Policing Poultry: State and Market Interplay and its Ramifications in the Rural South

by

Karl Nathan Trautmann Galloway

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Rural Sociology, Master of Science

Auburn, Alabama
December 15, 2018

Keywords: poultry, immigration, Alabama, northeast

Approved by

Dr. Loka Ashwood, Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology
Dr. Natalia Ruiz-Junco, Assistant Professor of Sociology
Dr. Michelle R. Worosz, Professor of Rural Sociology

Abstract

This study uses qualitative data from 31 interviews and 8 months of observation to describe state and market powers in a town that is reliant on both poultry processing and the immigrant population that the industry drew to the region. The pressures in question manifest as traffic stops enacted on the immigrant population, difficult business practices for immigrants, and persistent difficulties in community visibility. This is all driven and validated by state-produced legislature and rhetoric. The project aims to challenge popular notions of revitalization, which often replicate the same simplifying logic used by state and market to extract profit and encourage legibility. Finally, it proposes the lens of legitimacy to understand inclusion and exclusion in the context of rural immigrant communities.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Introduction

Outside a Koch poultry processing factory in rural Alabama, police officers wait. They set up roadblocks at the end of the poultry plant's main exit road, right next to Highway 59's off-ramp into Collinsville. They are checking for drivers licenses and anyone caught without one faces a $400 ticket, as well as court fees (See Figure 11). According to some immigrant workers at the facility, roughly 80% of the workers are Latino, many undocumented. While checking for licenses may ostensibly ensure safer roads and drivers, the undeniable result is easy revenue for the town, extracted from the undocumented population. Collinsville as a municipality benefits economically from this state and market interplay. The town has been revived by migrant workers drawn to poultry work that pays better than what's available back home, and that offers an opportunity to settle down. In the words of a White farmer in the region *"we don't have migrant labor anymore, just cheap labor."*

However, what is economically good for the town may not be entirely good for its citizenry. I offer the first sociological study of Alabaman poultry in the context of a rural immigrant community, where I show how the state and market cooperatively dispossess and garner revenue that is centralized for the benefit of the few. State-facilitated capital accumulation is not a new concept, even in the context of immigration (Calavita 1989; Coleman 2007). But it is often oversimplified. I find that state-market alliances shape community power and cultural norms in ways that validate immigrant exclusion. Yet I also find that it's important to identify state and market exploitation while recognizing the community-based subversions that arise because, and even in spite of, the market society (Polanyi 1944). I situate these local state and market forces within their larger extralocal context (Burawoy 1998), enriching the dialogue

surrounding their manifestations, and personalizing their consequences. In Collinsville, the state gains an extra tax, the poultry facility benefits from state surveillance, which, informed by racist rhetoric and national policy, helps to maintain a vulnerable labor pool (Champlin & Hake 2006). My data show that some participants are caught between the state and market, some are benefitting from it, and others, even seeking to contribute to the local economy, are forced out.

Background

Collinsville lies at the bottom of Big Will's Valley, in DeKalb County. In summer moist air blankets the town, and on hot days the acrid stench from the local Koch poultry processing plant lies as heavily as the humidity. On Saturday morning, Collinsville hosts a massive Trade Day Flea Market. There, *elotes* (Mexican-style grilled corn) are sold next to *Make America Great Again* hats. A simple image, but the juxtaposition of the classic Mexican street food and one of the newest symbols of American nationalism heralds a space where culture is (and has been) rapidly changing, affecting economy and community.

Collinsville is relatively prosperous, but in the early 1990s this was not the case. Some residents recall Collinsville's notoriety for being downright boring, and describe it as having *"just one gas station, with a little old man that pumped the gas for you."* Now, it is home to a supermarket, several fast-food joints, and four gas stations. Most notably, it's hard to overlook the signs in Spanish and the local *tiendas* and *panaderias*. Collinsville's face is a manifestation of 30 years of sociodemographic shifts, originally driven by the poultry industry's search for cheap labor. Immigration from countries like Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador followed, in large part due to migrant workers' desire for more stability. These countries are represented in the town, which in 2010 had a population of 1,976, representing a 20.2% increase since 2000. Its

population is 44.9% White, a 9% Black, and 43.1% Hispanic (US Census 2017). The neighboring towns of Albertville and Russellville similarly reflect Collinsville's demographic makeup, where Latino populations are just as prevalent. Within the larger Latino population, there is great diversity. Instructors at the local high school describe their class makeup, and how prevalent some Mayan dialects like Mam, or Q'anjob'al have become (Duvall 2000, Fink 2003). These dialects come primarily from Guatemala, and arrivals from this country and El Salvador have surpassed Mexican immigrants in recent years, representing a shift in the Latin American subpopulation of Collinsville and the Southeast at large (Pew Research Center 2017).

Originally, chickens were largely raised for their eggs, meat being a by-product. By the 1950s however, demand for broilers (i.e. term used to describe chickens raised for cooking) had skyrocketed (Brown 1989), and poultry became part of what is known as the second (post WWII) regime (Pelachner and et al. 2010, Dixon 2002). The industry has also gained notoriety as a focal point of tension in rural areas, wherein immigrant workers are perceived to be stealing local jobs (Zárate, M. A., & Quezada, S. A. 2012). Long scrutinized for its unequal power structure, the industry is the confluence of a voracious capitalist appetite and few government regulations (Linder 1995). It is the result of grand neoliberal shift, characteristic of a globalizing world (McMichael 2009), and produces, perpetuates, and replicates complex socioeconomic circumstances that include human rights violations, often suffered by immigrant laborers driven to jobs by economic and personal strife in their countries of origin (Marin et al. 2007). This strife is in large part created by the same forces that have fomented the success of big poultry (Otero 2011).

After the Soviet Union's collapse, neoliberal 'shock therapy' was felt across much of Eastern Europe (Levien and Paret 2012:724)." Labor structures in Mexico and many other parts

of Latin America collapsed, with Mexico becoming the NAFTA nation least able to provide labor sovereignty (Otero 2011). This created a powerful out-migration, which provided a ready workforce for many labor sectors in the U.S, with Mexican arrivals hitting a peak in the late 80s and early 90s. Of course, the tradition of U.S. recruitment of labor from Mexico goes as far back as slightly before WWII (Weise 2015). Despite the long history of labor recruitment, international and domestic politics couch this in the "inherent contradiction in international trade agreements that facilitate the cross-border movement of goods, services, information, and capital, but restrict the mobility of labor (Gabriel 2006)."

Rapid change in labor dynamics has, in the past, sparked public outcry and severe legislative responses. In 2011, Alabama put into effect HB 56, one of the harshest anti-immigration laws in the country. HB 56 was immediately criticized and an injunction was brought against then sitting Governor Robert Bentley by parties which include The Hispanic Coalition of Alabama, The Aids Action Coalition, The Huntsville International Help Center, and United Food and The Commercial Workers International Union. Adding to the injunction were several individual plaintiffs who were fighting to maintain their ability to perform daily logistical tasks, such as going to the grocery store, or picking their children up from school (U.S. Dist. LEXIS 2011). Immigrants and migrant workers left or were deported in droves. Business suffered. Diane Lincoln Estes, a reporter for PBS News Hour, interviewed Alabama tomato farmer Chad Smith in 2011 a month after the bill went into effect. Smith claimed that his family had lost approximately $300,000 due to a spoiling crop of tomatoes and no laborers to harvest it (Estes 2011). Samuel Addy, an economist from the University of Alabama, estimated that the law cost anywhere from $2.3 to $10.8 billion in GDP in one year (Anon 2016). In towns like

Collinsville, this law, although only partially in effect, has had a lasting impact, as this paper explores.

Immigration and poultry as intersecting bodies have fallen under the lens of other non-peer-reviewed formats, including dissertations (Jamison 2018) and journalism (Jordan 2018, Kaetz 2012), which has given attention to Alabama (Newkirk, M., & Douban, G. 2012). *This American Life*, an NPR program, conducted an investigation, explored Albertville, a nearby town to Collinsville. The feature interwove elements of wage stagnation, racial tensions, with the surprising anti-immigration platform of a local immigrant man running for office (2018). OXFAM published a damning report on the industry, describing the great speed required of vulnerable workers (2015). Immigrant labor loss due to policy change is also a common story, and one that we see playing out under immigration policies today in many states, including California (Cohen 2017). Driving immigrant presence in migrant labor or in corporate factories is driven by low wages; in fact economic assessments establish a link between state policy and corporate interests, concluding that low wages create space for immigrant workers, not immigrant workers that create low wages (Champlin, D., & Hake 2006).

Literature Review

David Graeber (2015:11) aptly captures the partnership of state and market: "In contemporary American populism—and increasingly, in the rest of the world as well—there can be only one alternative to bureaucracy and that is 'the market.'" The poultry industry is no exception, and the best way to grasp the proliferation of this industry in the south is by understanding the state and market as cooperative agents. I draw on James Scott's description of a state and its action-organizing motives in this work. While the industrialization of rural

America (i.e. wherein we find poultry's rise) is not as visibly dramatic as, say, The Great Leap Forward (Scott 1998:3), the lens Scott proposes helps make sense of the particular interplay of the United States' treatment of immigration and the poultry industry's perpetual need for labor.

According to Scott, sedentary populations are more legible, easier to tax, and to conscript for purposes of war and, as is the case in poultry, for industry. Because poultry provides the option of sedentarization to migrants living a transient life, over the past 30 years immigrant populations have been consolidating around rural meat processing hubs, which have transitioned to "fewer and larger farms" (Martin 2009:86). This consolidation is what the state also requires for the purposes of legibility and taxation (Scott 1998). Poultry processing facilities, and by extension the industry, operate on the principles of speed and rapid production, enabled by government subsidies. This, along with vertical integration and few government regulations (Linder 1995) has created success for an industry that maintains lower than average wages in the U.S. (Martin 2009). These criteria, coupled with the low cost of living in rural America, make rural meat processing towns one of the most viable paths to owning a house and building a life for an (im)migrant, although it necessitates great sacrifice. Speed, hallmark of an industry that makes about one cent per pound of meat, is responsible for its dangers (Arcury et al. 2015, Striffler 2002). Receiving, bleeding, scalding, and removing feathers is all done at a blinding rate, where workers on a line can process a bird a second (Broadway 2005). In fact, some poultry-processing plants can tear through 1.5 million birds in a week (Thompson 2012), conditions that make for extremely high turnover, in some facilities more than 100% in a year (Gryswacz et al. 2007). Such a pace leads to muscoskeletal disorders, carpal tunnel, and the highest rate of finger amputations of any industry.

Often, sociological studies on immigration tend towards compendiums of knowledge and or a description of demographic patterns (Joppke 2010; Sharp, Lee 2017), and smaller pieces provide valuable insight into a case study (Gouveia and Saenz 2000). In terms of developing a broad sociology of immigration for our times, Joppke notes that it is astonishing how little sociology has engaged with citizenship, although perhaps immigration and citizenship need to treated separately (Joppke 2010). As legal scholar Spiro writes, "The real prize is legal residency, not citizenship (2008:159)." To engage with citizenship in relationship to surveillance, Saenz (2013) proposed the Bajc model. Namely, this model requires individuation or the "process of turning a social body of people into a group of individuals and then the group of those individuals into subjects that can be governed" (2013:617). Salient in the literature, and what my work builds on, is how exclusionary tactics contribute to very real individual (sometimes violent) consequences (Menjivar, Abrego 2012). This is the concept of *legal violence* (Menjivar 2011), which helps elucidate the contradiction of the ability of the state to punish with law, while simultaneously forcing immigrant populations outside of it. Through this lens we can view immigration enforcement as a practice that ensures capital accumulation in industry while maintaining the political legitimacy of the state in the eyes of the public (Harrison and Lloyd 2012).

State-validated legal violence can create friction, even between groups who both suffer it. Labor and racial tensions have been shown to be the result of neoliberal policies that disenfranchise immigrant and citizen alike wherein US immigration and labor policies have protected and expanded "capital's capacity to organize labor as it sees fit" (Mann 2001:70). Because poultry now relies so heavily on immigrant labor, the sociological literature on the industry invariably intersects with immigration, which adds to the literature on meatpacking.

This is apparent in the work of Ribas (2016), who describes ethnoracial relations in a swine processing facility in North Carolina, and Schwartzmann (2013), who contributes to the literature on (often tense) relations between immigrant workers and traditional poultry laborers, African-Americans. Surrounding the US southern context, global conditions of poverty drove new labor sources to the constrained opportunity that poultry offers, which stretched out an eager hand to countries like Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador (Loucky et al. 2000, Odem and Lacy 2009), suffering from violence and economic hardship.

The southern model of poultry, whose groundwork was laid by the institution of slavery, helps explain why the industry has gained such a foothold in the Southeast (Constance 2008, Striffler 2005). Slavery is, of course, the height of state-market cooperation, wherein law, by designating humans as potential private property, directly facilitates legibility and market production that is unfettered by morality. This foundation bore the fruit of perpetual disenfranchisement. Through the 1940s, the South experienced chronically depressed farming conditions, making contract broiler farming attractive to farmers. With a ready labor pool in poor Blacks and Whites, the South soon accounted for roughly 90% of total broiler output (Lasley 1983; Reivund et al. 1981). Increased production led to price crises (Constance 2008), and to cope with this, growers started signing formal contracts with feed dealers. This was a key shift, marking "the evolution from a simple credit arrangement to a tightly interlinked credit, input, and labor contract" (Boyd and Watts 1997:200), and would eventually give way to vertical integration, one of the most important developments in the industry. Under vertical integration an industry (like Koch, Tyson, or Purdue) owns every aspect of the process, from feed to broiler. Vertical integration facilitated a massive boom in production, and in 2011, Alabama ranked third, with 1.03 billion birds processed (USDA 2011). This consolidation created constrained

choice, economic hardship, and a lack of options for farmers and labor alike (Hendrickson 2018:7). Under this arrangement, immigrant workers take on more labor, and often are accused of "job-stealing," when the model of business in fact mad way for more vulnerable workers (i.e. immigrants) (Harrison and Lloyd 2012). Through the lens of the Southern Model, we see that the success of poultry, rather than being inevitable, was a result of state-created, anti-union conditions of poverty. The citizens within this model have little recourse to collective bargaining, and in many ways are cogs in an "increasingly mechanized system (Boyd and Watts 1997:214)" that requires constant resources, including human capital, just as much as gasoline or feed (McMichael 2017).

Once poor Whites and Blacks, the majority of poultry processing is now done by Latinos, who in 2005 made up three-fourths of the labor pool (Striffler 2005). This has been attributed to a variety of drivers, including the Civil Rights Act, which opened new avenues of representation and employment for poor Blacks, and, at the very least, helped to foment a greater culture of protest in the South (Constance 2008; Griffith 1995). This explanation rejects the more common claim that immigrants take the jobs that Americans will not do, holding rather that immigrant hiring is a management strategy to handle rising native labor agitation (Schwartzman 2009). In fact, Jackie Gabriel (2006) notes that it wasn't immigration in poultry that led to wage stagnation; rather, it was the other way around. Regarding how industry and the state view immigrants, Harrison and Lloyd (2012) find that the politically ideal immigrant is the invisible workaholic. This literature, though, tends to couch the (im)migrant experience within state and market control, without exploring how subversion in face of such exploitation can produce dimensions of community vibrancy. The predominant focus on only exploitation perhaps

neglects the folk knowledge Scott (1998) speaks of, and in so doing, falls into the trap of denying agency, an academic pitfall that can replicate industrial logic.

Particularly in poultry, an industry that has offered sedentarization I offer that the state does not look for invisibility; rather legibility is what it is after (Scott 1998). State-market cooperation makes present-day Collinsville stories possible, but none-the-less difficult. By tracking the state and market tendrils into the community, documenting their influence, and seeing where the citizenry diverges from their surveillance and control, I challenge reductivist the self-same logic that the state and market use most dangerously. As academics describe what laid the groundwork for racial tension, or lack of it (Ribas 2016), we must be careful to question the economic language surrounding the process, something my work does as it examines poultry as an agency of economic development, and the community development around it. At its core, my approach adds to the available case studies, but goes beyond assessment, contributing to a discussion on how to more effectively support immigrant communities, and by extension, the communities that have (easily or no) received them.

Methods

I selected Collinsville because of its substantial Latino population as well as the fact that it does not receive much attention in the literature. Its existing mentions are either fleeting, or they describe the town through the lens of revitalization, the exact process that I question. My own language background and knowledge of immigration facilitated my understanding of context. To gather the primary data, I spent summer and fall of 2017 and 2018 in the area, the first being spent in Fort Payne, and the second at a campground near Collinsville. This accounted for a total of about 7 months of contact, which included attending church services, engaging with

county agents, and generally working to be seen in the area. At the end of my time, I was more or less accepted in the Latino population, even working as a server at a wedding. Using ethnographic techniques, I engaged with 26 participants (see Table 1), some of whom I interviewed more than once, for a total of 30 interviews. Participants included White members of the population as well as Latino, some whom were undocumented. The participants included six poultry workers and two former poultry workers. Of the sample, ages ranged between late 20s to early 70s. I use pseudonyms for all interviewees, and have generalized job descriptions to protect anonymity. Importantly, I developed relationships with three main gatekeepers. Manolo is a Latino man, a member of the immigrant community, and a leader in the Catholic congregation in Collinsville. Elena is another member of the immigrant community who arrived to Collinsville almost three decades ago and is a small business owner. Richard is a prominent white member of the community, and has been involved with the immigrant population. Their viewpoints not only provide insight, but also an opportunity for triangulation (Orne and Bell 2015). Access was originally gained by ample time spent in the area and in local businesses, churches, and social hubs, before interviews began to be driven by relational recruiting (Orne and Bell 2015). During interviews, I used a recorder, field notes, and my own recall. I also provided, as per IRB requirements, an information letter and an informed consent, in either Spanish or English, as the case required[1]. Interviews were also conducted in both languages.

In order to grasp the scope and intimacy of life in Collinsville, I have employed a combination of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and the Extended Case Method (Burawoy 1998). The aim of the Extended Case Method is to "locate everyday life in its extralocal and historical context" (Burawoy 1998). This is essentially using both deductive and

[1] IRB # 17-146

inductive reasoning, that is to say that I was aware of general dynamics created by the poultry industry in the context of immigration, but in order to maintain the voice of participants I incorporated inductive reasoning to complement the broader context. Rather than being diametrically opposed, these complement each other, testing the veracity of previous research as well as providing structure in the context of Collinsville. Burawoy discusses the possibility of utilizing two forms of science, the reflexive and the positive, working in tandem to build from the micro to the macro. Such a movement puts positivist methods at the behest of reflexive ones, and vice versa. In my case, this is represented by my entering the community of Collinsville and observing life there. I, like many who visit the town, wondered initially why it was that the tacos on Main Street were so good and why there was even a *taqueria* there to begin with. Expanding from small observations such as these, I relate the micro to the macro, situating Collinsville within the context of Big Wills Valley, northeast Alabama, the South, and the global powers that shaped Collinsville as we see it.

Challenging the dominant narrative of successful integration, grounded theory was useful for this project in that "generating a theory involves a process of research (Glaser and Strauss 1967:5)." While I was familiar with the landscape surrounding Collinsville, as well as the experience of Latin American immigrants, there were too many shifting variables to develop a theory prior to entering the field. To interpret the data I employed substantive coding, which is the overarching process of conceptualizing the empirical data. Line-by-line analysis of transcriptions and open coding followed, wherein I challenge myself and the data to the end of identifying trends. As trends emerged, I moved into theoretical coding, during which I coalesced themes that had made it past triangulation. These themes were then delimited and organized into inclusive concepts. This final step is selective coding (Holton 2007:11). Throughout this process

I employed triangulation, as well as continual comparison of the themes to prevent redundancy. The themes that emerged are the following: *Labor*, *Local Market,* and *Legitimacy*. Within each theme I include subversions. These are instances where the community is pulling away from either the state-validated racism and surveillance, or the market-driven centralization of wealth. The majority of interviews with immigrants in Collinsville were conducted in Spanish, and I have worked to represent their sentiments in translation. In order to encourage conversation surrounding this topic I have created a community outreach document for distribution in Collinsville.[2]

Findings

This paper helps identify the mechanisms by which the market and state disenfranchise rural populations, weakening the communities that they helped create through specific kinds of legibility. I explore the divergences from State and Market control, what Scott (1998) terms metis, in order to counter the reductive nature of those forces, and, to a certain extent, the social scientific description of the "immigrant experience." I find that taking metis into account also complements the claim Mountz makes when he writes that the "State does not contain or enact a unified series of agendas, objectives, or actors. State practices encompass, rather, a series of diverse interests and bodies that are often themselves in conflict (2004:325)."

In Collinsville, state and market power cooperatively dispossess and garner revenue that is centralized for the benefit of the few. My interviews, which revolved around poultry and immigration, elicited responses that I have organized into three themes. First is *Labor,* which is at the intersection of both State and Market policies and practices. The second is the *Local*

[2] See Appendix

Market, which has been changed by the larger global Market structure. Finally, as I explore how State and Market manifest in Collinsville, the theme of *Legitimacy* emerged. This theme allows me to build on James Scott's understanding of legibility by examining more closely the usefulness of the immigrant population in the eyes of the state. Where this group is more legitimate, laws that facilitate revenue extraction apply. Where they are not, legal and government protection is scarce. Within each theme, I challenge my thesis by showing where the Collinsville community diverges from state surveillance and market pressure. As I do this, I make a case for support for small immigrant-owned businesses, as well as for a citizenry that confronts its recent history.

Labor

The topic of labor in the poultry plant was a difficult one to broach with the White community. One member, originally very open to my project told me directly *"I don't think I can help you with this anymore"* when I pushed them to discuss immigration and poultry in the area. However, after gaining access to the Latino community, stories centered on labor concerns surfaced. The following are a selection describing the difficult labor conditions, which is compounded by market-state pressures.

One poultry worker and leader in the church, with a wry grin that shone through his bushy mustache, said *"If the animal experiences stress in its unnatural* (14 week) *life, then that stress is passed on to the human. We all feel the stress, what else could it be?"* Another immigrant worker said, *"It all has to do with health, my cholesterol goes up and down."*

A veteran of the industry described how the effects of the industry reach beyond its walls. She has lived in Collinsville for 25 years, working at a variety of places including the healthcare

center and the *pollera (poultry plant).* When prompted to speak on her experience in the pollera, she began somewhat uncertainly, but eventually spoke on troubling realities of the factory. Her health was of paramount concern, as she described the restricted bathroom breaks, and how a body has to become *"accustomed to the new, hard schedule,"* and how *"the line only stops when someone cuts themselves."* When I probed her with further questions, she said that people do not cut themselves often, but it has been a while since she worked there. *"There is no time to rest."* She described the tough schedule, with only 4 days of rest per month, and if, for example *"I need to take my daughter to the doctor, it is impossible. If you miss too much, te corren* (they send you packing)*."* This eventually pushed her to think that: *"It makes one not even want money."* The labor that she describes requires so much of an individual that finding workers can be difficult. She stated that *"There is no one to work, not even in the nursing home."* The nursing home is one of the operations that has developed and is largely staffed by immigrants, who often take on double shifts due to a lack of caretakers.

Another account described the physical effects of working at the plant. Over a plate of *gorditas*, a former worker readily described her time at the plant, where she was exposed to many chemicals. She described the physical effects of being exposed *"I lost teeth, molars. I feel something like an electric current below my nose; the doctor took something out of there and gave me an injection. It continued until I went to a neurologist, and he said it had to do with my nerves."* When she slept at night, she would have to put a rag under her head for all the fluid that would come out of her nose. She had two options: an operation or to take medicine. She chose medicine. She also described a woman, who was apparently a strict boss. She said that when she told her boss she was having these troubles, the supervisor said deal with it or leave, which she

did. *"After, my cholesterol and blood sugar fell,"* and *"without these pills, we wouldn't be talking* (See Figure 8)*."*

Distinctions in nationality and race shape internal dynamics at the plant. Some participants described Latino supervisors as being the strictest. *"He treats the workers like animals." "Exigent, a real cattle driver."* One said that *"Right now the work is ok,"* but was, however, concerned with the moral quality of the White workers there, who seemed unwilling to share food and common space. Another man began by describing the work as *"pesado (*heavy*).* "*They don't treat you like they should, they call you out."* When questioned on whether things were improving or worsening for Latinos in the area, he said they might be worsening. He then went on to speak more on the hierarchy of the factory, where those above you *"those that have a radio,"* are too proud, and are infected with a desire for more money. He also described racial dynamics, wherein Blacks and Whites are allowed to have cigarette breaks and Latinos struggle to get a bathroom break. Further, he described the dynamics between Mexicans and Guatemalans, wherein he described how *"Proud Mexicans,"* treat those from Guatemala. *"Hispanic people turn against each other."* He saw the quest for money and prestige, driven by poultry, as a wedge between working folks, and harbored deep resentment for this.

Local Market

The recent Alabama bill HB56 sent shock waves through the local economy, as well as community. When prompted about the bill, White and Latino participants responded knowledgably, but differently. Richard, despite being connected socially to the Latino population, saw the bill differently than his Latino neighbors. Richard described the bill as a *"paper tiger,"* believing it had little effect on the town. In contrast, Manolo, gatekeeper and

member of the Latino community, reported that following HB56 he and his wife decided to close their business for fear of pressure from the state government. He also said that many members of the community left, either heading south or west. His viewpoint, when compared to Richard's, points to a disparate perception of fear, and to a Latino population that lacks visibility. It also shows how smaller market alternatives can be shut down by state surveillance, funneling vulnerable populations to larger operations that have less rigid hiring requirements, and possibly the Koch processing facility.

On the broader topic of general surveillance felt by the immigrant population, Manolo reported the following: *"Our Guatemalan brothers in particular do little more than go to work, church, and back home."* With heavy surveillance, the Latino little ventures outside of a safe and limited norm. At a community event where I was the only White attendee, Manolo insisted that the group stay inside the building, mentioning that he was worried about police stopping the celebration. At large events where the attendees were White, I saw no such apprehension.

Yet in terms of the local market, immigrants have been of clear benefit, for White and immigrant residents alike. Elena's pointed statement aptly describes the Collinsville of yore. *"When we arrived, it was one gas station, and it was in the middle of town and it was NOT the greatest, you know."* Another participant, Latina, longtime resident and former poultry worker commented "*this was a forgotten town."* She describes how there was less in Collinsville until the early 90s, when the first *"hispanos"* began to arrive. *"25 years ago there was nothing, not even a Dollar General. Just one gas station with a little old man who served you)."*

Of the White community, gas station attendants, hotel owners, and fast food workers agree that Collinsville has benefitted from the immigrant presence, although the benefits are

regularly couched in economic terms. Highlighting this are the viewpoints of a local tourism coordinator, who described the downtown in the late 1980s as having *"just one or two shops."* Now, two of the main street businesses are immigrant owned, and one distributes goods to other *tiendas* in the valley. Another tourism coordinator commented, *"oh yes, the Hispanics have really revived this town, before they arrived we were down to two stores. It used to be that we had two drugstores, two shoe stores, and two drugstores."*

The topic of investment and contribution was salient throughout my interviews, perhaps because of the national discourse surrounding immigration. It's also an important theme, as it shows which market options are allowed in town, and which are not. Elena's attempt to start a business in municipal limits was denied by the town. She was told that the lot she intended to rent was zoned for tourism. The lot now contains portable toilets for sale, and according to members of the community, not more than ten a month are sold. Now, Elena runs her business outside of the town. It is her conclusion, and the conclusion of others, that her exclusion from doing business in town has everything to do with her being an immigrant. Here, state and market driven racism contributed to a loss to the local economy and community.

While much of the new tax revenue has been driven by those working in the plant, many operations in town have, over the years, developed alternate economic sources, the businesses on Main Street being an example. The local flea market abounds with alternate economic strategies. These provide tax and retail revenue to the local government, but are more independent operations that do not rely on the intense state and corporate support necessary for poultry. In terms of surveillance, the state is not omnipresent. There are several church groups in town, and law enforcement is not present at the flea market. While difficult, niches have been carved out.

Manolo is still running his business in town, having found, to a certain extent, the visibility that is part of a fuller participation in Collinsville public life.

Legitimacy

The idea of legibility (Scott 1998) is useful, as it proposes criteria for useful citizens in the eyes of the state. But it does not necessarily consider those that are not useful for state, and in the case of this study, market, purposes. The theme of legitimacy forces the researcher, reader, and community member to consider who is excluded, where, and why. Ultimately, Collinsville as a town has decided that some members are more legitimate than others, as community involvement, history, and current sentiment show. Regarding how the town feels about the immigrant population, Manolo lamented *"We may never be fully accepted."* Elena described the resurgence of racist vitriol. Now 34, and undocumented, she still struggles to participate fully in Collinsville. She grew up in the town, speaks perfect English with a southern accent, and her children attend school there. But her daughters are hearing the same chants of "Go back to Mexico" that she heard some 25 years ago. *"Sometimes it's like when we first arrived here. Even with the kids, it seems like everything flipped again, with this new president. The new presidency brought a lot of hate back, and it hurts me, because it brings me back to the old Collinsville."* Soccer has been touted as a unifying element in the town. Richard in particular believes this, and his view is represented in periodicals on Collinsville. Soccer came to Collinsville along with immigration, and players were recruited by the football team. In Richard's words *"while soccer took a while to catch on, once we were winning football games by 3 or 4 points and we were 4 to 5 deep in kickers, folks started to open up a little."* Collinsville now boasts one of the best soccer teams in the state, but public fields still bear *No Soccer* signs, something that the immigrant population perceives as an act of direct exclusion. Elena, when prompted to speak on the lack of

a soccer field, and on integration and sports, commented *"Collinsville focuses on White people, on coaches and sports."*

Richard distinguishes between good immigrants and bad immigrants, rather than classifying an entire group as beneficial or not. At the same time, he firmly believes in secure borders. In short, his views on immigration are complicated, often conflicting, and informed by what he has seen happen to Collinsville. For Richard, and other White residents I interviewed, immigration and drugs, usually methamphetamines were part of the same conversation. This testimony, along with the economic condition of Collinsville, leads Richard to a conclusion on the immigration topic that, while informed by personal connections, seems financially conservative in its construction and delivery. *"Those that are contributing (monetarily) put 'em in the keep pile, those that ain't, put 'em in the go pile."* In his eyes, legitimate members of the group are those that build the financial and social fabric of the town.

Within the town itself, legitimacy takes on a different meaning, one that separates social and financial fabric. Dating and sports are examples of success, and the Catholic Church in nearby Fort Payne, has aided in the development of the local congregation. *"It took a while, but we've been to their funerals, their weddings, their quinceneras, been to houses where someone there was someone dying. Even though some are illegal, the community wouldn't like it if something happened to them. It really chaps my butt, all four of my boys went to high school here, and folks say they don't want their kids with Hispanics. Didn't hurt my boys, if anything it helped them."* It is important to note that even within the immigrant population there are varying levels of legitimacy. Those that speak some English have a distinct leg up, and can explore options outside of labor in the poultry plant, where physical ability is the only necessary criteria, although that alone will not allow for promotion. Length of time in Collinsville is another

qualifier, as immigrants who have lived there for 20 years or more have had time to develop alternate strategies. This, however, does not guarantee full participation in the town, as demonstrated by Elena's experience when she tried to start a business. State, market, and community legitimacy do not exist on a spectrum, but by applying legitimacy as a lens we can begin to distill motives behind inclusion and exclusion.

Conclusion

Collinsville, like other rural American towns, has experienced a shift over the past 3 decades, and its origins are traceable to distinct drivers, including poultry and the search for a better life in the case of immigrant arrivals. The market interests of the poultry industry, encouraged by government regulations, and aided by state surveillance of people, laid the groundwork for Collinsville's community. And from that groundwork grew a new, and in many ways, vibrant, community to which sports, weddings, and lasting friendships all provide testament. But the roots of labor, shaded by state surveillance, squeeze the very group that is largely responsible for Collinsville's current economic and social reality, termed revitalization by many. It is important to make the distinction between reductivist market and state legibility with community legitimacy, and to examine where one informs the other. Legibility polices and controls, but does not allow for participation. Legitimacy examines who participates and who doesn't.

Telling immigrant stories through the academic lens is tricky, especially when the academic is a White male. It is difficult to get around a conversation of victimhood, and we must always examine how we as academics are fulfilling our needs while research participants might do not receive a copy of our papers, should they even care to read them. Telling immigrant

stories solely through the lens of exploitation is dangerous; in so doing we can miss the subversions to such exploitation, the things that communities enjoy, even as they are simultaneously squeezed. Future research should consider this, and I hope that I have avoided this at least somewhat by proposing a useful lens to assess integration. To the end of sharing academic research with research participants, and to encourage a conversation surrounding legitimacy I have created a community outreach document in the form of a photo essay[3]. However, this effort should be built on, and future research should include a greater diversity of voices, including those of the traditional Black population, and of White poultry workers. Future work could also be oriented toward policy change. As the conversation surrounding immigration intensifies and polarizes, the roots of labor have to be examined not only to reframe how we understand revitalization in small American towns, but how we understand our national community moving forward. Immigrants are returning to Mexico (Pew Center 2017), and Collinsville has already lost valuable citizens, forced out by racism and lack of market options. In terms of policy, future community-building efforts will require more rural immigrant advocacy, and urban-rural connections that can help bridge the divide and encourage a radical re-distribution of power and agency. Such efforts would encourage community visibility over market and state legitimacy and have on-the-ground results, which in Collinsville could be something as simple as a public soccer field.

[3] See Appendix

References

Anon. n.d. “Watch This 'VICE' Episode About Alabama's Harsh Anti-Immigration Laws.” Vice. Retrieved February 15, 2017 (https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/watch-our-hbo-episode-about-alabamas-harsh-anti-immigration-laws).

Anon. n.d. 2017 “Hispanics and Latinos.” Encyclopedia of Alabama. Retrieved February 1, 2017 (http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1096)

Arcury, T., Mora, D., and Quandt, S. 2015. “ ...you earn money by suffering pain:' Beliefs About Carpal Tunnel Syndrome Among Latino Poultry Processing Workers.” *Journal Of Immigrant & Minority Health* 17(3):791-801.

Averill, J. B. 2006. “Getting Started: Initiating Critical Ethnography and Community-Based Action Research in a Program of Rural Health Studies.” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5(2):1-8.

Bajc, Vita. 2013. “Sociological Reflections on Security through Surveillance.” *Sociological Forum* 28(3):615–623.

Bloemraad, I. 2014. “Why we need a political sociology of citizenship and immigration.” *Sociological Forum* 29(3):750-755

Boyd, W. and M. Watts. 1997. “Agro-industrial just-in-time: The chicken industry and postwar capitalism.” Pp.192-225 in *Globalizing Food: Agrarian Questions and Global Restructuring.* London: Routledge.

Broadway, M. 1994. “Beef Stew: immigrants and established residents in a Kansas beef packing town.” in L. Lamphere, A. Stupick & G. Grenier (Eds) Newcomers in the Workplace: Immigrants and Restructuring of the U.S. Economy. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Brown, Robert H. 1989. “Poultry Industry has Moved from Tin Huts to Huge Corporations.” *Broiler Industry* 30:56-71.

Burawoy, Michael. 1998. “The Extended Case Method.” *Sociological Theory*. 16(1):4-33.

Champlin, D., & Hake, E. 2006. “Immigration as industrial strategy in American meatpacking.” *Review Of Political Economy* 18(1):49-70.

Joppke, Christian. 2010. *Citizenship and Immigration.* London: Polity.

Cohen, Patricia. 2017. "Immigrants Keep an Iowa Meatpacking Town Alive and Growing." *The New York Times*, May 29, A1.

Constance, Douglas. 2008. "The Southern Model of Broiler Production and Its Global Implications." *Culture and Agriculture* 30(1,2):17-31.

Crowley, M., & Lichter, D. T. 2009. Social Disorganization in New Latino Destinations. *Rural Sociology* 74(4):573-604.

Duvall, T. 2002. The Maya Diaspora: Guatemalan Roots, New American Lives. *American Anthropologist* 104:685-686.

Shihadeh, Edward S. and Raymond E. Barranco. 2010. "Latino Employment and Black Violence: The Unintended Consequence of U.S. Immigration Policy." *Social Forces*, 88(3, 1):1393–1420.

Estes, Diane Lincoln. 2011. "Will Alabama's Immigration Law Cause Short-Term Hiccup or Long-Term Heartache?" PBS. February 15.

Fink, Leon. 2003. *The Maya of Morganton.* Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press.

Frank, R., & Akresh, I. R. 2016. "New faces in new spaces in new places: Residential attainment among newly legalized immigrants in established, new, and minor destinations." *Social Science Research* 57*:*195-210.

Gabriel, J. 2006. "Organizing the Jungle: Industrial Restructuring and Immigrant Unionization in the American Meatpacking Industry." *Working USA* 9(3):337-359.

Gabriel, J. 2008. "Si, Se Puede: Organizing Latino Immigrant Workers in South Omaha's Meatpacking Industry." *Journal Of Labor Research* 29(1):68-87.

Garner, E. 2015. "We Just Keep Running the Line: Black Southern Women and the Poultry Processing Industry*." Rural Sociology* 80(4):539-542.

Gaventa, J. (1980). *Power and powerlessness: Quiescence and rebellion in an Appalachian valley.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gendreau, Monica, and Gilberto Gimenez. 2002. "International Migration from a Sociocultural Perspective: Study in Traditional Communities of the Center of Mexico." *Migraciones Internacionales* 1(2): 147-78.

Glaser, Barney G., Strauss, Anselm L. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New Jersey: University of Rutgers.

Gozdziak, E. M., & Bump, M. N. 2004. “Poultry, Apples, and New Immigrants in the Rural Communities of the Shenandoah Valley: An Ethnographic Case Study.” *International Migration* 42(1):149-164.

Graeber, David. 2015. *The Utopia of Rules*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House Publishing.

Griffith, D., & Runsten, D. 1992. “The Impact of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act on the U.S. Poultry Industry: A Comparative Analysis.” *Policy Studies Review* 11(2):118-130.

Griffith, David. 1995. “Hay Trabajo: Poultry Processing, Rural Industrialization, and the Latinization of Low-Wage labor” in *Any Way You Cut It: Meat Processing and Small Town America*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Hendrickson M., James H., Heffernan W.D. 2013. “Vertical Integration and Concentration in US Agriculture.” In *Encyclopedia of Food and Agricultural Ethics*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Holmes, Seth. 2013. *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies. Migrant Farmworkers in the United States*. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Jamison, E. C. 2018. Circuits of power in Alabama's immigration politics: Labor justice and corporate social responsibility. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A, 79*.

Jordan M. 2018. “ICE came for a Tennessee town’s Immigrants. The town fought back. *The New York Times,* July 15, A9.

Kaetz, James P. 2012. “Collinsville.” Encyclopedia of Alabama. Retrieved February 14, 2017 (http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1096)

Levien, Michael, and Paret, Marcel. 2012. “A Second Double Movement? Polanyi and Shifting Global Opinions on Neoliberalism.” *International Sociology*. 27(6):724-744.

Lewis, A. C. 1998. Growing Hispanic enrollments: Challenge and opportunity. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 80(1):3.

Linder, Marc. 1995. "I gave my employer a chicken that had no bone: Joint firm-state responsibility for line-speed-.." *Case Western Reserve Law Review* 46(1):33.

Lynn, Charles A., and Sun-A Lee. 2016. "Newcomers in a Nontraditional Receiving Community: Korean Immigrant Adaptation Strategies in the American Deep South." *The Qualitative Report* 21(12):2209-2229.

Marin et al. 2009. “Evidence of Organizational Injustice in Poultry Processing Plants: Possible Effects on Occupational Health and Safety among Latino Workers in North Carolina.” *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 52:37–48.

Martin, Philip. 2009. *Importing Poverty? Immigration and the Changing Face of Rural America*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

Marx, Karl. 1867. *Das Kapital.* Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co.

McConnell, E. D., & Miraftab, F. 2009. "Sundown Town to "Little Mexico": Old-timers and Newcomers in an American Small Town." *Rural Sociology* 74(4):605-629

McMichael, Philip. 2017. *Development and Social Change. A Global Perspective*. London: Sage Publications.

Medina, Caitlin Dickerson and Jennifer. 2017. "California Farmers Backed Trump, but Now Fear Losing Field Workers." *The New York Times*, February 15, A10.

Menjívar, C., & Abrego, L. 2012. Legal Violence: Immigration Law and the Lives of Central American Immigrants. *American Journal of Sociology* 117(5): 1380-1421.

Mohl, R. A. 2002. Latinization in the Heart of Dixie: Hispanics in Late-Twentieth-Century Alabama. *Alabama Review* 55(4): 243.

Mohl, R. A. 2002. "The Nuevo New South: Hispanic Migration to Alabama." *Migration World Magazine* 30(3):14.

Mohl, R. A. 2003. "Globalization, Latinization, and the Nuevo New South. *Journal of American Ethnic History* 22(4):31-66.

Mohl, R. A. 2016. "The Politics of Expulsion: A Short History of Alabama's Anti-Immigrant Law, HB 56." *Journal Of American Ethnic History* 35(3):42-67.

Nevin, R. L., Bernt, J., & Hodgson, M. 2017. "Association of Poultry Processing Industry Exposures with Reports of Occupational Finger Amputations: Results of an Analysis of OSHA Severe Injury Report (SIR) Data*." Journal Of Occupational & Environmental Medicine* 59(10):159-163.

Massey, Douglas S. 2008. *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. 2008. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Newkirk, M., & Douban, G. 2012. "In Alabama, Legal Immigrants Wanted for Dirty Jobs." *Bloomberg*, 2.

Odem, Mary E. 2016. "Immigration Politics in the New Latino South." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 35(3): 87.

Odem, Mary E. & Lacy, Elaine. 2009. *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the U.S. South.* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press.

Orne, Jason and Bell, Michael. 2015. *An Invitation to Qualitative Methods*. New York and London: Routledge.

Otero, Gerardo. 2011. "Neoliberal Globalization, NAFTA, and Migration: Mexico's Loss of Food and Labor Sovereignty." *Journal of Poverty* 15:384-402.

Peacock, J. L., Watson, H. L., and Matthews, C. e. 2005. *The American South in a global world*. Chapel Hill and London:

Lopez, Gustavo and Kristen Bialik and Jynnah Radford. 2017. "Key Findings about U.S. Immigrants." *Pew Research Center*, May 3.

Pilkington, Ed. 2011. "Alabama immigration: crops rot as workers vanish to avoid crackdown." *The Guardian*. (Retrieved February 15, 2017).

Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Popke, J. 2011. Latino Migration and Neoliberalism in the U.S. South: Notes toward a Rural Cosmopolitanism. *Southeastern Geographer* 51(2):242-259.

Portes, A. 1999. "Immigration theory for a new century: some problems and opportunities." In: *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Pruitt, L. R. 2009. "Latino/as. Locality and Poverty in the Rural South." *Harvard Latino Law Review* 12:135-169.

Ribas Vanesa. 2016. *On the Line: Slaughterhouse Lives and the Making of the New South*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sáenz, R. 2013. "Reflections on the sociology of security and surveillance in the study of immigration." *Sociological Forum* 28(3):624-626.

Saenz, Rogelio, et al. 2003. "Latinos in the South: A Glimpse of Ongoing Trends and Research." *Southern Rural Sociology* 19(1):1-19.

Sandoval, G. F. 2015. "Immigrant integration models in "illegal" communities: Postville Iowa's shadow context." *Local Environment* 20(6):683-705.

Schwartzman, K. C. 2009. "The Role of Labor Struggle in the Shifting Ethnic Composition of Labor Markets." *Labor Studies Journal* 34(2):189-218

Scott, C. James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press:

Sharp, G., & Lee, B. A. 2017. "New Faces in Rural Places: Patterns and Sources of Nonmetropolitan Ethnoracial Diversity since 1990." *Rural Sociology 82*(3):411-443.

Short, R., & Magaña, L. 2002. "Political Rhetoric, Immigration Attitudes, and Contemporary Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilemma." *Journal Of Social Psychology*. 142(6): 701-712.

Simmel, Georg. 1908. *Soziologie*. Leipzig, Germany: Duncker & Humblot.

Smith, B.E. 2009. *Global Connections and Local receptions: New Latino Immigration to the Southeast United States*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Spiro, Peter J. 2008. Beyond Citizenship: American Identity After Globalization. New York: Oxford University Press

Stoecker, Randy. 2009. "Are we talking the walk of community-based research?" *Action Research* 7(4): 385-404.

Striffler, S. 2007. "Neither here nor there: Mexican immigrant workers and the search for home." *American Ethnologist* 34:674-688

Striffler, Steve. 2002. "Inside a Poultry Processing Plant: An Ethnographic Portrait." *Labor History* 43(3): 305-13.

Striffler, Steve. 2005. *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America's Favorite Food*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Stuesse, Angela. 2009. *Scratching Out a Living, Latinos, Race, and Work in the Deep South.* Oakland California: University of California Press.

Tickell, A. and J. Peck. 2003. "Making Global Rules: Globalization or Neoliberalization?" Pp. 163-181 in *Remaking the Global Economy: Economic-Geographical Perspectives.* London: Sage.

Wallerstein, I. 2000. "Globalization or the Age of Transition?: A Long-Term View of the Trajectory of the World-System." *International Sociology* 15(2): 249.

Weise, Julie M. 2015. *Corazon de Dixie, Mexicanos en the U.S. South since 1910.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Wilkinson, B., & Bingham, N. 2016. "Getting Pushed Back Further in Line? Racial Alienation and Southern Black Attitudes toward Immigration and Immigrants." *Political Science & Politics* 49(2):221-227.

Wray, N., Markovic, M., & Manderson, L. 2007. "Researcher Saturation": The Impact of Data Triangulation and Intensive-Research Practices on the Researcher and Qualitative Research Process." *Qualitative Health Research* 17(10):1392-1402.

Zárate, M. A., & Quezada, S. A. 2012. Future Directions in Research Regarding Attitudes Toward Immigrants. *Analyses Of Social Issues & Public Policy* 12(1):160-166.

Harrison, J. L., & Lloyd, S. E. 2012. "Illegality at Work: Deportability and the Productive New Era of Immigration Enforcement." *Antipode*, 44(2): 365–385.

Appendix

Photos

Figure 1: Arms Crossed

Figure 2: "We Treat You Like Family"

Figure 3: Poultry Truck

Figure 4: Tradeday

Figure 5: Main Street

Figure 6: Buck's Pocket

Figure 7: Haunted House

Figure 8: Pills

Figure 9: Chickens in Cage

Figure 10: Koch Foods

Photo Booklet

Comunidad Comparada, Revitalización Explorada

Community Compared, Revitalization Explored

Collinsville

Este librito contiene citas de los ciudadanos de Collinsville, AL. Se creó para desafiar nuestro entendimiento de 'pertenecer'; para ofrecer una meditación sobre la revitalización en el área y para estimular conversación. Gracias a todos que participaron; sus palabras valen mucho.

This booklet contains quotes from citizens of Collinsville. It was created to challenge our understanding of belonging and revitalization in the area, and to encourage thoughtful conversation. Thank you to all who participated, your words are important.

"Cuando llegamos, había una gasolinera, y estaba en medio del pueblo y NO era lo mejor, sabes."

"When we arrived, it was one gas station, and it was in the middle of town and it was NOT the greatest, you know."

"Esto era un pueblo olvidado."

"This was a forgotten town."

"Hace 25 años, no había nada, no había el Dollar (general), había un solo gas station, con un viejito que te servía."

"25 years ago there was nothing, not even a Dollar General. Just one gas station with a little old man who served you."

"O sí, los hispanos han revitalizado este pueblo; antes de su llegada teníamos solamente dos tiendas."

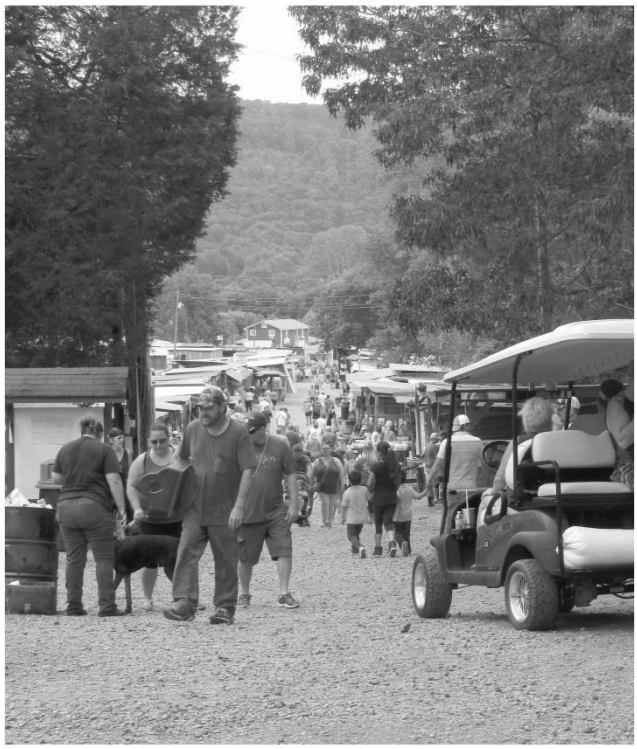
"Oh yes, the Hispanics have really revived this town, before they arrived we were down to two stores."

"Aunque algunos sean 'ilegales,' a la comunidad no le gustaria nada si algo les pasara."

"Even though some are 'illegal,' the community wouldn't like it if something happened to them."

"A veces uno siente como cuando en principio llegamos. Aún con los hijos parece que todo se ha volteado de nuevo con este nuevo presidente. Esta nueva presidencia ha vuelto a recordar mucho odio, y me duele, porque me trae recuerdos del viejo Collinsville."

"Sometimes it's like when we first arrived here. Even with the kids its seems like everything flipped again, with this new president. The new presidency brought a lot of hate back, and it hurts me, because it brings me back to the old Collinsvile."



"El fútbol tardó tiempo en popularizarse, pero una vez que comenzamos a ganar partidos de fútbol americano por 3 o 4 goles, y usamos 4 o 5 de los kickers la gente comenzó a abrirse un poco."

"While soccer took a while to catch on, once we were winning football games by 3 or 4 points and we were 4 to 5 deep in kickers, folks started to open up a little."

"Collinsville se enfoca en los Americanos, en los entrenadores y los deportes."

"Collinsville focuses on white people, on coaches and sports."

"Todavía no hay campo de fútbol."

"There still isn't a soccer field."

"No te tratan como debe ser, [es irresponsable], no te animan, a veces uno se siente mal. Te regañan."

"They don't treat you like they should, [its iresponsibe], they don't encourage you, and sometimes you feel bad. They call you out."

"Si tengo que llevar a mi hija al medico, es imposible. Si faltas mucho, te corren."

"If I need to take my daughter to the doctor, it is impossible. If you miss too much, they send you packing."

"No hay tiempo para descansar."

"There is no time to rest."

"Perdí dientes, perdí muelas, siento un corriente abajo de la nariz, el medico sacó algo de allí, me inyectaba. Me fui al neurólogo quien me dijo que el problema es con los nervios. La enfermedad creció."

"I lost teeth, molars. I feel something like an electric current below my nose, the doctor took something out of there and gave me an injection. It continued until I went to a neurologist, and he said it had to do with my nerves."

"La línea de la pollera solo se para cuando alguien se corta."

"The line ony stops when someone cuts themselves."

"Si el animal experimenta estrés en su vida no natural (14 semanas), pues ese estrés se le comunica al humano. Todos sentimos el estrés, ¿como no podría ser?"

"If the animal experiences stress in its unnatural (14 week) life, then that stress is passed on to the human. We all feel the stress, what else could it be?"

"Sólo es un trabajo."

"It's just a job."

"Puede hablar de la inmigración y la pollera en Collinsville?"

"Can you talk about immigration and poultry in Collinsville?"
Investigador/Researcher

"Ya no creo que le pueda ayudar más."

"I don't think I can help you anymore."
Ciudadano Prominente/Prominent Citizen

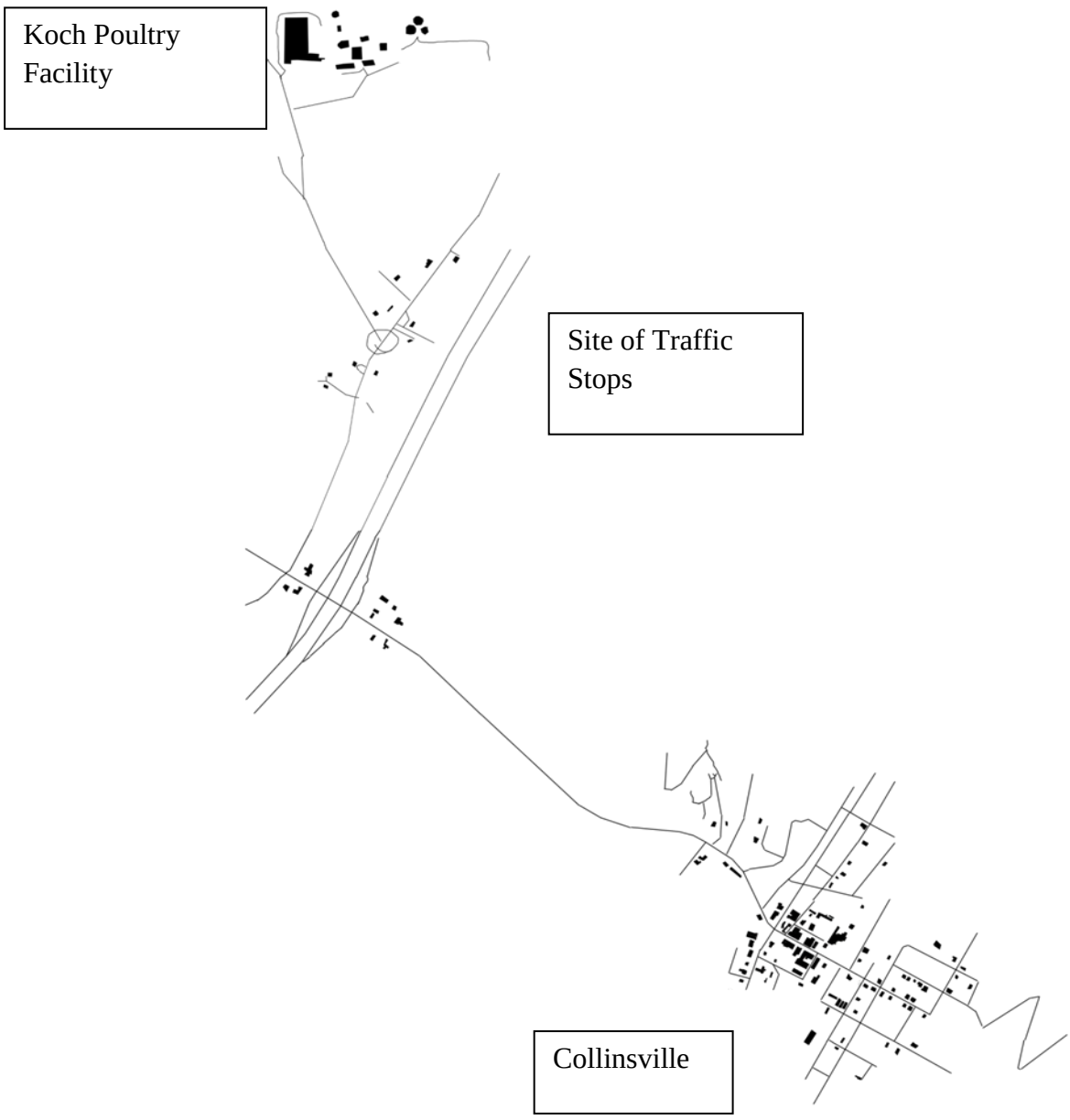


Figure 11: Site of Traffic Stops

Table 1: Participant Characteristics

Descriptors and Pseudonyms	*Demographic Information*	*Descriptors and Pseudonyms*	*Demographic Information*
Richard	White, 70s.	Poultry Worker	Latina, 20s
Librarian	White, 50s	Poultry Worker	Latino, 50s
Manolo	Latino, 40s	Shop Owner	Latina, 50s
Elena	Latina, 40s	Extension Agent	Female, white, 40s
Koch Hiring Manager at Trade Day	Male, white, 30s	Extension Agent	Male, white, 40s
Man at Trade Day	Latino, 40s	Gas Station Attendant	Female, white, 40s
Trade Day Vendor	White, 30s	Hotel Worker	South Asian, 30s
Trade Day Vendor	Latina, 40s	Church Member	Latino, 20s
Poultry Worker	Latino, 30s	Church Member	White, 30s
Poultry Worker	Latino, 50s	Catholic Priest	White, female, 40s
Poultry Worker	Latino, 40s	High School Teacher	White, 30s
Poultry Worker	Latino, 40s	Extension Agent	White, Male, 30s
Former Poultry Worker	Latina, 50s		
Former Poultry Worker	Latina, 40s		