Abstract

Incorporation and silence: A comparative study of the reception
of Latino immigrants in two southeast U.S. cities
by Benjamine Clarke Deck

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DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

We know a great deal about Latino immigration to the United States and the movement of Latinos within the country, but it is useful to study the specific circumstances of local communities in order to get beyond broad-brushed labels and stereotypes. It is also useful to study specific circumstances in order to better understand the uneven local conditions that influence the social interactions between Latino immigrants and receiving communities. As such, this thesis is a comparative study of immigrant incorporation in two southeast U.S. cities, Dalton, Georgia, and Mount Olive, North Carolina. Drawing from qualitative interviews with community leaders in each site, this study shows that differences in factors of place, such as local history and Latino settlement patterns, create distinct conditions that influence the reactions of community members. This thesis also investigates the response of civic leaders when circumstances or strong community reactions prompt them to act, showing how, in the absence of such conditions, the response of leadership is less pronounced.

Incorporation and silence: A comparative study

of the reception of Latino immigrants in two southeast U.S. cities

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of the reception of Latino immigrants in two southeast U.S. cities

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Illegal aliens are here illegally, and we must recommit ourselves to enforcing our

laws and securing our borders.

U.S. Rep. Sue Myrick, R-N.C., in an April 2006 editorial titled "Illegal

Aliens Are Hurting North Carolina"

Less than one year ago, on Nov. 8, 2008, Marcelo Lucero, an Ecuadorian

immigrant, was murdered in the town of Patchogue, N.Y. The killing, police say,

was carried out by a gang of teenagers who called themselves the Caucasian Crew

and targeted Latino residents as part of a sport they termed "beaner-hopping." It

highlighted a growing national problem — violent hatred directed at all suspected

undocumented immigrants, Latinos in particular.

Excerpt from a report posted on the Website of the Southern Poverty Law

Center

As Halloween costumes go, it is not particularly elaborate, consisting of a latex mask

depicting the head of a science fiction space alien, an orange prison-style jumpsuit with the

words "illegal alien" emblazoned across the front, and an oversized "green card." The costume

was offered for sale by national retailers such as Target during the 2009 Halloween season.

Protests eventually prompted its removal, but Web retailers continued to offer it. Other alien-themed costumes offered by Web retailers in 2009 included a latex mask depicting the head of a space alien with a bushy, black mustache apparently intended to resemble that of a Latino male, and an outfit titled "sexy illegal alien" consisting of a miniskirt, pom-pom-trimmed shawl, sombrero, and sunglasses designed to evoke the large, almond-shaped eyes of a science-fiction space alien. Each of these costumes has drawn criticism from Latino advocacy groups, and they highlight the continuing discussion about Latino immigration taking place in media, pop culture and political circles.

The volume of the conversation has increased in years that Congress has discussed reforming immigration laws; and news reports regularly have reported on assertions that Latino immigrants put a strain on education and health delivery networks. News reports also have highlighted more positive impacts: During the 2008 presidential election, for example, the so-called "Latino vote" regularly was cited as a key to winning the White House. However, horrific events like the murder of Marcelo Lucero, an Ecuadorian immigrant, at the hands of a self-named "Caucasian Crew" in Patchogue, N.Y., highlight the risk Latinos face (Southern Poverty Law Center 2009), and crime statistics compiled by the U.S. Department of Justice indicate that this risk is increasing. Hate crimes targeting Latinos increased in 2007, the most recent year for which statistics are available, and their occurrence has risen 40 percent in the four years since 2003, according to Department of Justice numbers.

Journalistic inquiry also indicates that more people are becoming aware of Latino community members on a day-to-day basis. In a CNN/Opinion Research Corp. poll released Oct. 21, 2009, 66 percent of people questioned indicated they had some or a lot of contact with Latinos, a figure up 15 points from 1990 (CNN). Respondents also indicated that they believe

Hispanics face a greater chance than blacks or Asian-Americans of discrimination that would hurt their chances of getting "good paying jobs (see table 1).

How much discrimination is there that hurts the chances of each of the following groups to get good paying jobs? Would you say there is a lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

	HISPANICS	BLACKS	ASIAN-AMERICANS
A lot	24%	17%	8%
Some	33%	36%	26%
Only a little	22%	23%	28%
None at all	19%	23%	36%
No opinion	1%	1%	2%

Table 1: Results of a poll conducted from October 16 to October 18. Source: CNN

The societal debate surrounding Latino immigration and its impacts is also ongoing in North Carolina, where economic processes and changes in U.S. immigration law have led to a rise in Latino immigration in the last 20 years. The U.S. Census indicates that, on average, Hispanic populations in the U.S. Southeast grew more than 200 percent in the 1990s, with North Carolina seeing the most dramatic increase (U.S. Census Bureau). The influx of Latino immigrants to North Carolina has sparked considerable discussion, and many residents have expressed concern about the impact of immigration on the state. Some people claim the impact is positive in the form of cheap labor that fuels the economy; others say the immigrants' use of medical and social services is a drain on state resources. Such impacts, be they positive or negative, are felt locally across a geography comprised of sprawling metropolises, medium and small towns, and rural spaces.

Latino immigration, then, is a staple of political and cultural conversations, but beyond the political rhetoric there are social interactions that take place daily in communities across the country. The people behind the labels – immigrant, Latino, Hispanic, legal, illegal, undocumented, resident, and citizen – interact with neighbors, co-workers, merchants and service providers in cities and towns across the United States. We know a great deal about Latino

immigration, but it is useful to study the specific circumstances of local communities in order to get beyond broad-brushed labels and stereotypes. It is also useful to study specific circumstances in order to better understand the uneven local conditions that influence the social interactions between Latino immigrants and receiving communities. In a nation of immigrants, Latinos' prospects for success serve as a barometer for the health of the wider society, and those prospects depend on the willingness of residents in receiving communities to work with Latinos.

One important factor in the immigration equation is the attitudes and actions of community leaders with regard to Latino populations, particularly in smaller cities and rural areas. If local leaders use their influence to reduce tension and confront expressions of racism and nativism, it is reasonable to expect an increase in Latino newcomers' prospects for incorporation into the community. In places where community leaders remain silent, local opposition may hinder the prospects for immigrant incorporation. Community leaders and community residents, then, have the potential to alter the life prospects of immigrants.

This thesis examines the ways that local conditions influence community responses to Latino immigration through a comparative analysis of Dalton, GA, and Mount Olive, N.C. The investigation was motivated by three key questions:

- How do local factors such as settlement patterns and local history influence Latino immigrants' prospects for incorporation?

- How do local residents view Latino immigrants, and how do these attitudes influence the reception of Latinos in communities?

- How do the attitudes of community leaders and local initiatives put in motion by those leaders alter the incorporation equation?

Ultimately, this document provides both description and interpretation of the reception of Latinos in Dalton, GA, and Mount Olive, N.C. This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 2

provides a review of relevant literature, including the methodologies employed by geographers in migration research. Chapter 3 sets out the methodological rationale for this project and the data collection processes used. Chapter 4 presents Dalton, GA, including an examination of published literature specific to the city and discussion of data gathered during my research. Chapter 5 presents Mount Olive, N.C. in a similar fashion as the preceding chapter. Chapter 6 presents a summary of my findings and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2: Review of Literature

Latino immigration from 1942 to 1964: The Bracero era

When discussing immigration from Mexico and Central America to the United States, a useful entry point is the Bracero Accord between the United States and Mexico in 1942. At the time, the United States was facing wartime labor shortages, and the Bracero program provided a legal framework for Mexican guest workers to travel to the United States for agricultural employment (Durand, Massey, and Parrado 1999). The Bracero program was envisioned as a temporary wartime measure, but political pressure from agricultural interests keen to maintain a steady supply of labor kept Braceros travelling to the United States for decades (Craig 1971; Pastor and Alva 2004).

In California especially, robust growth served to pull Braceros to the Unites States at the same time that conditions in Mexico pushed them northward. During the Bracero years, an economic boom in California increased labor demand in all economic sectors. At the same time in Mexico, post-Revolutionary land reform provided millions of hectares of land to peasants. The government failed to provide sufficient capital however, and the new landowners found themselves strapped for cash (Durand, Massey, and Charvet 2000; Massey et al., 1987).

Additionally, the urban industrial growth provided by Mexico's Import Substitution Industrialization policy was not sufficient to provide jobs for all the rural dwellers who were flocking to Mexican cities. "With pressures for out-migration building and a program in place to connect the burgeoning supply with rising demand, Mexicans quickly came to dominate farm labor within California and made significant inroads into manufacturing and service industries as well" (Durand, Massey and Charvet 2000:6). Along with California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Illinois received large numbers of Mexican immigrants. In Illinois, immigrants worked in industrial sectors as well as in agriculture.

It was not until 1964, after 4.6 million Mexicans had travelled north, that public outcry over the working conditions of agricultural laborers led to the dismantling of the Bracero program. The 1956 study *Strangers in our Fields* by Ernesto Galarza and the 1960 documentary "Harvest of Shame" by Edward R. Murrow documented the widespread abuses suffered by Braceros, forcing the United States government to act (Leiken 2002).

Latino immigration from 1964 to 1986: The undocumented era

By 1964, growers in the United States had become accustomed to hiring Mexican agricultural workers, who in turn had become accustomed to travelling north for work.

> When the program finally ended in 1964, the Unites States did not stop employing
> Mexican workers; it simply shifted from a de jure policy of active labor
> recruitment to a de facto policy of passive labor acceptance, combining modest
> legal immigration with massive undocumented entry. (Durand, Massey, and
> Parrado 1999: 519)

In the early 1970s, the long post-World War II economic boom came to an end in the United States, and the economic model of mass production was replaced with a global competition model. At the same time, privatization in developing countries and the lifting of trade barriers exposed formerly insular economies to international competition. The new economic model benefitted some regions of Mexico; along the country's northern border, Maquila factories were set up to finish industrial goods from the United States. Special tax zones allowed the factories to assemble components provided by U.S. companies and return the finished goods at a price acceptable to the U.S. companies. In Mexico's interior, industrial production declined and poverty worsened. Even though the economy of the United States faltered in the 1970s, economic niches carved out during the Bracero era kept many Mexicans employed in the United States (Durand, Massey, and Parrado 1999).

The de facto policy of labor acceptance remained in place for 21 years before a 1985 speech by Ronald Reagan elevated the subject of Mexico-U.S. immigration from a perennial political discussion to a high-profile national security issue. Reagan brought the topic to the fore by asserting in his speech that an invasion of illegal immigrants was crossing into the U.S.

> Henceforth immigrants were connected symbolically with invaders, criminals, and drug smugglers, who were pictured as poised menacingly along a lightly defended two-thousand-mile frontier dividing the United States from Mexico and the poorer masses of the Third World (Durand, Massey and Parrado 1999:521).

Reagan's speech turned immigration legislation reform into a hot-button topic in the run-up to the 1986 Congressional elections, and a bill that had languished in Congress for ten years was revived and retooled to address the newly-minted issue (Durand, Massey, and Parrado 1999).

Latino immigration from 1986 to the present: The post-IRCA era

The resulting bill, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, is commonly referred to as "IRCA." It provided four initiatives to address the phenomenon of undocumented immigration. The U.S. Border Patrol was provided additional funds to secure the U.S.-Mexico frontier, sanctions were enacted to punish employers who knowingly hired undocumented workers, a general amnesty allowed longtime undocumented immigrants to establish legal residency in the United States, and a special amnesty allowed seasonal agricultural workers who had worked in the United States prior to May 1986 to establish residency.

Under IRCA, 2.3 million Latinos sought amnesty. Legal status allowed these immigrants to move about the United States without fear of deportation, and a population that previously had tended find a low-profile job in a particular locale suddenly had a the whole of the country to consider when seeking employment. States like Georgia and North Carolina saw large increases

in their immigrant populations (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2000; Kandel and Parrado 2005; Torres et al. 2003; Mohl 2003; South 2005; and Winders 2005).

As in the Bracero era, push and pull factors worked together to drive Latino immigrants from traditional gateway communities in California to other states. With the end of the Cold War, economic conditions in California deteriorated as defense industries suffered cutbacks, and what had been the most popular destination for Mexican immigrants became less tenable in the 1990s. "The rise of ardent anti-immigrant sentiment, culminating in the passage of Proposition 187, which barred undocumented immigrants from accessing many publicly funded services, made California a more hostile context for Mexican immigrants" (Waters and Jiminez 2000,114). The recession in California, coupled with economic recovery elsewhere, meant immigrants could find better economic opportunities in other states.

New destinations

By the turn of the century, researchers were taking notice of new patterns in Latino migration. Newcomers from Mexico, Honduras and several other Latin American countries were showing up in communities where they previously had not been present to any great degree, both in large cities and small towns. Durand, Massey, and Charvet found that the number of immigrants settling in nontraditional destinations increased from 13 percent to 31 percent in the 1990s, a "radical shift unprecedented in the history of Mexico-U.S. Migration" (2000,11). The immigrants moving to nontraditional destinations also took jobs in a wide variety of industries. In Alabama, for example, Latino immigrants were employed in a wide range of jobs across the state – from poultry processing in small north Alabama towns to restaurant, landscaping, roofing, and construction work in large metropolitan areas like Birmingham and seafood processing on the south Alabama coast (Mohl 2003). In southern Louisiana, the oil industry and related industries drew Latino immigrants (Donato, Stainback, and Bankston 2005). In southeast

Louisiana, horse breeding and tobacco cultivation provided jobs for immigrants (Miranda and Rich 2005). In rural North Carolina, poultry processing, along with a variety of other agricultural activities, lured Latino migrants (Griffith 2005). And in northwest Georgia, the carpet industry provided an economic engine for migration (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005).

Research in nontraditional venues for immigrants gave rise to the phrase "new destinations," which generally refers to communities in the Midwest and South that have seen an influx of Latino immigrants since 1990 (Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005; Massey and Capoferro 2008; Smith and Furuseth 2006). An early theme in the research was to document the flows of Latino newcomers to new destinations at the macro level and examine potential reasons for the shift (see Durand, Massey, and Charvet 2000; Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2000; Massey and Espinoza 1997, Mohl 2003). Scholars quickly realized that some Latinos were moving to new destinations from other sites within the United States while others were immigrating directly to new destinations from international sending communities. Scholars also determined that, although IRCA was intended to stem the tide of undocumented immigration to the United States from Mexico and Central America, those flows continued (see Durand, Massey, and Capoferro 2005; Massey and Capoferro 2008; Leach and Bean 2008; Donato et al. 2008; Donato and Blankston 2008). Another line of inquiry emerged as the presence of Latinos in these new destinations became well-established and accounts from specific sites began to emerge; researchers began to examine how the reception of Latinos and prospects for Latino incorporation differed from place to place.

The concept of place in geographic thought

The concept of place in geographic thought was established by humanists in the 1970s (Tuan 1976) and built upon by incorporating discussions of scale and identity (Agnew 1987, Massey 1994). Place represents a complex, subjective venue where people learn to negotiate

with others (Massey 2002). "From this perspective, the construction of place is crosscut by relations of power, highly contested and open-ended, even as 'place-making' links social identities and communities to a portion of geographic space" (Nelson and Hiemstra 2008, 322, quotation marks in original).

At the simplest level, space is a location somewhere and place is the occupation of that location. "Space is about having an address and place is about living at that address" (Agnew 2003, 82). This concept provides a framework for geographers to explore human interaction while paying attention to scale and to local context. "Place represents the encounter of people with other people and things in space" (Agnew 2002, 84). The argument here is that place matters, that actions, relationships and dynamics should be viewed in the context of place. Place is an analytical tool that allows researchers to avoid separating the social from the spatial; place also keeps researchers from simplifying space as some sort of mirror for society. In this context, place allows for the consideration of society at the human scale. "Place is both a setting for and situated in the operation of social and economic processes, and it also provides a 'grounding' for everyday life and experience" (Martin 2004, 732, quotation marks in original). Where space is associated with macro-level, institutional actors, place is associated with micro-level, ordinary actions of local people (Agnew 2003). "It is through places, so to speak, that social causes 'produce' behavior. But it is also in places that human agency produces and reproduces social causes" (Agnew 1987, 230, italics and quotation marks in original).

Place, then, provides a spatially appropriate context for evaluating human interaction. Agnew argues against the tendency, particularly in sociology, to interpret interactions at a larger scale, such as the nation state. While it is possible to consider interactions at such a wider scale, Agnew argues that it is a mistake to homogenize human activity and strip it of localized meaning. The concept of place, therefore, provides an alternative to interpretations based on

society or state-level processes. It implies, above all, that researchers should consider local conditions rather than the assimilate places and their inhabitants into a large-scale spaces. (Agnew, Shelley and Pringle 2003).

Early investigations of Latino migration to new destinations tended to focus on larger-scale views of space, but as the field has developed, scholars have begun paying more attention to different reactions to Latinos in particular places. For example, Winders found that locally specific aspects of immigrant political visibility and interaction "complicate emerging dialogues about immigration, race and cultural belonging" in North Carolina (2006, 430). Nelson and Hiemstra determined that local conditions a nonmetropolitan Oregon city produced greater prospects for Latino incorporation than those in a comparable Colorado city (2008). And Shutika documented how a concerted effort in a Pennsylvania town attempted to reduce opposition to Latino newcomers (2005). A common theme in such literature is that place matters.

Geographic approaches to incorporation

Historically, geographers have approached immigrant incorporation through a variety of lenses. Their discussions were initially built on a framework of assimilation, one that eventually gave way to multiculturalism and later, transnationalism. Assimilation theory postulates that immigrants give up their cultural identities in order to assimilate into the dominant culture of their destination (Gordon 1964). Assimilation theory has been a mainstay of migration scholarship, but it also has been critiqued for casting immigrants as an "other" who must surrender culturally to a white, middle-class norm in order to successfully navigate their new societies (Alba and Logan 1991; Logan and Alba 1993, Massey and Mullen 1984; Massey 1985; Massey and Bitterman 1985; Massey and Denton 1985, 1987, 1988).

Geographers and sociologists seeking to avoid this critique while not discarding assimilation entirely have focused on the notion of spatial assimilation, in which upwardly

mobile immigrants transition from ethnic enclaves to neighborhoods where dominant cultural norms prevail, leading to assimilation (Massey and Mullen 1984; Kearl and Murguía 1985; Clark and Mueller 1988; de la Garza et al. 1991; Allen and Turner 1996). Other researchers have shifted to characterizing assimilation as a process that is contested, uneven, segmented and, in cases, partial (Portes and Zhou 1993; McHugh, Miyares and Skop 1997). Even so, the term "assimilation" has been rejected by researchers who do not accept the notion that immigrants must shed cultural identities in order to succeed in destination communities (see Basch, Glick-Schiller and Blanc 1994; Hein 1995).

In the 1980s, many researchers studying migration opted to explore pluralist and multicultural ideas based on Kallen's classic work (1915) and post-civil rights scholarship. Their work, which became known as multiculturalist, argued that both immigrant and host were transformed by interactions between the two. However, multiculturalism also has been faulted, notably for failing to adequately explore power dynamics at work in migrant and host communities and for its characterization of cultures as fixed (see Marden and Mercer 1998; Mehta 1999; and Alexander 2001).

More recently, discussions of transnationalism, as elaborated by Portes and colleagues (1999), have become prominent in migration scholarship. Scholars exploring migration from a transnational perspective argue that immigrants will not necessarily shed aspects of their identities in a new culture. Transnationalists, employing globalist views of enhanced communication and transportation networks, assert that migrants maintain connections with their sending communities (Bailey, et al. 2002; Basch, Glick-Schiller and Blanc 1994; Ehrkamp 2006; Rouse 1995; Silvey 2004; Winders 2005). This literature emphasizes place and space as entry points for exploring the renegotiation of community, local affiliation and social inclusion in the wake of transnational migration (Nelson and Hiemstra 2008). Researchers considering new

destinations are examining how Latino newcomers and members of receiving communities are negotiating to construct place in places where the Latinos heretofore largely have not been a factor in such negotiations.

<center>Reactions to Latinos</center>

Researchers often have found negative reactions to Latino newcomers in places such as new destination receiving communities. Points of tension regularly include intolerance of Spanish speakers; tension over shared spaces, particularly overcrowding in residential areas; fears of increased crime; and opposition to illegal immigration (Mohl 2003; Shutika 2005; Grey and Woodrick 2005; Bump 2005; Marrow 2005; Nelson and Hiemstra 2008; Griffith 2008). In residential spaces, cultural differences have caused tension when neighborhoods of small, nuclear families receive larger Latino extended families living under a single roof. In some cases, distant relatives will stay with more established Latino family members until they can get on their feet, and unrelated persons will rent space in a home. The crowding that such conditions can bring, especially when several vehicles are parked at a residence, can be a flashpoint.

In many places, the presence of a new Spanish-speaking population ignited political battles over language. Many residents opposed to the presence of immigrants lobbied for English-only legislation, and a lobby group called U.S. English, organized in 1983, promotes English as an official language in the United States (Schmid 2008). Negative responses are not, of course, voiced by every member of a community; an emerging theme in new destination research involves descriptions of an uneven reception with public opinion split over the new arrivals (Bump 2005; Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2008; Griffith 2008). Grey and Woodrick proposed a "20-60-20 rule" that states 20 percent of residents in a receiving community will actively welcome Latinos, 60 percent will be ambivalent and the remaining 20 percent will actively oppose the newcomers' presence (2005).

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Another trend in new destinations involves the attitudes of the clergy, service providers, elected officials, and other community leaders. Researchers repeatedly have documented accounts by local leaders who speak of Latino newcomers in positive terms, particularly as a potential revitalizing force in communities (Griffith 2008; Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005). Such accounts are counterbalanced by reports of elected officials voicing anti-Latino views, particularly when there also is opposition in the receiving community. For example, an incumbent mayor in Rogers, Arkansas, who advocated for a welcoming reception of Latinos was replaced by a man who ran on a "zero tolerance" policy toward illegal immigration (Bump 2005).

Business leaders regularly welcome Latino newcomers as well, particularly when those newcomers are working at those leaders' companies. Some business leaders are considered good corporate actors in their communities, but their obvious self interest cannot be overlooked, and even in cases where Latinos have been accepted as workers, they have not always been accepted as community members (Campion 2003; Fink 2003).

Additionally, many business leaders "welcome" Latinos with substandard employment. Latinos, particularly undocumented workers who fear deportation, often are considered a pliable workforce that is less likely to resist poor working conditions or outright abuse (Selby, Dixon, and Hapke 2001; Schlosser 2001; Marrow 2006; Griffith 2008).

For example, Latino poultry workers on the eastern shore peninsula of Virginia were paid less than minimum wage and denied overtime, and they did not complain until a teenage worker who had lost a finger in a workplace accident was fired by supervisors who went to the hospital to deliver the termination notice (Dunn, Aragones, and Shivers 2005). In this case, the workers called a wildcat strike that led to a union local at the processing plant endeavoring to bring Latinos into its ranks.

Race as a factor in the southeast United States

In the southeast, a region with a distinct cultural background, the influx of Latinos added a new ethnic dynamic to places that previously had been largely black and white (Marrow 2005; Winders 2006). Sentiments like racism, xenophobia, and nativism are not unique to the southeast, but anti-Latino bias in the region overlays a pattern of anti-black bias that extends back to the Jim Crow era, and researchers continue to associate the region with cultural isolation (Duchon and Murphy 2001, Haubert and Fussell 2006, Saenz 2000, Fink 2003). The influx of Latinos in the southeast has provided researchers an opportunity to study intergroup dynamics and the perceptions of long-time residents. As one Latino resident puts it, "[in] Georgia there are Black people and White people. They don't know what to do. You're not White, so they either treat you like you're Black, or they just ignore you" (Atiles, Bohon and MacPherson 2005, 52).

As researchers investigated the reception of Latino migrants in new destinations in the southeast, they have found a variety of responses and potential outcomes. In northeast and northwest Alabama, Mohl found that Latino immigrants initially did not draw much attention. However, white townspeople gradually became uneasy about the presence of Latinos as their new neighbors, who had become more comfortable with their surroundings, became more visible in the community. "Initially, newcomers from south of the South were received cautiously, but in generally positive ways. They worked hard and spent their money locally, boosting rental housing, retail stores, and the used car-market" (2006: 31-32). As the numbers of Latino migrants increased, the perceptions of some residents shifted.

"Increasingly, Russellville locals complained about the newcomers' preference

for the Spanish language and about the rising costs for health care, social services,

schooling, and police services. A few raised the disturbing spectre of a

rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan that might scare off the Hispanics and restore the

familiar whiteness of the past" (2006,32).

Opponents to Latino newcomers often point to the cost of public services and assert that the need to hire translators for Spanish speakers drives up the cost of services like police protection and education, while the presumably uninsured newcomers drive up the public cost of health care. The circumstances of Latino immigrants in new destinations are regularly impacted – and damaged – by a reception colored by social and political myths that characterize the newcomers as an unwanted other. In the post 9/11 world, heightened xenophobia continues to hinder placemakng efforts and discussions of the contributions that immigrants can provide to receiving communities (Smith and Furuseth 2006).

Community initiatives

In the face of such opposition, Latino newcomers and members of receiving communities have engaged in place-making attempts to foster a sense of belonging. While such efforts often begin at the neighborhood level, growth in Latino communities provides opportunities for advocates to support and reinforce each other and connect with larger organizations (Winders 2006).

Latinos eager to learn English have found community agencies seeking to assist them with English as a second language classes offered to both children and adults. Such efforts address a key need of immigrants, particularly those living in rural areas where translation services are spotty and, in cases, nonexistent. Additionally, agencies have offered classes in financial literacy and life skills to assist newcomers unfamiliar with the society in which they live. Such classes have been offered by local governments, churches and NGOs in various new destinations (Rich and Miranda 2005; Bump 2005; Kandel and Parrado 2006). Efforts also have been undertaken to give members of the receiving communities a sense of the newcomers' circumstances and foster dialog. For example, Grey and Woodrick took leaders from

Marshalltown, Iowa, to rancho Villachuato, Mexico, a site from which many newcomers to Marshalltown hailed (2005).

A third common initiative involves attempts to foster dialog between newcomers and the receiving community, but such efforts regularly meet with uneven results. Low Latino participation is a common hurdle, and the actions of well-meaning community members sometimes prove problematic. For example, a community outreach program in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, sponsored a series of meetings intended to bring Latinos and community members together. Meetings, conducted in English, often involved deep philosophical discussions that essentially guaranteed a lack of participation by the Spanish-speaking population, and the cultural status quo was perpetuated (Shutika 2005).

Community efforts have been more successful when advocates and service providers already have a measure of cultural literacy with regard to the Latino population, and when community leaders take an active role in assisting newcomers (Bump 2005; Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005; Grey and Woodrick 2005). In cases where community actors do not have the requisite cultural literacy, including Spanish language skills, the assistance of a facilitating person or agency has proven valuable (Bump 2005). The question becomes one of the immigrants' prospects for incorporation in their new homes.

Three key issues in this question involve the reaction of the community at large, the response of local leaders, and conditions on the ground in a site, and they can be summed up thus:

- Will differences in local history and settlement patterns influence community members' opinions of Latino newcomers?

- How are Latino prospects for incorporation influenced by the attitudes of residents in receiving communities?

- What impacts do local conditions and the reaction of the community at large have on community leaders and local initiatives put in motion by those leaders?

These questions will be answered in communities across the United States. As Marrow puts it,

> "Scholars are engaged in a dynamic debate about how contemporary immigrants are becoming incorporated into the American racial hierarchy. Most studies have been quantitative analyses at the national level or qualitative analyses in major immigrant gateways. Yet the phenomenal geographic dispersion of immigrants since the 1980s, led primarily by Mexicans, raises critical questions about how newcomers will be incorporated into the racial fabric of 'new destinations'" (Marrow 2009, 1037).

This thesis seeks to add to that debate by examining Dalton, GA, and Mount Olive, N.C. to determine how differences in local conditions affect both community leaders and the wider community, and how those leaders and community members respond to the increased presence of Latinos.

CHAPTER 3: Methods

In order to examine how local factors of place and community response influence Latino immigrant incorporation, I carried out a comparative case study of two communities, Mount Olive, North Carolina, and Dalton, Georgia (figure 1). I constructed a qualitative research design built around in-depth interviews and a historical analysis of editorials and letters to the editor in local newspapers. My historical analysis was intended to determine when the presence of Latino immigrants became a sufficient topic of community interest to merit attention and to get a sense of perceptions held by local residents concerning Latino immigrants.

Dalton is the larger of the two communities in terms of population (table 2), but both are less than 50,000 total population. I chose the cities of Dalton and Mount Olive because the literature indicates they present distinct local conditions while being similar enough to allow for a valid comparison. Both cities are new destinations where Latinos were not present in any notable numbers before the early 1990s, and in both locations Latino newcomers were attracted by the prospect of industrial employment. In Dalton, carpet mills provided the jobs; in Mount Olive, a large turkey processing plant provided the need for workers. A notable difference in the communities involves the settlement pattern of Latino newcomers. In Dalton, Latinos took residences inside the city limits, and their arrival was a high-profile event in the community (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005). In Mount Olive, Latinos settled into residences in rural areas just outside the city limits, and their arrival did not appear to have caused a strong reaction in the community (Torres, Popke and Hapke 2006).

The literature indicates Dalton also is notable because different segments of the receiving community had different reactions to the Latino newcomers. Many working-class residents opposed the Latino influx, but many community leaders were strong supporters of the newcomers. In Mount Olive, the arrival of Latinos appears to have generated both less

opposition and fewer advocates. In Dalton, a concerted effort on the part of community elites appears to have improved prospects for Latino integration (Zuniga et al. 2002). In Mount Olive, ambivalence on the part of the receiving community appears to provide Latinos with lessened prospects for integration (Torres, Popke and Hapke 2006).
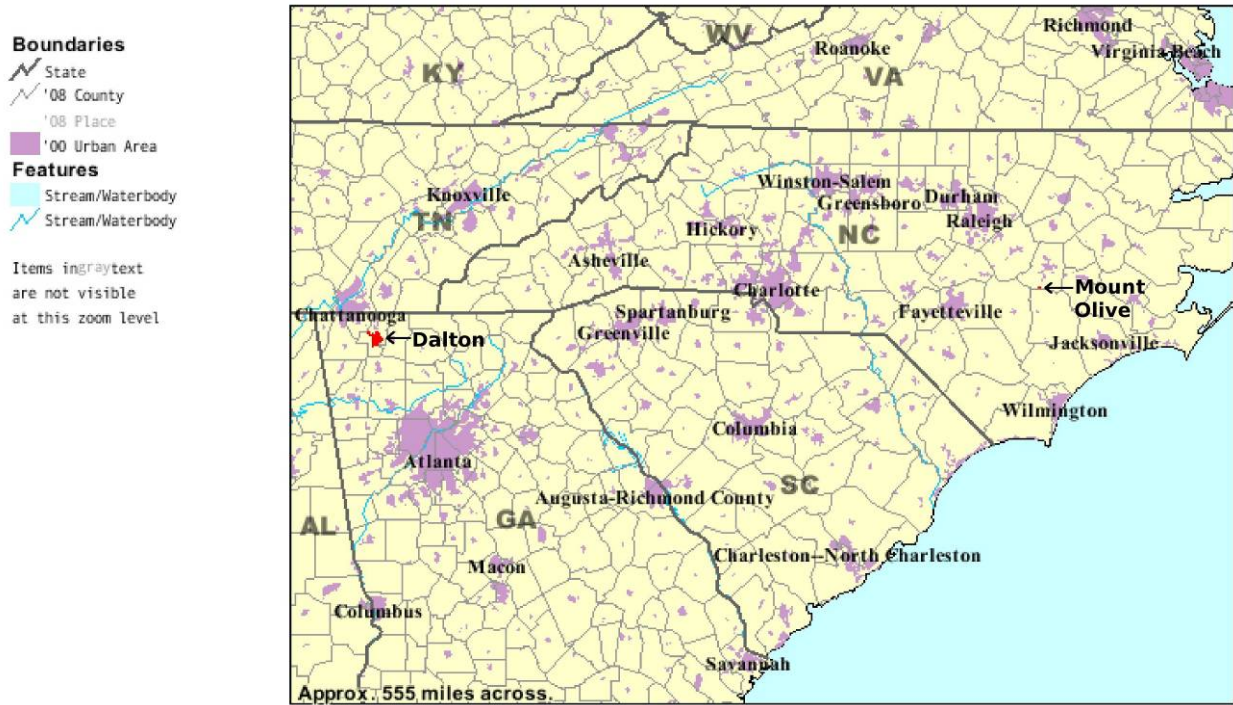
Figure 1: This map shows the locations of Mount Olive, N.C., and Dalton, GA, in red. Source: U.S. Census.

	Dalton	**Mount Olive**
Total population	27,912	4,567
white	49.7%	43.0%
Latino	40.2%	3.2%
African-American	7.3 %	54.3%
other	0.07%	1.3%
Asian	1.6%	0.2%
Native American	0.2%	0.2%
Median household income	$34,312	$23,984
Home-ownership rate	47.9 %	59.0 %
Poverty rate	16.0 %	22.8 %
Land area (square miles)	19	2.3

Table 2: Demographic data for Dalton and Mount Olive based on the 2000 U.S. Census. Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The goal of my research was to determine whether prospects for Latino immigration differ in the two communities and, if so, what potential causes might explain the difference. Both communities experienced an influx of Latino in the early 1990s, although in Mount Olive, Latinos settled in rural areas and were not represented in census counts of the city.

In my field work, I conducted in-depth interviews with members of the community hierarchy in the Dalton and Mount Olive areas. In Georgia, potential interviewees included the mayor of Dalton: the four city council members; the five members of the Whitfield County (in which Dalton is located) Board of Commissioners; the five members of the Dalton Board of Education; the five members of the Whitfield County Board of Education; ministers of local churches; the president of the chamber of commerce; managers and executives in the carpet industry; and leaders of Latino service agencies. In North Carolina, potential interviewees included the mayor of Mount Olive and the five members of the town commission; the seven members of the Wayne County (in which Mount Olive is located) Board of Commissioners; the nine members of the Wayne County Board of Education; ministers of local churches; the president of the chamber of commerce; managers and executives in the turkey processing industry; and leaders of Latino service agencies. In both locations, I used the snowball technique to find additional interview subjects. The interviews were intended to further my understanding of the local dynamics of immigrant settlement and incorporation. Interview questions focused on three broad areas, in particular:

- Local factors such as settlement patterns, local history, and the delivery of services in each site

- The attitudes of local residents toward Latinos

- The attitudes of community leaders and initiatives by leaders to assist Latinos

The subject matter of interviews inhibited some potential respondents, due to their desire to avoid being caught up in the discussion of Latino immigration. These reluctant community members fell on both sides of the issue; some indicated when declining that they did not want to appear soft on "illegal immigrants" and risk the ire of neighbors, even though they sympathized with the immigrants' plight. Others indicated that they did not want to speak because they were convinced they would be portrayed as bigoted. In these cases, my assurances that interview data would be kept strictly confidential did not assuage their concerns and I was forced to seek other informants.

I conducted twenty-two interviews, eleven in Dalton and ten in Mount Olive. In Dalton I interviewed four elected city officials, two senior members of the city administration, three prominent members of the African-American community, and two members of the Latino community. In Mount Olive I interviewed four elected city officials, three prominent members of the African-American community, two members of the Latino community, and a longtime white resident. While the focus of my research is the reception of Latino newcomers, I interviewed Latinos in both cities to gain a deeper knowledge of each community. The interviews were conducted using a detailed interview guide (see appendix 1), but conversations were open-ended, with interviews lasting between one and two hours in length. Most interviews were between 75 and 90 minutes in length. It must be noted that interviewing community elites carries an inherent risk. People in positions of power in a community, particularly elected officials, have an obvious incentive to paint their communities in a positive light, and I probed responses that seemed gratuitously self-serving whenever they were offered. I interviewed informants in places of their choosing in order to make sure they felt as comfortable as possible, and the long-interview format allowed time for respondents to relax and speak in what appeared in most cases to be a candid manner.

I documented interviews with a small, digital recorder and used the interview guide I had compiled, but early on I realized that the questions in my guide were not providing me responses that fully spoke to my research questions. My questions effectively elicited information about informants' views on Latinos and immigration, but I was not getting responses that spoke sufficiently to factors of incorporation, particularly the willingness of an empowered segment of a population to reach out to and interact with a disempowered segment – in this case, immigrants. I added questions that asked whether any programs or initiatives involving Latinos had been undertaken, who had proposed such initiatives, and from where the impetus for any such initiatives came. These questions filled in a missing topic in my data, and to ensure the uniformity of responses I re-interviewed informants with whom I had conducted interviews prior to the addition of the questions in my interview guide.

To ensure the veracity of my data in cases where any subject matter on my recordings was unclear, I followed up with a telephone interview in which I asked the respondent to reiterate responses, and I recorded that interview and transcribed it.

In my research of literature arising from Dalton, I had read of historical studies of newspaper editorials and letters to the editor, and I embarked on such an analysis to determine when the presence of Latino immigrants became a sufficient topic of community interest to merit attention and to get a sense of the perceptions local residents had with regard to Latino immigrants.

I planned to compare data collected from a review of letters and editorials collected in Dalton between 1993 and 1998 to data collected in Mount Olive during those same years, and while in Dalton I gathered more than 100 letters and editorials. However, in Mount Olive I found no letters to the editor on immigration when I reviewed the archives of both the local newspaper and a larger newspaper published in the nearby county seat.

Neither newspaper published many letters to the editor at all during those years, and in brief interviews with the editors of both newspapers, I learned that area residents rarely wrote letters on any topic. The editor of the Mount Olive newspaper indicated that the only issue that generated any letters to the editor from the mid-1990s to 2007 came when the town commission debated allowing the sale of liquor by the drink.

The larger newspaper contained a few editorials on immigration, but they spoke to matters of federal legislation and did not discuss the issue in any local context. Neither newspaper ran editorials dealing with immigration in a local context. While it is tempting to infer a lack of civic interest from the dearth of letters, it is methodologically unsound to compare the presence of data in one place to the lack of data in another. The lack of letters likely speaks more to the decline of newspapers as a community forum, and while that is a subject worthy of research, it was not the aim of my work. Faced with a lack of comparable data, I opted to rely on the data generated in my interviews in carrying out the analysis that follows.

CHAPTER 4: Dalton

Historical background

Dalton is nestled in the southern end of the Appalachian mountain chain in the northwest corner of Georgia. The city is the seat of Whitfield County, and Interstate 75 runs through its western edge. The city is home to Dalton State College, located adjacent to the interstate. Chartered in 1963, the four-year-institution is part of the University of Georgia system and has a population of about 5,000 students (Dalton State).

Northwest Georgia has an agricultural heritage (Flamming 1992). Agricultural statistics indicate that in 1996, 10,500 head of cattle were raised and 550 acres of soybeans were grown in the 185,600 acres of the county. In addition to farming and livestock activities in the surrounding countryside, Dalton is home to poultry processing; a chicken processing plant is located at the southern end of the downtown core of the city. Accounts from local historians and officials indicate the plant was built after the development of strip malls and suburban sprawl left the downtown business core largely vacant. City leaders, seeking to spur economic development, accepted development of the plant even though poultry processing typically is not a desirable activity in an urban area. The processing plant has caused headaches for city officials, particularly during summer months when the odor from discarded carcasses is particularly noticeable and unpleasant. A streetscape program in the late 1990s improved the appearance of a large portion of the downtown business district, and a variety of specialty shops have since opened their doors in the area (Figure 2).

Figure 2: A view of downtown Dalton.

In addition to agriculture, textile manufacturing has played a large role in the city economy since its formation in the 1800s, and for much of the city's history, mill jobs provided steady employment for the city's largely white population. However, work in the mills was not considered as desirable as owning one's own farm, and the agrarian heritage of the area made it difficult for mill owners to keep workers. People seeking extra money or those down on their luck would take mill jobs, but many workers would leave the mills when they had amassed enough money to shift back to agriculture. Although workers were somewhat ambivalent about textile mill jobs, this did not prevent them from seeking to defend those jobs when perceived threats arose. In the late 1800s, the workforce was exclusively white, and perennial labor shortages prompted mill owners to attempt to bring in black workers. The white labor force went on strike to protest the move, and mill management capitulated (Flamming 1992).

The demand for labor soon outstripped the available supply in the local community, and textile mills began attracting migrant workers from surrounding states in order to remain running

at the 24 hours, seven-days-a-week rate required in order to be profitable. Informants indicate that the historical flows of labor are well-known in the community, and leaders describe how, prior to the days of international migration to Dalton, migrant workers came from surrounding states, including Kentucky and Alabama.

Dalton mills produced tufted cotton textiles from the 1800s to the 1980s, but that industry declined in the mid-20th century and was all but extinct in the latter decades of the 20th century. The carpet industry in Dalton began in the 1960s and expanded, and by the 1980s it had become the dominant economic force in the local economy. The local economy had also become dominant in the wall-to-wall carpet manufacturing industry and was justifiably known as the "Carpet Capital of the World," as more carpet was produced there than anywhere else (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2000). The labor shortages experienced in the days of the tufted textile mills continued to be a problem for employers in the carpet industry, and in the early 1970s a small number of Latino immigrants first began to seek carpet mill jobs (Flamming 1992).

History of Latino influx

Although floor covering production is the mainstay of the local economy today, two other activities are credited with bringing Latinos to Dalton and introducing carpet mill managers to Latinos as a workforce. The first of those activities was a public works project. A group of Latino immigrants was recruited in Dallas in 1973 to work in the construction of a dam just north of Dalton, but once at the job site they faced downtime. "Facing several weeks of inactivity due to rain and having heard of the carpet plants in that city, several workers decided to leave the reservoir project and try their luck in the mills" (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005:259). The majority of immigrants left Dalton within a year, but a nucleus of Latinos stayed, and many immigrants who worked in the carpet mills before leaving told friends and relatives in other U.S.

communities and in Mexico of the work, which was stable, offered an attractive wage and was preformed indoors. In the 1980s, food processing brought another wave of Latino immigrants to Dalton, this time for long-term employment. Informants indicate that the local chicken processing plant owned by the Conagra Corporation was in need of employees, and Conagra brought in Latinos to fill jobs. Conagra representatives set up an employment office on the U.S.-Mexico border, and when they filled a busload of prospective workers, the bus set out for Dalton.

Managers in the carpet industry took note of the Latino immigrants, and in the 1980s some carpet managers began to lure Latino workers away from poultry processing. Informants recalled how managers in the World Carpet mill, located just down the street from the chicken plant, set the starting wage 25 cents an hour higher than the starting wage for poultry processing. In the early 1990s, carpet industry managers sent recruiters to south Texas in response to labor shortages, and during that decade the Latino population in Dalton grew from 3 percent to 22 percent of the overall population (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005). As word of job opportunities in the carpet mills spread, the number of Latinos in Dalton increased dramatically. Census figures indicate Dalton's Latino population increased nearly tenfold during the 1990s. In the 1990 decennial census, 1,422 Latino people were counted in the city; in the 2000 census, 11,219 Latino people were counted. That figure is particularly notable when considered in the context of the overall city population, a figure that grew from 21,761 to 27,912 from 1990 to 2000. Latinos as a percentage of the overall city population grew from 6.5 percent to 40.2 percent in the 1990s (U.S. Census Bureau). As the number of Latinos grew in Dalton, businesses and churches serving the community became a feature of the landscape (figures 3-6).

Figure 3: This Pentecostal church serves a Spanish-speaking congregation.

Figure 4: A butcher's shop and general store in Dalton.

Figure 5: This store prominently advertizes its fruit selection.

Figure 6: A hand-pushed ice cream vendor's cart.

Reaction to Latinos

As Latinos began taking carpet mill jobs, they faced opposition much as black workers had in the tufted textile mills a century earlier. The workforce in the carpet mills was largely white prior to the arrival of Latinos, and Zuniga et al. found that the newcomers dislocated an ethnic consensus in the workplace. "Managers promoted the hiring of Latinos and supervisors praised the work of the Mexicans in their plants" (2002:105).

Opposition to Latinos in the mid-1990s was vocal and pronounced in the form of letters to the editor of the local newspaper, the *Dalton Daily Citizen-News*. Letter-writers regularly asserted the view that Latinos were taking jobs away from Americans, and several writers voiced the opinion that Latinos should be "sent back to Mexico." The tone of letters became so incendiary that editors of the newspaper made the decision in 1995 to stop publishing letters dealing with immigration or Latinos for a period of about three months. An editorial (*Dalton Daily Citizen-News*, June 29, 1995) explained the decision.

> While we are sure the topic will continue to be discussed, as it should be, we
> believe that by printing some of the missives we've received we would only be
> inciting the public even further. Some letters have threatened violence; others
> have been extremely personal and insulting. Others have filled us full of pity for
> their writers for their blatant exhibitions of hatred and spite.

The presence of an ethnic population easily distinguishable by appearance and language continues to make the Latinos stand out in the workplace. Informants indicate that white workers coming to Dalton carpet mills from other cities and states in the southeast United States are not thought of as outsiders, but Latinos are. A white city council member explained it this way. "I think the fact that now our migrant workers are immigrant workers and look different and sound

different has made people more aware of that, and made some people uncomfortable because it is change."

Community leaders are divided, however, when it comes to the legal status of immigrants, and two examples are illustrative of this division. In one case, a white elected city official described how he was contacted by a panicked Latina mother who had been ordered to appear at an immigration hearing in Atlanta, 90 miles south of Dalton. The woman, who was undocumented, had come to know the official, and she asked for advice about the notice she had received. The official told the woman that immigration agents rarely followed up if an immigrant ignored a summons, and he advised her that she likely would be left alone if she simply ignored the order to appear. The woman did so, and she is still living in Dalton. Another elected city official, however, explained that he considered the legal status of immigrants to be of paramount importance. This elderly, white, city council member asserted that undocumented immigrants should not be allowed to remain in Dalton, but acknowledged that he can see no workable method of removing them. The official also stated that his view is rooted in a belief that undocumented immigrants are particularly vulnerable to exploitation in the workplace: "Treating these people the way that we're treating them is wrong."

Tension regarding the changing ethnic dynamic also is evident in the wider community. Prior to the Latino influx, the city was largely white with a small African-American population, an ethnic makeup that had remained largely constant since Dalton was founded in the 1800s (Flamming 1992). Like many other Southern cities, people of different ethnicities did not intermingle, as an elderly African-American minister explained. "When I grew up, you had your predominately black communities and it was very rare for the black and white to live in the same community." The Latino influx brought a new dynamic to that binary social order. Interracial interactions increased in public spaces, such as dances, where Latino, black and white youths

mingled; schools, where children of all ethnicities learned in close proximity; and workplaces, where Latino adults became a major presence. "In a region where interracial contact was limited, the large-scale arrival of Mexicans has produced unprecedented new local forms of intergroup contact" (Zuniga et al. 2002:104). That contact does result in friction, as indicated by a senior city staff member who described relations between ethnic groups: "it's strained a little bit right now, because people are having trouble adapting to the sudden, the rapid and the speed and the numbers [of Latinos] that have come into the community." Another racial dynamic, tensions between African-Americans and whites, was not discussed as prominently. Neither African-American nor white informants in Dalton spoke of any notable tension between the two groups, and there were no notable differences in the responses of blacks and whites when discussing Latinos. Of course, this pattern in responses comes in a community where black workers were forced out a century ago and where African-Americans make up less than 10 percent of the population.

Such descriptions of tension are common, and when asked to elaborate, community leaders offer two distinct opinions regarding the complaints of longtime residents. On the one hand, leaders describe the generalized opposition to Latinos as a form of bigotry and intolerance. The words of an elderly white city council member are illustrative: "There are always going to be the requisite number of rednecks who don't want to get along with anybody different than they're used to, but by and large the Anglo community is accepting" of the Latino newcomers.

Many informants describe Latinos in positive terms. The comments of a senior elected city official are illustrative: "We have very much a Latino middle class now. I mean, they have a real entrepreneurial spirit – everything from media to hospitality to food service."   Another informant explained that city officials refer to the Latino community in Dalton, and that community's buying power, when lobbying for the city's bond rating with out-of-state lenders.

"When we go to New York, that's another thing we tell them, that our Latino businesses help prop up, help keep our sales tax revenues strong." Such discussions of sales tax revenue convey part of the benefit that community leaders associate with Latinos, but informants also describe Latinos as a young, vital population that can invigorate the community. Many elected leaders stated that they expect to see Latino political participation and influence increase as Latino children born in the United States mature into voting citizens, and the prospect of a Latino mayor was widely welcomed. The prediction of a white city council member is illustrative:

I think we've got a lot of opportunity here for a strong multiethnic community to develop and build on each others' strengths. We've also got a lot here that will work against that happening in terms of, I don't want to say deep-seated redneck attitudes, but that's the best way I know to paint the picture.

In other cases, however, leaders are more sympathetic to the concerns of residents. One case involves informal boarding houses in city subdivisions. Such boarding houses generally develop when Latino newcomers seeking jobs in the carpet mills stay with friends or relatives who have already established a home in a single-family neighborhood. In some cases, the residences come to house extended networks of friends and family members. In others, the owner or owners of a house begin charging rent to whomever seeks a place to live. It is not uncommon for cots to be set up in a bedroom or even an enclosed garage and for 10 to 15 people to be living in such arrangements. Many community leaders draw a distinction between the presence of Latino families, which are largely accepted, and the presence of boarding houses, which bring several people into a structure intended to house a single family. As a senior city official explained, "the problem with that is, they get comfortable living where they shouldn't be living, but they get comfortable, and it turns into a boarding house, and they

pay by the week to live and eat there." Community leaders are seeking to limit the impact

of such informal boarding houses in city neighborhoods, but they describe the issue as a

narrowly focused one that involves a handful of structures.

<p style="text-align:center;">*Community Initiatives*</p>

The arrival of Latinos in Dalton in the 1990s prompted quick action by community

leaders. In the early days of the influx, the city government sought advice on how to respond to

the demographic change from sociologists and political scientists at the University of Georgia.

City officials also travelled to Gainesville in northeast Georgia to observe how officials there had

responded to a similar influx. In 1995, city leaders formed a citizen task force on intercultural

relations, and Anglo leaders sought out Latinos to serve on committees created as part of the task

force.

Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga have found that, led by carpet industrialists and political

elites, a loose coalition of stakeholders, including educators, business boosters, and middle class

professionals have worked to limit the effects of nativism and racism in Dalton. Their actions are

not without reservations and contradictions, and in supporting Latino newcomers they also

support their own interests, most notably the need for a stable labor force in the carpet industry

(2005).

The influx of Latinos also prompted a response in the community schools, where the new

arrivals had an acute impact. Education within city limits is administered by the Dalton Public

Schools, while education outside city limits falls under the jurisdiction of the Whitfield County

School System. Informants indicate that, by 1995, the population of native Spanish speakers

rivaled the population of native English speakers in many city schools. During the 1989-1990

school year, four percent of registered students in the city school system were Latino while 89

percent were white. By the 1999-2000 school year, 44 percent of the students were Latino while

45 percent were white (Hamann 2004, Zuniga et al. 2002). This circumstance prompted Dalton's most notable community initiative, a collaborative effort between city officials, business leaders, school officials and scholars at a Mexican university.

The Georgia Project

The rapid increase of Spanish speakers in the city school system in the mid-1990s led to the creation of an educational initiative to provide bilingual and bicultural teachers (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2000). Local officials developed a partnership with the University of Monterrey in Monterrey, Mexico, an effort spearheaded by the staff attorney for the city government, Erwin Mitchell, and Bob Shaw, the head of one of the largest carpet companies in Dalton. Under the program, initially referred to as the Monterrey Accord and later known as the Georgia Project, experienced Mexican teachers were recruited from the University of Monterrey. These teachers, with various degrees including bilingual, early childhood, and middle school education, came to the United States on H-1B visas to work for the city school district.

The program also sent U.S. teachers to Mexico. Through its Summer Institute in Monterrey, Mexico, the Georgia Project trained American teachers to work more effectively with Spanish-speaking immigrant students. The teachers traveled to the University of Monterrey in Mexico, where they studied the Spanish language, methods of teaching English as a second language, and the culture and history of Mexico.

Many of the leaders currently serving in the city government were in office when the Georgia Project was founded, and they described how Shaw allowed a corporate jet to be used by people working to build a collaboration between Dalton and the University of Monterrey. Shaw also encouraged his business contacts in Mexico to support the effort. The city government put up $750,000 over three years to fund the program, and local leaders also secured federal grant money. Ten teachers were brought from Mexico to Dalton to work in city schools.

Dr. Victor Zuniga, a migration expert at the University of Monterrey, served as the head of the Georgia Project in Mexico. The project handled the logistics associated with bringing the teachers to Georgia and arranged housing and transportation. It also provided some quality control and supervision of the teachers in the schools and trained them upon their arrival in the United States (Zuniga et al. 2002).

The Georgia Project received national accolades, obtained substantial additional resources, and began collaborations with other districts, but it eventually foundered in the Dalton school system over pedagogical differences related to the method of instruction used. Mitchell, the city attorney who spearheaded the effort, took the project to the Whitfield County school system and to other districts, and the initiative gradually faded in the city schools (Hamann 2004). Even so, the scholars from the University of Monterrey associated with the effort point to it as a model for other communities facing similar challenges.

> We can say, inclusively, that if other new destination sites are experiencing these same transforming experiences as [Dalton], projects of this type should be adopted in such localities. (Zuniga et al. 2002:111)

CHAPTER 5: Mount Olive

Historical background

Mount Olive is a city of nearly 5,000 people at the southern edge of Wayne County, which is located in the central coastal plain of eastern North Carolina. Incorporated in 1870, the community sprang from a railway station and served for much of the 20th century as an agricultural market for the area.

Agriculture still plays a notable role in the community; in 2007, 49.5 percent of the county's 353,730 acres were being farmed, according to state agriculture statistics. Crops include corn for grain, cotton, hay, oats, peanuts, soybeans, sweet potatoes, flue-cured tobacco, wheat, and greenhouse-grown flowers, while livestock production includes broiler chickens, cattle, hogs and turkeys. Mount Olive continues to serve as an agricultural market, and the city also is home to turkey and pickle processing plants, plastic bag production, and the manufacture of overhead contact systems for electric transit vehicles such as trolleys (Messer-Knode 2007). The city also is home to Mount Olive College, a private, 4-year liberal arts institution established in 1951 as Mount Allen Junior College.

The downtown core of Mount Olive has several empty storefronts, as well as a mix of shops and restaurants. Neighborhoods range from upscale to modest, and the overall appearance of the city matches that of many other smaller municipalities in the Southeast United States (Figure 7). Informants indicate that the character of the city has remained largely the same for more than 20 years. The description offered by a senior city staff member typifies the characterizations offered. "It was very rural [in 1970], and still is, really. It hasn't changed a whole lot."

Figure 7. A view of downtown Mount Olive.

Mount Olive also has a history of ethnic diversity. Prior to the Latino influx, the city had slightly more African-American than white residents, as opposed to the majority white population in Dalton. Informants indicate there is relatively little interethnic tension in the community, but white racism toward blacks and anti-Latino bias held by both blacks and whites are both present. These community dynamics will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

One of the prominent industries in the city is the Mount Olive Pickle Company, which in the 1990s became the second largest pickle producer in the world (Messer-Knode 2007). The pickle company is one of the larger employers in the city, and local leaders consider it one of the community's economic engines.

The pickle company is not considered a particularly large employer of Latinos, however. That distinction belongs to Butterball LLC., a large turkey processing plant located 10 miles

outside the city limits. An informational video produced by plant management indicates that in the mid-2000s the plant processed 82 to 100 turkeys per minute and was the largest turkey processing facility under a single roof in the world. A supervisor stated that the turkey plant employed approximately 2,700 people in the mid-2000s and had a 65 percent Latino workforce, and that Latinos have been present in the plant workforce since it began operation.

History of the Latino influx

Informants in Mount Olive indicate that, prior to establishment of the turkey processing plant in 1985, the Latino presence in the Mount Olive area was largely seasonal as migrant farm workers arrived and left with crop cycles. In contrast to Dalton, however, Latinos coming to work in the turkey plant did not seek residence inside the city limits. Census data indicates that, from 1990 to 2000, the Latino population in Mount Olive grew from 18 residents or 0.4 percent of the city population to 145 residents or 3.2 percent, while the overall population of the city decreased from 4,582 to 4,567 (U.S. Census Bureau).

Figure 8: A mobile home community on the outskirts of Mount Olive.

Even with the drop in overall population, Latinos comprise a small percentage of the city population, and they are limited to enclaves living in mobile homes in the city's extraterritorial jurisdiction, an area outside the established limits of the city but where the municipal government is granted zoning authority (figure 8).

Just across the Wayne-Duplin County line, therefore, there is a much larger concentration of Latino residents (Figure 9). Census tracts 9901 and 9902 extend south from the Wayne County line into a rural area that includes the turkey plant, and many Latino newcomers are living there. In the 1990 census, 424 of the 7,617 residents in the tracts, or 5.5 percent, were Latino. Ten years later, the Latino population in the tracts had grown to 2,960 of the 10,911 residents in the tracts, or 27.1 percent (U.S. Census Bureau).
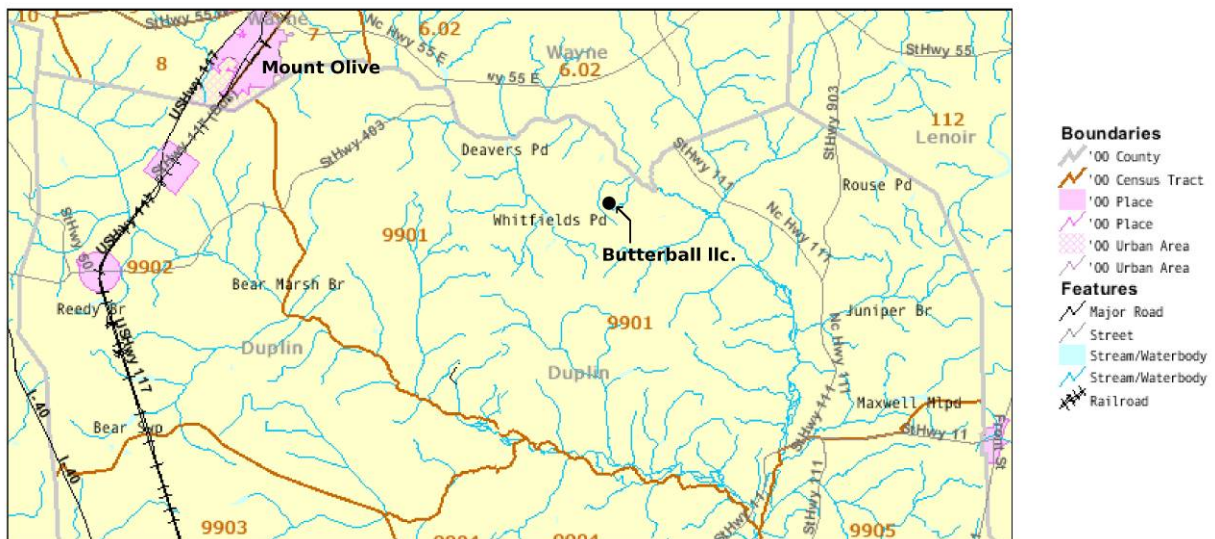

Figure 9: This map shows the location of Mount Olive, the nearby Butterball turkey processing plant, The Wayne-Duplin Count Line (a gray line that touches the southern edge of Mount Olive), and Census tracts 9901 and 9902 in northern Duplin County. The borders of the census tracts are marked in dark yellow with the exception of the portions that run along county lines. Where census tract lines and county lines run together, the county lines are shown. Source: U.S. Census, Butterball plant added based on site indicated with Census address search.

The growth of the Latino population in rural areas of northern Duplin County was strongly influenced by the turkey plant. The plant provided year-round employment that attracted

Latino workers, and a company-run housing program provided 100 single-wide mobile homes less than three miles from the plant for workers to rent. Company officials, however, intended the housing to be a temporary measure, and informants indicate that by the mid-2000s plans were in place to end the program. As the company-owned housing program was phased out, Latino newcomers found residences nearby in Duplin County.

<div align="center">Reaction to Latinos</div>

The settlement pattern of Latinos around Mount Olive limits the interactions that newcomers have with the receiving community. As opposed to Dalton, where the Latino influx had an immediate and dramatic effect on city schools, Latinos in Mount Olive have had less impact on public services. Additionally, informants in Mount Olive speak of Latinos in a distinctly different way. In Dalton, informants discussing reactions to the Latino influx most often speak of initiatives and actions taken by community leaders, and these initiatives and actions are presented as evidence of community attitudes. In Mount Olive, informants most often speak of perceptions and feelings when discussing the community reaction to Latinos, and, when asked, do not offer examples of community initiatives. When analyzing the perceptions and feelings expressed in Mount Olive, it is useful to consider responses in the context of community spaces, the workplace, and with regard to ethnicity.

a. The workplace

The turkey plant provides job opportunities for many Latino newcomers, but in contrast to Dalton, those jobs are not particularly valued in the receiving community. Informants indicate that work in the turkey plant is widely viewed as strenuous, repetitive and unpleasant, and that the presence of Latino workers is not considered threatening. As a white city council member put it, "not everybody can adjust to it, so most of the people from here that work out there are in administrative or sales or something else, but we don't really have that many" city residents

working at the plant. Another white city council member put it this way: "They [Latinos] are just coming in and filling jobs and not replacing anyone that is currently in a job." Informants indicate that complaints about Latinos in the workplace are uncommon, and that such complaints are generally voiced by people seeking a scapegoat. As a senior city staff member put it, the negative reaction often voiced is, "they're taking our jobs. Most of the time when you hear that, it's someone who doesn't want to work anyway. They're not trying to do anything; they're just trying to find something negative."

The lack of job competition has allowed Latino newcomers to find employment without inciting the sort of nativist backlash seen in Dalton. Marrow, who has conducted considerable research at the turkey plant, has found that there are opportunities for Latino incorporation at the workplace. Such opportunities exist amid the strenuous working conditions of an industrial food processing operation, but there are indications that, as more Spanish-speakers have entered the labor force, they have gained greater access to management, supervisory, and interpreter roles. "This is because the growth of the Spanish-speaking workforce in the plant over time has necessitated that more Spanish-speaking workers be placed in higher-level roles, mainly to ease communication within the workplace" (2006:8). Marrow also found that employers and managers at the plant actively encourage line workers to advance. Marrow cites Latino informants who indicate that the encouragement they receive from superiors seems genuine, rather than self-interested, and that supervisors encourage workers to amass life skills that go beyond what is necessary to advance to another job at the plant. While such workplace dynamics exist beyond the streets of Mount Olive, they are notable because the managerial ranks at the turkey plant are filled at least in part by Mount Olive residents.

My informants indicate that Latinos are valued as an industrious workforce that is not associated with some long-standing social issues. As a minister widely regarded as a leader in the

African-American community put it, some white and black community residents are seen "hanging out on street corners," but Latinos are not.

b. Community relations and spaces

In contrast to the workplace, community spaces are not integrated. The location of the turkey plant and the company-run housing development creates a de facto segregation of schoolchildren living in the city and children living near the plant. The plant and housing developments are across the Wayne-Duplin county line from the city, and children living near the plant attend Duplin County schools while children living in Mount Olive attend Wayne County schools. Additionally, Mount Olive, unlike Dalton, has no city-run school system.

Census data demonstrate this segregation. In 2000, there were 2,131 school-age children living in the northern Wayne County census tracts near the turkey plant, and 652 of them, or 30.6 percent, were Latino. Mount Olive schoolchildren numbered 783, and 24 of them, or 3 percent, were Latino (U.S. Census Bureau). Unlike counterparts in Dalton, Mount Olive informants do not associate Latinos with education, and they indicate that Latino children have no noticeable impact on local schools. Mount Olive informants rarely speak of children when describing interactions with Latinos, and when they do, children are described as tagging along with parents.

Informants suggest that Latinos are most commonly seen in Mount Olive when they come to city to shop, particularly on pay days. Mount Olive, being the closest community to the rural areas where the Latino newcomers live, is the most convenient place to shop for everyday needs. An elected official put it this way: "There are very few (Latinos) that live inside the city of Mount Olive. They come here and buy their groceries and other things here, I mean by the droves, but they don't live inside the jurisdiction of the town – not that many."

Informants indicate that Latinos are valued for their purchasing power, although their presence in stores is not spoken of in entirely positive terms. Some informants complain of crowds on pay days, but such crowds are seen as a relatively minor inconvenience when weighed against the economic benefit. The description given by an elderly, white city council member is typical:

> They have an impact on us from the standpoint that the employees come here and spend their payroll, and for that reason all of our businesses are successful, and if you come here on pay day you can't hardly get in to the Piggly Wiggly or the Wal Mart … and other places, too.

Latinos in Mount Olive also own businesses such as specialty stores catering to a largely Latino clientele, as well as used car dealerships and restaurants that cater to both Latinos and the wider community (figures 10-13).

Figure 10: A sign in Spanish advertizes a barber shop and a restaurant in Mount Olive.

Figure 11: This bakery in Mount Olive caters to a Latino clientele.

Figure 12: This general store in Mount Olive advertizes in both English and Spanish.

Figure 13: Three stores with signs in Spanish are located in this strip mall in Mount Olive.

The value of Latino purchasing power in Mount Olive appears to have a mediating effect on anti-Latino bias in the community. Informants who speak negatively about Latinos acknowledge the economic benefit of Latino spending and did not advocate removing Latinos from the community. Instead, scenarios are presented that, in the opinion of the proponents, would allow space and time for Latinos to adopt the cultural traits of the receiving community.

c. Race as factor

Characterizations of Latinos in Mount Olive reveal interethnic dynamics at work within the receiving community as well as attitudes toward the newcomers. In contrast to the ethnic homogeneity in Dalton prior to the appearance of Latinos, Mount Olive already had cultural diversity and cultural division. This division is evident when informants describe the work ethic of community members. Some white city leaders speak in racist terms when characterizing

African-Americans as workers, and these informants cite Latinos as a group more willing to work. For example, an elderly white city council member put it this way:

> Maybe we've got someone here to help us work, because so many of the blacks didn't want to work. And the blacks, they didn't want [Latinos] all in here – they didn't want Hispanics infringing on their benefits. It's just the way it is – nothing against nobody.

This view is not universally held in the white community, but it is readily expressed by some white leaders. Marrow also found that some whites in the Mount Olive area evaluate Latinos more positively than African-Americans (2005).

The assertion that blacks resent Latinos in the workplace is not borne out in interviews with African-American leaders. Every African-American informant interviewed spoke positively about the impact Latino workers have had, such as the response from this African-American minister: "We need the Hispanic population to fill the jobs that we have. There are some jobs that they will come in and do that others just won't do."   Another example comes from an African-American city council member: "As long as the people that's coming is being law abiding and willing to work and not trying to harm anyone, I'm all for it. I don't see a problem with the relationship with anybody in the community."

While African-American leaders voice no opposition to Latinos in the workplace, divisions between African-Americans and Latinos do appear when federal assistance is discussed. The plight of some elderly African-American residents prompts some African-American leaders to engage in scapegoating when describing perceptions about access to programs. This division appears to be limited to African-Americans and Latinos; white informants, even those who expressed racist views toward blacks, did not discuss assistance programs as a point of contention.

Some African-American leaders claim that owning property puts people at a disadvantage when applying for assistance programs, because the value of owned property can put a resident over mandated income limits. Renters, it is claimed, often fare better when seeking assistance, and because Latino immigrants often rent, they are seen as having an advantage in getting benefits.

This claim is not supported by government figures or the vast body of literature on immigration, and informants are unable to provide specific examples. The claim of an African-American city council member with regard to the federal Women, Infants, and Children program is typical: "Hispanics get WIC; they get all that."   The informant goes on to assert that Latinos get free medical care at emergency rooms and don't have as hard a time as other groups in getting food stamps.

Such assertions typically include a belief that government benefits should be provided to needy U.S. citizens before immigrants, as the comments of another African-American leader demonstrate: "Charity starts at home and is spread abroad. I just don't see no justice in you going to treat a citizen – you've got citizens here who work, and are older, and on Social Security, and can't hardly make it, and then you deny them."

Immigration status also is raised by informants who use phrases like "illegal citizen" to disparage Latino access to assistance programs, and Latinos are characterized as an other that unfairly receives benefits that are denied to needy African-Americans. The assertion of an African-American city council member is typical: "I don't think that if I go over to their country, I don't think it's right that I have as much rights as they have. I don't think that I should have better benefits myself than they work for all their life." The belief is summed up by another African-American official's characterization of Latinos: "They don't have to go through a lot of red tape, like I do."

The notion that Latinos have an easier time getting benefits and that Latinos have some special access to benefits is frequently expressed among African-American informants in Mount Olive, but it is not universally held. While some members of the black community make the assertion, others chock it up to "negativity" that is not based on fact. African-American leaders who do not believe that Latinos have some special access to services describe such claims as wrongheaded notions that do more to harm the community than anything else.

Informants in the African-American community also indicate improving relations between Latinos and the wider community will require improving the self-perception of some African-Americans who feel threatened by Latinos. An African-American minister put it this way:

> A lot has been done, but a lot needs to be done, and not necessarily by town officials or any outside agencies. In the black community, it's a mindset kind of thing that needs to be done. It's character building and those kind of self-esteem issues that need to be done.

Community initiatives

In Mount Olive, efforts to assist Latinos appear to be hindered by apparent divisions between ethnic segments of the receiving community and by the nativist beliefs of some community leaders. Additionally, there has been no dramatic event to spur leaders to action as in Dalton, where the rapid influx of Latinos in the city school system created a situation that required an immediate response. Of course, there is no way to compare the turn of events in Dalton to the lack of events in Mount Olive, for we cannot know whether a dramatic event in Mount Olive would result in the same sort of support for Latinos. It is useful, however, to consider the situation in Dalton in order to provide context for assertions that have been made about Mount Olive.

Torres et al. (2006), working in eastern North Carolina, have presented a social transaction they characterize as the "silent bargain," a trade-off between Latino immigrants and employers. In this bargain, immigrants accept a measure of exploitation in return for the chance to live in the United States and to be largely left alone. Employers accept a measure of inconvenience in the form of a language barrier and immigration raids in order to get a relatively cheap, stable labor supply. Mount Olive is one site where Torres et al. assert the silent bargain is in effect, and it is clear that such a bargain would quickly break down if the community were faced with the sort of crisis seen in Dalton. There is no way to know whether leaders in Mount Olive would step in to support Latinos, but regardless, the status quo would not survive. As it stands, this silent bargain appears to be one of the factors influencing the incorporation prospects of Latinos in Mount Olive.

Latinos in Mount Olive do receive some support from the community; service organizations are assisting Latinos on a case-by-case basis with needs such as unpaid utility bills, food, and clothing. However, such efforts are part of wider charitable activity intended to provide assistance to the community as a whole. Additionally, Latino families have occasionally benefited from charity drives spearheaded by community elites, such as wealthy farmers who have responded to needs of employees.

Some leaders in Mount Olive voice a desire to help Latinos secure better housing, which is the predominant identified need of the Latino population. As an African-American city council member put it, many Latinos are living "dilapidated shacks," and they deserve better: "Give them a nice house – give them a nice, brick house – they're working." However, there are no efforts to address the needs of Latinos as a group, even though improved housing is identified as the primary need of the Latino immigrant community. The only effort in place involves an organization that serves low-income residents regardless of ethnicity.

Habitat for Humanity, a charity that builds homes for low-income people, is assisting some Latino families in Mount Olive, but the organization's work aids one family at a time and does not target Latino needs specifically. At Habitat for Humanity meetings for prospective homebuyers, equal numbers of blacks and Latinos often are seen in the audience. Informants indicate the organization has alternated between black and Latino families when building homes in the community.

City leaders say there is a need for broader efforts to help Latinos in securing better housing. An example of this view comes from a white city council member: "I think the whole city of Mount Olive should get involved in" aiding the Latino population. There are such advocates in the community who call for improving Latino housing, but informants indicate there is not sufficient political will in the city to accomplish the task. When an effort to build affordable housing for Latinos was initiated, it was opposed in the wider community, according to a white elected city official involved: "They just misunderstood what the whole concept was, I think. They saw it as a nucleus of crime" and of bringing in people who didn't fit the community. "Everyone thought I was a nut for trying to support it."

An example of the intolerance held by some members of the community can be seen in the views of a white city council member who asserted that Latinos, with the occasional exception of the church-going person, are a messy, disrespectful lot who need to learn better manners: "And they should be aware of the mess they make, because they throw a diaper just anywhere around the Piggly Wiggly stores and the Food Lions and places like that – you see it all the time. And they shouldn't do that."

Such divisions have stymied efforts to aid Latinos in Mount Olive, and while there is not the sort of open hostility as in Dalton during the early days of the Latino influx there, the result has left Latinos in Mount Olive with limited prospects for integration into the

community. Informants who express negative views complain of undocumented immigration and also speak in xenophobic terms, describing Latinos as a Spanish-speaking other that litters and does not respect the community. Many of the scenarios for improving intergroup relations involve stemming the influx of Latinos as a first step, but, interestingly, such voices at times acknowledge the prospect of integrating Latinos into the community. The comments of an elderly, white Mount Olive city council member are typical:

> I think it will get better if we have some way of controlling them coming in and saying, 'hey, this is enough.' And they'd get settled in, and stay in our country, and abide by our laws as they should – I think things would get better. They [townspeople] just don't think that much of them [Latinos] right now. It's going to be a while before all that can settle down and get where they can make a living of their own and be in business of their own. But it will take place.

CHAPTER 6: Findings

As Latinos continue to immigrate to the United States from international destinations and move from place to place within the United States, more communities across the country become new destinations. This trend is likely to continue and intensify according to projections from the Pew Research Center, which indicates that, if current trends continue, the population of the United States will rise to 438 million in 2050 from 296 million in 2005 with 82 percent of the increase due to immigrants and their U.S.-born descendants. Not every immigrant is Latino, of course, but Latinos are the largest immigrant population. The Pew report projects that the Latino population, already the nation's largest minority group, will triple in size and will account for most of the nation's population growth from 2005 through 2050. Latinos will make up 29 percent of the U.S. population in 2050, compared with 14 percent in 2005 (Passel and Cohn 2008).   If Latinos moving to new destinations are met with closed doors and limited opportunities for incorporation, the United States will face the prospect of seeing a huge new underclass develop. Research into the attitudes and actions of receiving communities can help determine successful strategies for incorporating Latinos into U.S. society.

The cases of Dalton and Mount Olive represent two examples of new destinations in the southeast United States. In Dalton, Latinos faced a more vocal opposition in the mid-1990s while also receiving more vocal support from community leaders. In Mount Olive, Latinos faced less opposition and less support. In each site, factors of place and reactions to Latinos worked together to influence the incorporation prospects of Latinos. In particular:

- Local historical conditions, jurisdictional boundaries, and the settlement patterns of Latinos were different in each site, and these differences created distinct factors of place in each community.

- Community reactions were influenced greatly by local conditions. In Dalton, the settlement pattern of Latinos, job competition, and the organization of the local school system created considerable tension in the community. In Mount Olive, Latinos settled in rural areas on the outskirts of town, community residents did not oppose the presence of Latinos at the turkey plant, and there was less tension.

- Community leaders in Dalton confronted opposition to Latinos and worked to improve the city school system, thereby improving Latinos' prospects for incorporation into the community. In Mount Olive, there was less tension and the response of the local leadership was less pronounced, leaving Latinos comparatively more marginalized.

Below I present some specific observations about each site and conclude with a discussion of how factors of place and reactions to Latinos in each locale influenced prospects for Latino incorporation.

Community reaction

a. The workplace

In both Mount Olive and Dalton, the first Latinos on the scene were sojourners seeking employment, and the pattern of migration is essentially the same as that described in many other new destinations. The earliest Latino migrants, driven by the search for work, accepted a marginalized existence and focused on making money.

A key difference in the communities, however, is the perceived desirability of the jobs the immigrants sought. White workers forced out African-Americans in Dalton mills in the late 1800s, and nearly a century later the white majority still considered carpet mill jobs desirable enough to accept. The Latino presence, therefore, was considered enough of a threat that anti-immigrant voices sought to drive the newcomers from the community.

In Mount Olive, turkey plant jobs were not so desirable, and immigrants faced much less opposition in the workplace. It is notable that Latinos were present in the turkey plant from the earliest days of its operation. If there had been a longstanding white population in the plant, the Latino influx may have been viewed differently. As it is, the Latino workforce is considered an economic benefit in the Mount Olive community, and although the complaint that Latinos are taking other peoples' jobs is voiced in the community, it generally is considered the refrain of those who do not work and who are uninterested in finding employment. In Dalton, community leaders initially considered the Latino workforce a benefit while the wider community did not, and the efforts of community leaders eventually squelched opposition.

Even informants who speak in the harshest terms in Mount Olive describe the need for Latinos as a workforce in the community, and none of my informants spoke of removing Latino workers from their jobs. The desire most often voiced by opponents to Latinos was for the newcomers to shed their own cultural traits and assimilate in the classic sense of the term. While this view is not particularly welcoming, its proponents in Mount Olive describe Latinos as a people who could benefit the community if they would adopt more of the traits of longtime residents.

b. Racial context

Much of the overt racial hostility voiced in Mount Olive comes from elderly whites who describe Latinos as a group that they consider preferable to African-Americans. Additionally, many leaders in the African-American community in Mount Olive speak of Latinos in positive terms, but some do claim Latinos somehow receive an unfair advantage from the federal government. While there is nowhere near the ethnic tension in Mount Olive as there was in the early days of the Latino influx in Dalton, the views expressed by some Mount Olive leaders indicate that racial strife there could increase. Marrow has found the potential for an emerging

black-white-Latino color line in eastern North Carolina (2005), and informants in Mount Olive lend some credence to the claim. Specifically, segments of both the white and African-American communities use Latinos to further their own agendas:

- Racist voices in the white community speak of Latinos as a population that has greater potential than do African-Americans of integrating into a white-hierarchical society.

- Some leaders in the African-American community employ Latinos as a scapegoat when discussing perceived inequities in federal assistance programs.

At the same time, however, there are both blacks and whites who speak of Latinos as a benefit to Mount Olive, at least in terms of labor and consumerism. As Marrow has noted, there is potential for the ethnic communities in Mount Olive to grow into a more unified community, and this dynamic will merit further research.

Issues of race between African-Americans and whites are not as prominent in Dalton as in Mount Olive, but this relative tranquility must be considered within the context of blacks being forced out of carpet mill jobs nearly a century ago. Additionally, the xenophobia exhibited in Dalton and the accompanying calls for removing Latinos from the community represent the harshest interethnic tension in either site.

c. Boundaries and spaces of interaction

The local organization of space in Mount Olive allows Latinos to exist without impacting education, and there are two notable factors at work. First, the jurisdictional boundary between Mount Olive and the mainstay of the local Latino population limits the direct effect that Latinos have on the Mount Olive community. Local schools have not seen large numbers of Spanish-speaking students, as Dalton schools have.

Additionally, the existence of a city-run school system in Dalton magnifies the impact of Latino schoolchildren in the community. The rapid increase of Spanish-speaking schoolchildren provided a clear need for city officials and community elites to address, and considerable efforts by powerful and wealthy community members, including the loan of a corporate jet for international flights, created an educational initiative that improved the experiences of Latino schoolchildren. The effort also demonstrated the willingness of community leaders to support Latino newcomers, and in the years that followed, opposition to Latinos in Dalton declined markedly.

The impact of Latinos moving into a place where their presence so dramatically impacted education demonstrates the need to consider, as Marrow states, "phenomenal geographic dispersion" that takes place at a smaller scale than can be measured by "quantitative analyses at the national level or qualitative analyses in major immigrant gateways" (2009, 1037). The power of place is evident in the emerging outcomes seen in Dalton and Mount Olive, and it demonstrates why researchers must consider place when studying migration.

<center>*The actions of community leaders*</center>

a. Dalton: Greater opposition and greater advocacy

In Dalton, the arrival of significant numbers of Latinos was a high-profile event that garnered notable public attention, much of it negative. Factors of history, settlement patterns of Latinos, and job competition all worked to produce a strong reaction in the community. That reaction, along with an educational crisis that required immediate attention, spurred local leaders to action. The Latino population faced considerable public opposition in the 1990s, but Latinos also had powerful allies. Business and civic leaders worked to engage Latino newcomers and provide opportunities for them to take part in civic discourse. Leaders in the carpet industry likely acted with both entrepreneurial zeal to combat an issue in the community and a with strong

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profit motive, as the discord in the community made for fractious work relationships in the mills. Latinos presented a solution to perennial labor shortages in the mills, and industry leaders' actions served their own interests as well as those of Latinos.

Many white workers opposed the influx of an ethnic minority into the mill workplace, aiding immigration enforcement officials during raids at the mills and loudly calling for Latinos to be forced from the area. However, the frequency and volume of such assertions declined as community leaders worked to incorporate Latinos through initiative such as the Georgia Project. In addition, community leaders in Dalton sought to engage Latinos and bring them onto committees that advise the city government. The actions of Dalton leaders in the 1990s have created a culture where Latinos have the potential to incorporate into the community. The efforts of the 1990s helped pave the way for the development of a Latino middle class in Dalton, and some Latino residents now are discussing the possibility of running for elected office at the local level. Additionally, incumbents in city office already consider Latino concerns when campaigning, and they expect to see Latino representation in the foreseeable future. The comment of a longtime elected city official demonstrates this view: "When first generation of Latino children grow up and come back, we could see a Latino mayor and council."

b. Mount Olive: Less opposition and little response from community leaders

In Mount Olive, the presence of Latinos has produced much less conflict, and there has been relatively little contestation of space. Latinos are noticed, and some members of the community object to their presence, but there is not as much of a groundswell of opposition as there was in the early days of the Latino influx in Dalton. Part of this is due to the different settlement patterns of Latinos in the two places. In Dalton, Latinos moved into the city and immediately had a profound impact on the city school system. In Mount Olive, Latinos moved into rural spaces and became a largely out-of-sight, out-of-mind population.

The reception of Latinos in the turkey plant has provided them opportunities for economic incorporation, but those opportunities only go so far. Latinos in Mount Olive do not appear to have many advocates among local elites, and the advocates that do exist have not been able to make much headway in addressing the Latino community's needs. There have been no community-wide initiatives to assist Latinos, and the principal identified need of the Latino community, improved housing, remains unmet. The few elites who have sought to address the need for housing have been unable to galvanize sufficient support, and the only work done to date has been a piecemeal effort that is not aimed expressly at Latinos. In fact, the living circumstances of Latinos in Mount Olive bear striking similarity to those of Latinos in Nelson and Hiemstra's case study:

> While most non-immigrants in the town have not actively attempted to exclude new residents, exclusion is accomplished and naturalized through local organization of space. Mexican immigrants typically reside in trailer parks outside of town, an arrangement separating them from non-immigrant residents and also limiting access to potentially shared spaces. (2008: 336).

Latinos' circumstances in Mount Olive also fit the findings of Torres et. al, who have described the silent bargain in effect in eastern North Carolina. This trade-off between Latino immigrants and employers results in Latinos accepting a measure of exploitation in return for the chance to live in the United States and to be largely left alone. Employers accept a measure of inconvenience in the form of a language barrier and immigration raids in order to get a relatively cheap, stable labor supply. The question of what will happen in eastern North Carolina when that bargain breaks down remains, and it presents an excellent opportunity for further research.

My research adds to comparative literature of new destinations

In researching two new destinations in the western United States, Nelson and Hiemstra determined that grassroots political organizing played a crucial role in facilitating place-making and incorporation of Latinos, as opposed to the agency of political elites. In those cases, Latinos actively campaigned to improve their own prospects for integration. There appears to be little grassroots political activity on the part of Latinos in either Dalton or Mount Olive, at least as far as community leaders can tell. In Dalton, community leaders sought to engage Latinos, and in the early days of the influx those community leaders were unaware of any Latino leaders.

In Mount Olive, community leaders have been unable to engage in any outreach efforts, and they have been met by no overtures from the Latino community of which they are aware. The cases of Dalton and Mount Olive do not contradict Nelson and Hiemstra's findings, for as they noted, "other factors might emerge as important for other immigrant destinations—the critical point is the uneven geography of these dynamics, a geography that continues to require scholarly attention" (2008: 335).

That geography continues to evolve at a time when nativism and racism color many discussions of immigration. Just as Italian and eastern European immigrants faced bigotry and opposition in many quarters during the early 1900s, the most recent newcomers receive a less than hospitable welcome in many communities across the United States. Continuing research will be needed to monitor Latinos' prospects for success in this nation of immigrants, prospects that serve as a barometer for the health of the wider society and that depend on the willingness of residents in receiving communities to work with Latinos.

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APPENDIX A: Interview guide

Background

What is your name?

What is your age?

Where were you born and raised?

How long have you lived in the [Dalton or Mount Olive] area?

(If from outside the area) What brought you to the area?

What was your first impression of the area? Has that impression changed at all? If so, how?

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

Is that change a positive thing? Negative? Mixed?

Local population

How would you describe the people who live in this community in terms of:

Ethnicity?

Education?

Interests?

Aspirations, desires for their lives?

Political leanings?

Tolerance to people not like themselves? Are there some differences that are more of a factor

than others?

Latinos

When did you first notice the growth of the Latino population in the community?

What sorts of things did you notice?

How would you describe the Latino people you saw when you first noticed that population

growth? What sorts of people did the Latinos seem to be?

Did those Latinos speak any English?

Do you speak Spanish?

If the Latinos you saw spoke mostly in Spanish, was it the first time you had been exposed to people communicating in another language? How did you feel about it?

Has the Latino population changed since the days when you first noticed Latinos? If so, how did it change and when did that change take place? Was it an evolutionary thing?

Is the Latino population still changing? If so, how?

Do you have social interactions with any Latino people?   Explain?   Examples?

Reactions to Latino people

Have you had conversations about Latinos with non-Latino people in the community?

Were these conversations work-related?

If the conversation was not work related, do you remember how the topic of Latino people came up?

What sorts of things have you talked about?

Are such topics a regular part of conversation?

If the conversation was work-related, do you remember the circumstances of it?

What have topics involving Latinos come up regularly a part of work?

When did the wider community first start taking note of Latino people?

What reactions did community members have?

Were any reactions more common than others?

Did community members have any particular ideas about why Latino people were coming to the area? Did they have any opinions about those reasons for the influx?

Was there any particular time when community members started taking more notice of the Latino population – any sort of watershed?

When was that?

What was the reaction?

How long had Latino people been present when that watershed occurred?

What brought about that increased awareness?

Has that awareness changed over time? If so, how?

Are there any particular topics involving Latino people that have remained at the fore in community perceptions? What are they?

Why do you think those topics stay in the public eye?

How do community members view Latino people? Are any aspects of diversity seen in the Latino population, or are Latinos seen as more of a single "them" ?

Do you feel Latinos are welcome or unwelcome by local residents?   Why?

How do community members view immigration? Do they see any nuances – positives as well as negatives?

Do community members see any opportunities for the community in immigration? What benefits, if any, do they see?

Community efforts

Have there been any programs, initiatives or efforts to address factors involving Latino people, factors dealing with Latinos or the community?

When were those efforts? Are they ongoing?

Who started them?

How were the efforts received by the community?

Were there any challenges involved? What were they?

Are there any efforts that are needed?

Is there any work being done to meet those needs? What is being done?

Who is doing the work?

Whose job is it to do that work, the opinion of the community? Is there more than one opinion?

If so, what is the prevailing attitude?

How are children of immigrants perceived? Are there any programs to work with children?

Have there been any committees or other bodies formed to address factors involving Latino

people in the community? If so, what factors?

What is the membership of those committees? Why was that membership chosen?

Are there informal relationships or conversations that extend beyond any official committees?

Do those relationships bring any bearing on official work or dialog?

Have you seen the community adjust to the presence of Latino people in any way? How?

For service providers/advocates:

Please describe the kind of work your organization does?   What towns, states, and countries do

you serve?

Would you describe your organization as family-owned, local non-family owned, for profit or

not, state-level corporation, national corporation?

How long has the organization existed?   What has been the pattern of growth (since start to

date)?   To what do you attribute this growth or decline in your activities?

How long have you worked with this organization?

What percent of your clients are White?   African American?   Latino?

How are clients referred to you?

What services do you provide?

Do clients generally need more than what you provide? If so, what other sorts of needs are

common?

What is the impression in the wider community about the services you provide?

Do people from the wider community ever show interest in helping, either financially or

otherwise? How often do people who show interest follow through?

Are any segments of the community particularly willing to help?

Are any segments of the community particularly unwilling to help?