for agricultural subcontractors. She found that employers outside of seasonal agriculture required a test of basic math skills that she was unable to pass, and often insisted their employees speak a lanuage-English-that she doesn't speak.

If her friend had not told her about IBP, Marcela would have continued in a Los Angeles sewing sweatshop for minimum wage because without work authorization, further education, or the ability to speak English, the sweatshop was all she could find. Had Manuel stayed in Mexico, he would be working in a mailing-industry maquiladora for a tenth of the wage he received at the packinghouse, so the stringent work rules and potential for injury did little to dissuade him from working there.

Mateo worked in a candy shop in Chicago and a clothing sweatshop in Los Angeles. Packinghouse work can pay almost twice what these minimum-wage jobs do. Rudolfo, like Daniel, picked strawberries. He'd been a Mexican rural police officer, but law enforcement in the US takes more education, and processing pork pays more.

William doesn't really earn any more at his job than he did as a trucker in Puerto Rico. But he only works eight or ten hours a day instead of the twelve hours that his work hauling goods around the island required. He didn't finish high school, so trucking was a good job. But the packinghouse is better.

Worked at other packinghouses. Respondents who didn't find out about Cargill through friends and family living in Barberton (see "Chain Migration," below) or through direct recruiting by the company usually found out about Barberton when they were working at other packinghouses. While packinghouse labor is not highly skilled, workers are accustomed to working for one meatpacker will find the labor at another abattoir familiar. Many packinghouse workers have worked at multiple plants, and therefore are conversant in the advantages of one location over another. Many interviewees said they came to Barberton on the recommendation of a coworker from another meatpacking concern.

Ramon was one of the first Latinos to settle in Barberton. Previously, he had lived for thirty years in California, where he helped manage produce farms, and for several years in Monmoth, Iowa, where he worked a packinghouse. Like many others in this study, Ramon prefered the packinghouse over working on farms because steady hours are available year-round.

But he didn't like how the Monmoth plant required workers to labor ten hour days, six days a week. Another packinghouse worker told him about the Barberton packinghouse. After checking out Excel (now Cargill) in Barberton, he decided to move because the plant was better managed and had less required overtime. He's lived in Barberton since 1992.

Before he opened a bar in Barberton, Juan did a whole circuit of different packinghouses. He finally moved in 1993 to Barberton to work at Cargill, where, like Ramon, he found the working conditions more humane than at other plants.

On the receiving side, there are certain jobs in the US that are reserved for the native-born lackluck and the low-English-proficiency foreign-born (Piore 1979). It seems that the biggest export of many Latin American countries is labor, a pattern that echoes Burawoy, Sassen, and Wallerstein's ideas about unequal exchange in the global economy (Burawoy 1976; Sassen-Koob 1982; Wallerstein 2004). But the political economy that produced the geographically uneven distribution of economic opportunities is harder to ascertain from the interviews performed in this study.

One larger pattern that interviews do illustrate is that the history and economic structures of the United States and Latin America are inextricably interwoven. The weft of history and economic relations can be seen in the story of Tatitca Guzman, born in

Mexico the granddaughter of a *bracero*, or of Isidrio, whose extended family in the US have helped him at every step along his way. Emigration from Mexico and Latin America to the US is shown by these stories to be a well-established and long-standing practice. Leaving for the US is not a novel idea, but an unsurprising part of everyday life.

Respondents arrived in the US years before or concurrently with a decision to move to Barberton. Whether or not they traveled across an international border in order to reach Barberton, it's almost less important that Latinos came to Barberton than that they have stayed. The packinghouse recruited them, but they stayed because of quality-of-life issues and family responsibilities that could be better addressed in Barberton than elsewhere. As the number of Latinos speakers at the packinghouse expanded, other employers started to hire the foreign-born as well. Professionals and business people settled into Barberton to serve the needs of the new group.

Over time, the relative importance of the packinghouse to sustaining a community of Latinos in Barberton has decreased as workers explore other economic opportunities and make commitments to life in rural Illinois. This may be what Massey means when he says that immigration becomes "institutionalized"— the amenities that this group value are available in the community, and strong ties to specific sending regions encourage the continued flow of people even if the original reasons for settlement (i.e. packinghouse recruitment) disappear. Barberton's foreign-born Spanish speakers have formed roots strong enough to be more than migrants: this is home.

Chain Migration

Already living in the US, or having decided to cross the border, a factor in importance second only to the packinghouse’s demand for labor in building a Latino

community are individuals' social contacts with those who live in Barberton. Given that there are other similar towns and other packinghouses with similar labor strategies to Cargill's, the connections that individuals had with friends and relatives already living in Barberton was key in bringing them to this particular rural place.

Daniel's uncles. Daniel had a lot of help from his aunts and uncles— he says that without them, his success in the United States wouldn't be possible at all. But imagine then how indebted his brothers and sister feel towards him now that they all work at the plant!

Manuel. Manuel was working in an industrial postal clearinghouse on the border when a friend encouraged him to travel to North Carolina to harvest tomatoes. There were no tomatoes to harvest, but having passed the border, he called his aunt Mercedes. Mercedes arranged for him to come to Barberton, where he worked until the raid at the packinghouse. There was not enough information for Manuel to move just anywhere; he needed to be around his family for help.

Izekiel. Izeqiel and Monica needed better-paying work than was available in San Luis Potosi. About two years ago, they turned to Iziquiel's brother, who works in the packinghouse, for advice. They agreed that more opportunities were available in the US. Now Iziquel, two brothers, Monica, and their child live in a cheap but ample rental in Barberton.

Notably, Izequiel did not come to Barberton to work in the plant, but because his brother already lived there. If his brother had lived someplace else, Izekiel would have gone there instead. Now he works as a roofing subcontractor at wages that dwarf what he

earned as a club bouncer in San Luis. Monica stays home to look after their child, a station in life she sees as a step up from being a retail inventory clerk.

Lower Cost of Living

Many respondents mentioned that the low cost of living made Barberton especially attractive. Elsewhere, respondents may have worked jobs that paid the same as the wage at the packinghouse. But twelve dollars an hour in Fresno, Bakersfield, Chicago, or Los Angeles does not buy as much housing and food as it does in Barberton. Families and individuals who had previously been renting homes became owners when they move to Barberton, and those who owned homes in the US previously buy larger homes. Those who do not buy homes save a greater proportion of their income, sometimes remitting this money back to extended family in the migrants' place of origin.

Reproductive Choices, Childrearing, and Family Responsibilities

Beyond general claims that they moved to Barberton for "economic necessity" or "to get ahead" (*echarnme para adelante)*, or they moved because they knew someone already living there, respondents assert that they settled in Barberton to fulfill their roles as mothers, family providers, and good relatives. They chose Barberton as a safe and inexpensive place to be with family or raise a family.

Isabella's motherhood. Isabella and Saul are from the same neighborhood in Mexico City. Saul moved to Barberton in the late 1990s to work at the plant. Isabella met Saul when Saul was visiting Mexico City from Barberton. They were introduced by Isabella's sister and Saul's brother, who had married.

Eventually, Saul and Isabella decided they themselves would make a great pair. On another one of Saul's visits to the Mexican capital city, they married. Shortly after

they wed, Saul returned to Barberton. Around the same time, Isabella knew she was pregnant.

She wanted to visit her new husband, so she crossed the border illegally. She arrived in Barberton near the third month of her first pregnancy. During the first month of what she planned as a short visit, Isabella experienced acute medical problems connected to her pregnancy. Saul took her to an obstetrician, who announced that Isabella had a problem pregnancy that would need constant monitoring. With some difficulty, and the help of the obstetrician, Isabella gave birth to her first child, a son.

Isabella always wanted to have children. But because she married relatively late in her life— 36— she felt like she didn't have much time to do so. Her son was born when she was 37.

She intentionally became pregnant as quickly after giving birth as was possible. She was concerned that her second pregnancy would be difficult like her first. She liked the obstetrician who had guided her through her first pregnancy. After some discussion, Saul agreed with her that the best thing for her to do was stay in Barberton for the indefinite future. That way, she could have a healthy second child and then raise a family.

Javier raises a family. When Javier came to the United States, he started out in LA. After about three months, he started to work as a sewing-machine operator in a shop. He stayed in this for about four years. Then he moved to Fresno to work in the fields. He emphasizes that back then, he was free to move around at will because he was young. He compares this to how he makes decisions now. Nowadays, he has a family. He makes decisions in order to advance them, sacarlas adelante. He moved to Molin in 1998, Chicago in 2001, and Monmoth in 2003. He's worked in IBP in Monmoth, and Farmland, another pig plant in Monmoth. Everytime he's moved since he moved away from Chicago, he's been looking for a certain quality of life for his family. He wouldn't move back to LA or Chicago— they are big and "dirty," no good for raising kids.

He expressed that this town is the one he's felt most at home in. He has a quasi-managerial job at a pig farm, the kids are in school, and he feels good about the church he is involved in. He hopes to live in Barberton for the foreseeable future.

Daniel and Soledad avoid gangs. Daniel was one of several parents who mentioned "pandillaje," or gangs, when explaining why he wanted to raise a family in Barberton. He perceives that larger towns, and California as a whole, are more likely to have youth gangs than small-town Illinois. Furthermore, Daniel likes Barberton because it is like the rural outpost in Guanajato where he was raised. He wants his children to have the same sort of life that he did when he was growing up.

Soledad’s kids were getting into trouble with gangs and drugs when she lived in Gilroy, California. In fact, they still are known for abusing pot and alcohol. Maria Elena moved to Barberton not only for the work, but because she felt that her childrens' behavior problems would be less damaging in a small Illinois town.

Tatica comes to be a faithful wife, stays to unite the family. Tatica came to Barberton to look after her brother-in-law, and then stayed. The Guzman family, with many cousins and grandchildren, owns a ranch. They are but one of many families who have united themselves in Barberton.

Other Organizations

Once enough Latinos moved to work at the packinghouse, specialized economic opportunities became available for a different group of foreign-born Spanish speakers. Generally better-educated than packinghouse workers, members of this subgroup have moved to Barberton to start businesses, provide public services, and act as religious leaders.

Soledad moved to Barberton to start a business. Celia followed her husband to Barberton, but has found a valuable niche for herself as an interpreter and bilingual social worker. Guido opened his Dominican restaurant because profits from his car rental, restaurant, and jewelry businesses in the volatile tourist-oriented economy of San Pedro, Dominican Republic, were hard to predict. Tomas acquired significant organizing skills as a leftist leader in Nicaragua's civil war (1979-1990), gained political asylum after fleeing to Carbondale (Illinois) in 1992, and was recruited by the Barberton school district as "Spanish outreach coordinator" in 1998 after half a decade organizing popular education programs for southern Illinois migrant farmworkers.

Pastorships in evangelical churches provide a niche for some Spanish speakers. Three protestant denominations— Seventh-day Adventist, Methodist, Assemblies of God— have opened new churches apart from the English-language church buildings

where English-language services are held. These religious communities have hired professionals to meet the religious needs of Latinos.

The Adventist church attracted a very academic Nicaraguan to Barberton; he is different in class, intellectual preparation, and custom from the mostly-Mexican congregation he serves. The lay leader of the Assembly of God church is— predictably, since it is the biggest evangelical church in the Dominican Republic— led by a Dominican from New York, a Dominican York. The pastor of the fledging Methodist Church "Nueva Vida," moved to Barberton from Carbondale when he received a grant from the denomination to start a church in Barberton.

Gender

Scholars elsewhere have studied how gender organizes, and is reconstituted by, international migration. For example, Maura Toro-Morn showed how gendered ideas about Puerto Rican women led to their recruitment for domestics in mid-twentieth-century Chicago (Toro-Morn 2001). Migration changes how men and women perform gender (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999; Pessar 1999b), and the qualities of the social capital they can use for establishing themselves in a new place (Menjivar 2000).

Gendered reasons were behind several respondents' choices to move to and stay in the United States or Barberton. Monica and Celia left their countries of origin in order to flee male abusers. Isabella's choice to stay in the US for her first pregnancy, and to become pregnant thereafter while staying in the US, may have been influenced by a gendered ideology that values women's role in reproduction over other considerations.

Enforcement of Border Controls Disrupts Settlement Pattern

As a final factor affecting individuals' decisions to settle in Barberton, the US' current "border control" policy is worth mentioning. The increased vigilance at the border in the past decade not only keeps some people out of the United States, but also keeps some others in. People are not free to move across the border. They worry that if they leave, they may never be able to come back. This disruption of the circular migration pattern has been documented by a number of scholars, notably Douglas Massey.

Discussion: Packinghouses, the New Settlement Pattern, the Midwest, and "Illegality"

At least some native-born people share the prejudices and ignorant beliefs of both the kitchen staff and the newspaper writer about Latinos. First, they believe that Latinos are new to the United States or the Midwest, having directly crossed an international border to arrive in Barberton. Secondly, they believe that Latinos are transient migrants, not fixed settlers. Thirdly, they believe that Latinos speakers have arrived in Barberton "all of the sudden" instead of as part of a long story that links the United States with the rest of the Americas and an economic system that reserves some sorts of work for certain sorts of people.

When this project was conceived, the author implicitly shared some of the newspaper editor's and restaurant workers' views. I conceived of the cultural and demographic changes in Barberton as wholly the result of sudden international immigration, not a shifting of internal US settlement patterns. By engaging in fieldwork, I have come to have a much more nuanced understanding of demographic change in Barberton.

In addition to challenging merely ignorant biases, however, this research challenges and extends popular academic ideas about what causes immigration. Initially, I asked why international immigrants would choose Barberton when there were other places where wages might be higher and they would ostensibly have denser networks of social contacts. I questioned the popular seven-step causation model of Douglas Massey, which privileges the agency of individuals over structure or the actions of powerful corporate actors like large businesses and the capitalist state. I wondered what forces or actors were most responsible for the demographic change in Barberton. I used international labor migration theory as a jumping-off point for this discussion.

As a result of my grounding in this corpus of theory, I was sensitized to the role of economic "rational choice" in migrants' stories. Migrants moved from places of relatively lower wages to places of higher wages. I was alert to how migrants instrumentally used information from their peers (Massey's kin, friends, and *paisanos*) to find these higher wages. But I suspected that the rational choices of migrants might be less important than the choices of other actors, some of them corporate.

The information about jobs is a concrete example of the social capital that inheres in networks of acquaintances. But it would be disingenuous to claim that the relationships that are most responsible for Latinos moving to Barberton are, as Massey suggests, kinship, friendship, and coming from the same town far away. The web of social actors that have dictated a lot of the experience of those who have come to Barberton includes state immigration policy and a corporation, Cargill. It is fine to say that there was demand for labor, and that Latinos, acting rationally in their own self interest, used the resources that inhere in their networks of peers to capitalize on that demand. What this picture is

missing, however, is how vastly more powerful forces than the new midwesterners and their immediate social contacts created this demand, and how information from powerful nonpeer actors informed the migrants' choices.

In the end, Barberton changed because packinghouse managers used the migrants' networks of peers to meet their needs for easily exploitable labor. They did this because state immigration policy, among other things, makes Latinos into more reliable workers than native-born English speakers. The packinghouse company's need for cheap workers who would consistently do hard jobs without complaint transformed Barberton just as other employers are transforming other places in the Midwest.

What the Mexicans (and Central Americans of different nationalities) mean when they say that "*un boricua no se aguanta tanto en la planta*" is up for debate. The person who says it usually is in the middle of explaining himself or herself as a hard worker, or, more especially, a Mexican, Guatemalan, Salvadoran, or Nicaraguan hard worker. In the case of the Mexican speaker, he or she may suffix it with "*somos gente humilde y sabemos trabajar*" or similar. (Soledad said "*sabemos que el trabajo lastima*") They mean to indicate their pride in being able to provide, to dig into the work and do what is necessary, even when it is demeaning.

Others, especially people who don't work at the plant, present a more nuanced version of the catchphrase "*un boricua no aguanta tanto como un mexicano*." They note that a lot of the people who present themselves as humble people who know how to work hard are actually jealous people with limited opportunities. According to this theory, undocumented workers, people without a high school diploma, the illiterate, and those who cannot speak a lick of English are stuck working at the plant. People from rural

Mexico and Central America are relatively more likely to be without papers, education, literacy, or a second language than are Puerto Ricans or Cubans. Puerto Ricans are US citizens at birth thanks to US colonialism, while Cubans are automatically given legal residency if they arrive in the United States.

This is not to say that employers are entirely aware that illegality, low proficiency in English, and low educational attainment make the perfect sort of worker. In the case of the Barberton packinghouse, for example, when Mexican-born people became too risky to recruit, the corporation went after Spanish-speaking people generally. While plant hiring managers were not available for comment, one must assume that they conflated the "soft skills" of Mexicans with that of all Latinos, or else, in a more calculated move, understood the limits that speaking only Spanish puts on a workers' vocational choice.

Nor is it the case that all or most foreign-born Latinos are working without documents. It is simply enough that the number of undocumented workers be enough that people, like the waitress at the beginning of this section, suspect that all the workers in the plant are working without authorization. The prejudice that this engenders against the entire group puts everyone at a great disadvantage. Whether anti-immigrant policies are consciously designed to keep Latinos in a narrow band of unskilled jobs, this is one of their unintended consequences.

When workers say that Mexicans, as opposed to Puerto Ricans and Cubans, stay in the plant and don't complain (*se queda, y no se queja*) or that a Mexican really knows how to stick with the plant (*nadie se aguanta trabajo como un Mexicano*), they are not really talking about the individual wills of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Instead,

they are talking about the structure of the US and meatpacking economy, where a certain set of jobs are reserved for those who have few other options.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Spanish speakers have changed the face of a small midwestern town. This project has sought to explain how this happened. Interviews and observation in Barberton show that the demographic shift in Barberton was started by longtime foreign-born US residents. These first foreign-born residents first came in response to latent demand for their labor at the plant. Later they came in response to active recruitment, as Krissman (Krissman 2005) would predict.

The demand at the plant was created by the changing structure of the meatpacking industry. Meatpacking companies must take prevailing market prices for their goods because stiff competition among meatpacking concerns, along with high capital costs, ensures that prices are low. One of the few ways that meatpacking companies have been able to increase or sustain profits is by lowering their labor costs (Parrado and Kandel 2008; Stull and Broadway 2004; Stull, Broadway, and Griffith 1995; Whittaker 2006). In Barberton, as elsewhere, this changing structure lead the packing plant to speed up the line, lower the level of skill needed to work on the line, reduce real wages and benefits, and tighten work rules. These conditions made packinghouse work in Barberton less attractive than other work available to the native-born.

By contrast, for a certain class of Latinos in Barberton, as elsewhere, packinghouse jobs are very attractive. Latinos, probably mostly foreign born, have long been over-represented in packinghouse work. 8.6% percent of packinghouse workers were Hispanic in 1980; that percentage increased to 28.6% by 2000, easily twice that group's proportion in the workforce as a whole (Parrado and Kandel 2008). The first Latino workers came to Barberton for the packinghouse jobs. They stayed not only for work, but because Barberton is a cheap and quiet place to raise families, a contrast to some of the more "traditional" areas of Latino settlement in the US. Many Latinos, both native and foreign-born, have made a commitment to fulfill important social roles as providers, parents, and loyal relatives, by building lives and careers in Barberton. Long-time foreign-born US residents consolidated their friends and family in Barberton, creating a new community.

While white, English speakers often think of Latinos as "newcomers" or "immigrants," this understanding is not accurate. Unfortunately, this bias is reflected in much of the professional literature. The current work shows that, often as not, Latino pioneers are long-time US residents. After living in "traditional" locales for foreign-born Latinos, such as California or Texas, these pioneers move to places like Barberton where there are more opportunities for people with their particular skills.

Overall, while the choices of individuals who moved to Barberton can be viewed through a lens of personal agency and rational choice, the structural changes and historical moment that made their move to rural Illinois possible are hard to ignore, as is the rational maximizing behavior of the packinghouse. As has been shown, Latinos moved to Barberton mostly because of the strategies the packinghouse used to staff itself.

In the beginning, individuals were recruited to work for Cargill, or they found out about it through association with informal networks of Spanish-speaking packinghouse workers in the way described by Massey (1987). When these people arrived, they passed this information along through networks of kin and friends, who used this information, a form of social capital, to maximize their returns on their labor by moving to Barberton.

The greatest contributor to the town's transformation, however, was Cargill's need to have a workforce as cheap as its competitors. To this end, Cargill actively recruited Latinos. It is hard to establish if plant management understand the role that "illegality" has in the making of good workers, but the Puerto Ricans and Cubans they has hired, who are more likely to have higher educational attainment and legal authorization to work, have not been as successful in the plant as the Mexicans and Salvadorans. This firmly establishes that the rational, maximizing action of Cargill, a major multinational corporation, within the overall structure of the US economy, was at least as important as the actions of individual migrants to Barberton. While individuals used networks of kin, friends, and countrymen to look for economic opportunity, Cargill effectively used these for its own means.

Limitations and Opportunities for Further Research

This study is suggestive of further work that might be done about migration, gender, cultural change in the Midwest, race relations, and labor recruitment. This further work is important because this thesis has certain limitations in scope and method. First, as an attempt at community ethnography, the period of observation and interviewing involved was all too brief. A year or more of continual involvement in a place could have yielded a more nuanced understanding. The personal relationships on which ethnography

are constructed take a long time to grow. Complex patterns may emerge after extensive involvement that was not possible in this study. Secondly, there are only a three dozen foreign-born Spanish-speaking interviewees in this study. While they represent some of the extremes of the experiences people may have, and the information received from new interviewees started to duplicate previous interviews, there are some groups that may be under-represented in this study. Relative to others, individuals without legal residency or citizenship were less likely to talk to the researcher, as were those with relatively less formal education or less facility in a second language. This is linked to the first limitation in that relationships of trust take a long time to build, especially when a theme as charged as of late as immigration is concerned. Additionally, my outside position as a non-native speaker of Spanish and as a member of the majority ethnic group made trust harder to build with members of the target group. A final limitation is that all research was conducted in and about one town. That said, the hope is that this small, detailed, and concrete example can be abstracted to speak to the concerns of other similar places, of which there are many.

A careful look at how gender is reconstituted by migration would be useful. The packinghouse, with its strict regimen of physical work, shift labor, dress codes, measurement of human productivity, would be an ideal site for studying how power acts differently upon various individuals due to intersections of ethnicity, race, class, and gender. Previous researchers have documented a feminization of work that accompanies the sort of deskilling that has continuously occurred in the meatpacking industry. The intersection between *latinidad* and gender in shaping who works in a packinghouse, and how that work is performed, would be enlightening.

ENDNOTES

1. In 1531, the Virgin Mary appeared to Juan Diego, an aboriginal Mexican. When the bishop doubted that such a humble man had actually seen the Virgin, the story goes, She caused roses to grow in frozen ground as proof for the cleric. A chapel to the Virgin Guadalupe was built on a hill in an area now on the outskirts of the capital city. Guadalupe is a symbol of the Mexican-national identity everywhere. By appearing to an indigenous son, she showed that everyone, Indian and Creole, were blessed. Pope John II canonized Juan Diego as the Americas' first indigenous saint in 2002. (Catholic Online 2008) The US is under protection of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception, but no one buys rear-window car decals of her. She's busy protecting Zimbawe and several other countries, anyway.

2. In order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, the name of this real town has been changed

3. Nota bene: The 2005 summary represents material that Wallerstein presented starting in the mid-1970s, so is not the text theorists would have been familiar with, e.g. conference papers cited by Wood and Pessar.

4. This is, in effect, Wallerstein's definition of "total income."

5. A pseudonym given by Hagan.

6. Adler: "…current work [in anthropology] on migration overcomes the tension of micro and macro by providing a historical context to local phenomena and demonstrating how globalization impacts local places."

7. There are many definitions of social capital. Coleman's conceptualization of social capital as a resource to achieve rational ends is the one used here. The other main conceptualization is that of Bourdieu. For an overview, see Portes.

8. *Compadrazgo*, 'co-godparentship,' is a Latin American cultural form of fictive kinship. Those who enter into *compadrazgo* have obligations of mutual exchange, and adopt certain special forms of address.

9. Massey doesn't mention the gender of these laborers, or how the sex composition may have changed over time in the stream of laborers from Jalisco, but we can safely assume he had men in mind.

10. Paisanaje refers to the relationship that people who share the same geographic origin have. This origin could be as broad as the country, e.g. Dominican Republic, or a small town, e.g. Juchitan, Oaxaca, Mexico depending on the two people and the context. The nearest English word would be "compatriotism."

11. One could assume she might have been one of the 31 "Persons of Hispanic Descent" enumerated in the 1990 Census. Others in this group of 31 would include a prominent family at the time, no longer present, that erected a memorial at the Catholic church, and the family, still present, that owned the first businesses, a

bar, store and restaurant, oriented towards Spanish speakers. The progenitors of these families are said to have arrived in the mid-1900s to work on the railroad.

12. The Mexican state of Mexico (as opposed to the country as a whole, or the Distrito Federal, "Mexico D.F.") has its capital at Toluca. To avoid confusion, most people from the state of Mexico say they are from Toluca.

13. Now owned by Tyson Foods, Inc.

14. There are actually two chains of migration from the State of Mexico that end up in Barberton. Celino is from the southern group of Tolucanos, while Emiliano, whose story appears later in this chapter, anchors a group from another part of the state.

15. Literally "She (he) stays and doesn't complain."

16. Some of these cousins are much younger and have had less luck with US immigration law than has Juan; see the mention of Willy in "The Cubans," below.

17. Corporacion Federal de Electricidad, the state-owned electric utility, is commonly referred to by its initials.

18. Viajero was the preferred term for smuggler among Salvadoran-born participants in this study. Coyote was preferred by Mexicans. Pollero was another term that respondents used.

19. Now owned by Tyson.

20. Marcela is attempting to regularize her status under the NACARA law. The provisions of NACARA, or Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act of 1997, allow certain people from Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala,

to gain legal permanent resident status ((US Citizenship and Immigration Services 2008)) See also 8 CFR Part 103.1(g)(3)(ii); 8 CFR Part 208.14(f); 8 CFR Part 240.20(c), 240.58 and 240.60 through 240.70.

21. Without cooperation from Cargill, there is no way to verify these percentages, though they are unlikely. What is certain is that there are fewer Mexican-born workers in the plant now than there were before the raid.

22. "in nothing"/ "in a house"

23. The best example of this interest can be found in Cargill's actions in the summer of 2007. At that time, the US Congress was debating various "immigration reform" bills, the majority of which contained provisions for greatly expanded unskilled guest worker programs. Vainly anticipating that such legislation would pass, Cargill asked its employees to list the names of friends and family on whose behalf the company could solicit guest worker paperwork. Several months later, when reform legislation ultimately failed to pass, the company had amassed a list of 400 names.

24. This could be called proletarianization. A detailed discussion of the process whereby rural livelihoods vanish in favor of integration with an outside cash income can be found in Pessar, Patricia R. 1982. "The Role of Households in International Migration and the Case of US-Bound Migration from the Dominican Republic." International Migration Review 16:342-364.

25. Chicago, IL, of course, is the grand-daddy of mass-commodity meat processing—as portrayed in Upton Sinclair's classic 1906 novel The Jungle.

26. I interviewed several people who had recently retired, quit, or been fired from management positions at the plant, including the former staffing/HR manager. These managers say that the speed increases are related to improved technology and ergonomic study.

27. General Foods was, itself, soon bought by Phillip Morris—now Altria— and then consolidated with Kraft Foods, which Philip Morris "spun off" in 2007. Consolidation was a notable trend in many industries during the 1980s, and meatpacking was no exception.

28. The current average starting wage at the plant is $12 hourly. According to the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, $10.65 hourly in 1980 dollars would be worth more than $27 an hour today. (Bureau of Labor Statistics. "CPI Inflation Calculator." http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl . Last accessed 20 December 2008.)

29. Oscar Mayer no longer butchers animals for its products. Instead, it receives precut animal parts for packaging and branding.

30. While this is based on observation, similar accounts are found in the previously-cited works by Donald Stull and Michael Broadway.

31. Note, however, that union officials dispute this account, saying that the company's best interest is in keeping skilled workers for longer, given the cost of training new workers. Without extensive access to company records, there is no way to definitively resolve this question.

32. While Cargill has stepped up random document checks in the wake of the QSI raid, and begun being more vigilant about following laws against hiring undocumented workers, undocumented workers still work at the plant. Having obtained employment, undocumented workers are unlikely to be detected in any given month, and some workers have survived any practice of checking documents for more than a decade. Additionally, whether true or not, some informants believed that document checks were targeted at troublemakers or complainers.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview guide (and vocabulary tips)

These are some pointers, a rough guide of some topics to cover. Generally, this is a diachronic guide. It starts with the respondent's upbringing, multiple possible trips to the United States, motivations for migrating, and more recent events. It's not to be read verbatim; these are open-ended interviews. A good open-ended interview is like a one-sided conversation, not a survey.

Me gustaria saber mas sobre el pueblo donde nacio, y sobre su familia de origen.

?

Institutionalization of migration in community of origin.

¿Cuando Ud. era pequeño/a, conocía alguna gente que habian estado afuera del país? *When you were growing up, did you know many people who had migrated to the United States?*

¿En el pueblo de su juventud., conocía mucha gente quienes se emigraron a los EEUU? *In the pueblo where you grew up, were there many people around who had immigrated to the USA?*

¿Cuándo fue la primera vez en que Ud. lo conoció a alguien quien se emigró a los EEUU? *When was the first time that you met someone who migrated to the United States?*

¿Cuándo se puso Ud. por primera vez a pensar en mudarse desde México hacía los EEUU? *When did you start to think for the first time about moving from Mexico to the United States?*

Follow up: If respondent knew people who had migrated, ask how those people affected his/her choice.

Individual's migration history

Cuéntame, paso por paso, como decidió a emigrarse a los EEUU por primera vez. Tell me, step by step, how you decided to migrate to the United States

Cuando Ud. se piensa en la primera vez en que se migro a los EEUU, ¿que diría fueron las razones mas importantes que se vino? *When you think about the first time you migrated to the United States, what would you say are the most important reasons you came?*

¿Recibió ayuda de alguien en lograr llegar a los EEUU? *Did you receive anyone's help help in sucessfully arriving in the United States?*

Que dices son las cosas que mas lo facilitaron su éxito después de llegarse al país? *What would you say are the things that most helped you once you arrived in the country?*

¿Desde aquel año en que se emigro por primera vez, cuantas veces se ha ido y vuelto Ud.? *Since the year when you first migrated, how many times have you gone back and forth?*

Dígame sobre las demás veces que vinó a los EEUU. ¿Se pasaron mas o menos igual? *Tell me about the other times you've come to the US. Did they happen the same way?*

En ésta última vez, llego en Barberton. Como se sucedio que viva aqui? *How did you end up living in Barberton?*

De tantas partes entre pudiera escoger vivir, porque escogió Barberton específicamente? *How did you choose Barberton? Out of so many places that you could have chosen to live, how did you decide to come to Barberton?*

¿Antes de localizarse en Barberton, conocía a otra gente que vivían aquí? *Did you know anyone when you first moved to Barberton?* Antes de localizarse en Barberton, sabia Ud. donde iba a trabajar? *Before moving to Barberton, did you know where you were going to work?*

OR

¿Antes de llegar aquí en Barberton, sabía en que laborara? *Before you moved to Barberton, did you know what job you would work? How?*

Fue su experiencia de inmigrarse a Barberton diferente que las otras veces en que Ud. se ha mudado? ¿Como? *Was your experience in moving to Barberton different than the other times in which you have migrated?*

Biographical information—family and class background

Para empezar— ¿Donde nacío Ud.? Durante su niñez, ¿donde vivia Ud?. Cuando Ud. era niño, con quien vivia? *Where were you born? In your childhood, where did you live? When you were a child, with whom did you live?*

What sort of work did your parents do? ¿Qué típo de trabajo hacían sus papás? En que laboraban miembros de su hogar? *Generally, what sort of work did people from the family's house do? What was their economic/class background*

Facilitation of migrant networks, chain migration

Desde cuando se mudo a Barberton, ¿mudaron algunos paisanos o parientes suyos aquí? ¿Cuando vinieron, los ayudaron? por ejemplo, en buscar empleo… *Since when you came to Barberton, have some of your*

paisanos or family members moved here? When they came, did you help them? for example, looping for a job?

Yo he oído decir que en antes, no habían mucha gente Latina aquí en Barberton. Pero, como Ud. lo sabe, ya son muchas. Cuales razones daría Ud. para esta cambio? *I have heard that before, there were not many Latinos in Barberton. But now, as you know, there are many. What reasons would you give for this change?*

Hace un año, la migra vino y secuestraron a 63 gente por supuesta violación de los leyes. ¿Que afecto dice va a tener esa redada? *About a year ago, the migration authorities came and arrested 63 people for alleged violation of laws. What effect would you say this raid is going to have?*