SEQUESTERED INCLUSION: SOCIAL SERVICE DISCOURSES AND NEW

LATINO DIASPORA YOUTH IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY

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SEQUESTERED INCLUSION: SOCIAL SERVICE DISCOURSES AND NEW

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Abstract: This dissertation explores ethnographically the impact of discourses of belonging and exclusion in a New Latino Diaspora (NLD) city located in the heart of the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia. Young NLD adults in Rocktown, Virginia, experience a form of sequestered inclusion shaped by racializing narratives based in nativist hostility as well as by implicit deficit narratives embedded in humanistic multiculturalism. Based on more than twelve months of ethnographic field work (and over six years of ordinary life in Rocktown), this dissertation explores how advocates, activists, and their allies in the social service and educational institutions in the Rocktown area have institutionalized processes of inclusion over a period of fifteen years both with and for NLD youth. These processes have been constrained by the paternalistic and reductive discourses that frame youth both as inherently needy and as a resource that benefits the receiving community. NLD youth themselves recognize their own specific needs and contributions, but resist the reductionism and racializing tendencies of these discourses. Within this context, a small group of young NLD activists formed to support and promote the DREAM Act (for Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors), both capitulating to and contesting dominant discourses and constructing a narrative frame for belonging on their own terms.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elizabeth Esther Phelps was born in 1973 in Lima, Peru, to missionary parents. The family lived transnationally and inter-culturally, cycling through a jungle mission center to Quechua communities in Ayacucho and San Martín, and to the Phelps family farm in western New York. Her mother's side of the family also has diasporic roots: Phelps' maternal grandfather emigrated from Japan in 1912 to Cusco, Peru, where he married her grandmother.

Phelps majored in English at Wheaton College (IL), with a minor in Philosophy and a certificate in the college's Human Needs and Global Resources program. Following graduation, Phelps spent four years as a community development worker in Bolivia with the Mennonite Central Committee. This experience led her to Cornell University for a Master's degree in Adult Education, completed in 2001 with a thesis titled *Participation and Power in Community Development Program Planning: A Study of a Process in the Bolivian Lowlands.* During the second year of the program Phelps moved with her husband to a small city in Virginia where she spent six years working with Latino and Latina children and youth in a social service capacity. This is where the specific questions guiding this research project were born.

To my husband, Terry

and to our children, Valerie and Gabriel

the three who have given the most towards making this project possible.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANCIR American Council for Immigration Reform

BSU Big State University (a pseudonym)

CRT Critical Race Theory

DREAM Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors

DACA Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

ELL English Language Learner(s)

ESL English as a Second Language

ESOL English for Speakers of Other Languages

FAIR Federation for Immigration Reform

HSC Hispanic Services Council

ICE Immigration and Customs Enforcement

IIHHS Institution for Innovation in Health and Human Services

INS Immigration and Naturalization Service

IRCA Immigration Reform and Control Act

MEP Migrant Education Program

NLD New Latino Diaspora

OCY Office on Children and Youth

SAU Small Anabaptist University (a pseudonym)

VAWA Violence Against Women Act

CHAPTER 1: Sequestered Inclusion of New Latino Diaspora Youth

> "We call it Operation Motor Oil because it's supposed to reduce friction. What can we do to get the immigrants to understand what's going on here?" (Reba, outreach officer for the Rocktown police department)

> "It was hard, you had that feeling that they didn't want you. And it wasn't like it was everybody, but there was a group of kids who obviously hated you for some reason, who would bully you, and try to do everything in their hands to make you leave; and there was the other group of kids who didn't care who you were, but didn't bother you either. And then there were those that maybe felt sorry for you, and wanted to be your friends, whatever the case might have been… So the integration issue for me was truly difficult. It was very difficult. And it took a little while… but then like I said it was a process… and after a while it just became natural, you know?" (Raul, young adult in the new Latino Diaspora)

Introduction

Raquel and Raul Sandoval[1] are young adults in the New Latino Diaspora (NLD; Murillo & Villenas 1997, Villenas 2007). The two oldest siblings in their family, Raquel was 11 and Raul was 13 when their father brought the family to Rocktown, Virginia, in 1991 to join him after earning a green card through the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) after years of hard migrant labor in the United States. Mr. Sandoval settled his family into a mobile home between the city and the poultry plant where he was eventually to become a line supervisor, and the children were enrolled in county schools. Raul recalls:

> For me it was just like, I'm gonna make the best out of it, but it was not easy. Again because I came at an older age, and 5 years of schooling [in the US], considering my first couple of years were not very productive because I spent most of the time alone in a classroom, or in classrooms where I was a little lost…

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[1] The names of all people, local places, and institutions are pseudonyms, except for public figures. Due to the specificity of this study, however, the location can be only thinly disguised, especially for readers familiar with the context. Research participants were made aware of this as part of the informed consent process.

I remember every single year in high school I was like, "I'm quitting. I'm quitting," and my mom and dad were like "no you're not." All my friends were working – they quit high school. At 14, 15, they were working at the orchard, or the local poultry plants. And so they always had money for the weekends, and they had cars, and all these things, so that kind of made me see things into a different perspective, at that time, I thought maybe it was best for me, and for them, so, I tried to quit, but my parents wouldn't let me. I'm glad they didn't. (Interview, August 17, 2010)

Not only did Raul go on to finish high school, but he has also earned college and master's degrees. In 2007 he helped start and run a needs-based before- and after-school program called Second Home at two city elementary schools, and during my field research period was running as the first Latino candidate for the city council in the city of Rocktown.[2]

Raul feels that his sisters had an easier time of it; they were younger when the family moved to the US, and seemed to make friends and learn English more easily. Raquel found a strong sense of belonging in a leadership position with the youth group at the Catholic church, where a Spanish-language Mass was instituted in the early 1990s and where bridging events, like intercultural pot-lucks, brought together people who attended different services. She also remembers a celebration of the Virgen de Guadalupe that meant a great deal to her. Raquel enjoys the adult soccer league events, "when I go and it's our community having fun doing a sport that we like." She did not feel at home at the local state university where she got her degree: "I never felt a part of BSU [Big State University]. It was a place I went to learn, not to enjoy a college experiences, or develop friendships, or be mentored, or all the other things that people get from college. It was too big… But even at [the local community college] I didn't feel that at home. We go there, but we're not a part of it. I never participated in anything" (interview, August 19, 2010).

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[2] While Claudio Padilla, originally from Cuba, has served on numerous councils and boards in Pine County, I can find no record of a Latino or Latina serving in the city.

Like Raul, Raquel went on to earn college and master's degrees (meanwhile putting in

several years of work at the local Migrant Education program, as well as the

Multicultural Affairs office at a local college) and is now the diversity coordinator at the

regional hospital.

Both Raul and Raquel have participated actively in mentoring programs for

Latino and Latina youth, showcasing their own successes and coaching younger, more

recent arrivals through their own processes of adaptation. But as I thought about Raquel's

and Raul's experiences, successes, and particular trajectories, I wondered about the

limitations they also experienced. In 2010, Raul was unsuccessful in his bid for a spot on

the city council. He would have been the first Latino city council member, but it seems

that the city of Rocktown was not yet ready to take that step.[3] As for Raquel, I wondered

whether the spaces open to her in institutional hierarchies would always be framed along

the lines of "multiculturalism" and "diversity"? While her participation and leadership in

these spaces could be interpreted as pro-active measures to institutionalize processes of

inclusion, it could perhaps also be seen as a kind of tokenism.

In this dissertation, I draw on six years of experience working with NLD youth in

Rocktown, Virginia, in a social service capacity (2000-2006) followed by academically-

oriented research beginning in 2007 and culminating in a year of focused ethnographic

work in 2009-2010. I draw on this accumulated knowledge to argue that one result of

institutionalized processes of inclusion for newcomers in Rocktown has been the creation

of situations of "sequestered inclusion:" Raul and Raquel are welcomed and embraced in

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[3] This vignette calls back to the story I heard about Rocktown's first Black city council member. Apparently two young Black men infiltrated a Valley meeting of the Ku Kux Klan, and escaped detection. The Black barber who revealed their identities to the Klan was soon after elected to city council (Lincoln 2010).

certain spaces, finding their own "second homes" within various institutional structures –

and yet there is a force at work that sequesters them and other young Latino and Latinas

into particular kinds of roles and spaces. While activists, advocates, and their allies

embraced an ethos of multiculturalism and humanism which led to significant action with

and for New Latino Diaspora youth and families, efforts to re-define NLD youth as an

important resource to the community – most often to counter attacks from hostile nativist

camps – can have a dehumanizing effect as their value or worth becomes predicated on a

primarily economic calculus. At the same time, social service institutions continually

reinscribed NLD youth within narratives of need and deficit, often as a necessary strategy

for securing the grant funding that fuels the motor of the social service industry; and this,

too, functions as a racializing discourse (Santiago-Irizarry 1996:5). When

institutionalized, these discourses have the effect of limiting the roles or positions that

NLD youth actually can access. While the gains that NLD communities along with their

advocates and allies made under these constraints must not be disparaged or discounted,

celebration must be tempered by acknowledging that significant barriers and difficulties

still limit substantive structural change which would create conditions for real social and

economic equality.

As part of this analysis of sequestered inclusion, I examine how a group of local

NLD youth, undocumented and allies together, organized and mobilized for substantive

structural change in support of the DREAM Act – a proposed piece of legislation (for

Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) that was first introduced in

Congress in 2001, revised and resubmitted various times over the years, and defeated by

a six-vote margin in December of 2010. The DREAM Act would have provided a path to

legal residency and possible eventual citizenship for undocumented young people who fulfilled certain criteria: 1) arrived in the United States prior to age 16, 2) lived in the United States for a minimum of five years, 3) are of "good moral character" (that is, having no criminal record), and 4) completed at least two years of higher education or military service (Nicholls 2013, field notes April 8, 2010). Those who would stand to benefit from passage of the bill are known as DREAMers.

There is currently great interest among academics across various fields in observing and documenting developments for the 1.5 generation (children of immigrants who arrived at a young age) and the second generation of NLD youth (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Wortham et al 2002, Levitt and Waters 2002, Zúñiga and Hernandez-León 2005, Suárez-Orozco et al 2008, Gonzalez 2011). In this project, I consider the experiences in Rocktown of a broad range of "children of immigration" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001) – from César, who was born in the Pine Memorial Hospital to a Mexican father and Nicaraguan mother, to David, who arrived as an undocumented 11-year-old and later secured citizenship under VAWA (the Violence Against Women Act, which allows provision for self-petition for legal residency for victims of domestic violence). I pay particular attention to DREAMers as a group who have mobilized discourse in innovative ways for their own legal and social inclusion in the nation, but I consider their organizing within the context of the broader NLD communities and NLD youth in general. The presence in Rocktown of this broad range of young people affords an opportunity to observe a variety of "ways of being and belonging" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004) within the space of a small city.

I was privileged in 2009-2010 to witness the Rocktown DREAMers as they leveraged the social capital they gained through institutionalized processes of inclusion to mobilize towards their own ends. Situated between the dominant narratives of resource and need, Rocktown DREAMers deployed discourse strategically and from the margins seeking to produce substantive structural change that would have transformative effects in their lives and the lives of many others. Their work is consonant with Aparicio's observation that: "individually and collectively, individuals develop new strategies through which they creatively manipulate or alter state-imposed regulations. These transformations from the margins (of discourse and politics) can serve as vehicles for resistance as well as accommodation" (2006:165). Thus the Rocktown DREAMers capitalized on their inclusion in order to disrupt their sequestration, even while in some ways they continued to accommodate the dominant narratives. In the words of DREAM Activist Virginia founder Cassandra Ibarra:

> if the DREAM Act passes… we're going to keep fighting for our parents, and our relatives, and our family who doesn't qualify for the DREAM Act. So it doesn't just end in the DREAM Act. We're going to keep continuing to fight. The movement doesn't end there. And even if we do get comprehensive immigration reform, we say that this movement is forever. You know our communities are oppressed a lot. When we see like this Latino man was beaten to death by these four white kids – things like that. I mean, the movement continues. (Interview, August 2, 2010)

Part I: Theoretical Orientations

Rocktown and the New Latino Diaspora

My field research site, the mid-sized city of Rocktown in the central Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, exemplifies the recent phenomenon of "new immigration" across the United States, wherein unprecedented numbers of Latino newcomers began arriving into

smaller and more rural communities in the United States than ever before (Zarrugh 2008, Gonzalez Huerta 2006, Bump 2005, Godziak & Bump 2004). As local activist Penny Kidd recalls, around 1993 or 1994 "Rocktown was experiencing the discomfort that comes with a certain level of immigration. It had moved from an interesting little oddity to a feeling that people were uncomfortable" (interview, April 6, 2008). Educator Saul Mercado recalls a sense of crisis in the school system, as institutions scrambled to meet the changing needs of a new population:

> I was working with a program that had not fully developed yet…. I was in the cusp, when they were responding, sort of in an emergency sense – and this was before Carlos and Blanca became service providers; we didn't *have* service providers, or home school liaisons at Rocktown High School …. So it was right as things were exploding. (Interview, February 12, 2010)

This sense of demographic explosion in similar communities across rural areas of the United States has prompted a burgeoning research and emerging literature across multiple disciplines, including demography, sociology, political science, immigration studies, education, and anthropology (cf. Tienda & Mitchell 2006, Godziak & Martin 2005, Zuñiga & Hernández-León 2005, Hamann et al 2002, Wortham et al 2002, Durand & Massey 2000). Certain aspects of this new diaspora seem to replicate across most of, if not all, new receiving areas: industry's growing need for a lower-skilled labor force in smaller cities and more rural areas than the traditional "gateway" cities for new immigrants; and a dramatic and unprecedented increase in Latino populations in those areas during the 1990s (Allegro 2010, Odern & Lacey 2009).

In Rocktown, Virginia, the pertinent industry is poultry processing; although apple orchards in the Valley have long featured on traditional migrant circuits, shifts in both the poultry industry and labor markets during the 1980s led in the 1990s to a

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"Latinization" (Zarrugh 2008; see also Santiago-Irizarry 2001:93 for broader discussion

of this term) of the poultry industry overall (Zarrugh 2007, Gonzalez Huerta 2006,

Godziak and Bump 2004). From 1.5% in 1990 to 9% in 2000, and 16% in 2010 (see

Table 1 below), the Latino population growth in Rocktown might not have been the most

dramatic on the continent, but was still significant and remarkable to those witnessing

this change.

Table 1: Demographic Change in Rocktown, VA 1990-2010

Year	Latino City	Total City	Latino County	Total County
1990	481	30,707	546	57,482
2000	3,580	40,453	2,221	67,714
2010	7,665	48,914	4,076	76,314

Source: Census Bureau (us.census.gov) accessed October 26, 2012.

Commenting specifically on newcomers of Mexican origin, Zúñiga & Hernández-

León take an optimistic approach to this new configuration:

> What we do know now is that in this new era there are factors that more readily
> make immigrants agents in their own incorporation and integration despite their
> lowly positions in the labor queue. The visibility of newcomers, a less intolerant
> normative context, and especially the social capital accumulated by migrants
> invite them to be agents rather than victims of their fate. (2005:xxvii).

The notion framing Zúñiga and Hernández-León's body of research is that new

destinations mean new possibilities – the terms of reception are not as deeply entrenched

as they might be in traditional "gateway" cities, which implies that new narratives of

incorporation might be written in these places. Zúñiga and Hernández-León suggest that

the higher visibility of newcomers – increasingly coming in family units – creates

possibilities for different kinds of social incorporation. They posit that norms of

multiculturalism and diversity in the post-Civil Rights era may also play a role in

facilitating welcome, and that decades of participation in transmigrant labor circuits prior

to settling in these new destinations with their families may possibly all contribute to

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greater agency and thus, presumably, a kinder, gentler incorporation of newcomers in new receiving areas.

In the case of Rocktown and the surrounding Pine County, I observed that newcomer visibility was a mixed blessing for the NLD community, largely due to the uneven implementation of norms of multiculturalism (see Hall 2002) in the receiving community. Although the faction that "celebrates diversity" worked tirelessly to create and institutionalize processes of inclusion for newcomers, at the same time deeply embedded racial formations shaped these benevolent processes in insidious ways, even while outright racism and nationalist xenophobia actively worked against this "multicultural morality" (borrowing a phrase from Zúñiga & Hernández-León 2005:xxvi). Raul, cited in the vignette at the opening of this chapter, succinctly described these factions as running the gamut from those who "obviously hated you for some reason," through those who "didn't care who you were," to those who "maybe felt sorry for you, and wanted to be your friends" (interview, August 17, 2010). In a sense, what I observed in Rocktown was a dialectical process of thesis-antithesis-synthesis, where sequestered inclusion resulted from the conversation between humanistic multiculturalism and nationalistic racializations.

Within the literatures I draw from, a range of terminologies are used to refer to newcomers, immigrants, transmigrants, etc. – and for a range of analytical and ideological reasons. In this dissertation I follow Levitt and Glick-Schiller's contention that "the nation-state container view of society does not capture, adequately nor automatically, contemporary reality" (2004:1006); thus I give preference to the term "New Latino Diaspora" (Murillo & Villenas 1997, Hamann et al 2002) in order to

support casting a different light on the ordinary but often alienating discourses about immigrants, immigration, and illegality (DeGenova 2002). Taking into consideration the powerful material effects on the lives of NLD communities, families, and individuals that the nation-state produces through the practice of policing borders and defining residency or documentation status, I am more concerned with joining those who interrogate these categorizations and terminologies (Wortham et al 2002, e.g.) than I am with using the "lowest common denominator" words and phrases. If language usage constructs our social reality (Silverstein 1998, Duranti 2003, Wortham 2008), then terminologies are crucially important. While the term "New Latino Diaspora" is not colloquially used in my field site, it seems to me the most accurate term for reflecting the complexities entailed in this movement of people across the Americas, and helps to draw attention to a phenomenon that may go unacknowledged in the traditional "gateway" areas where the long history and sheer numbers of newcomers garner attention and organizing energy. While in my field site the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" are used interchangeably by most people (with a few individuals reporting a strong preference for one or the other), I give preference to the term "Latino," while acknowledging that both terms homogenize and gloss over significant variations, differences, and specificities, and only imperfectly encapsulate a notion of shared regional and cultural history.

Racialization, Ethnicization, and Newcomer Incorporation

Similar experimentation with terminologies abounds around the themes of assimilation, integration, acculturation, incorporation, and so on. Generally I use "incorporation," following Tambiah (2000). The word "assimilation" carries the negative

connotations of heritage language and culture loss, and I use "acculturation" to refer specifically to processes of change and adaptation in the socio-cultural and linguistic realms – excluding the more material and economic dimensions (although these are far from discrete categories). While "incorporation" is not a drastically different term from "assimilation," I use it to indicate disparate elements coming together as part of a whole, with the suggestion of inclusion, rather than absorption.

Much of the debate over terminology emerges from critique of the "canonical model" of straight-line assimilation into a middle-class white America with western European roots (Gordon 1964, Warner & Srole 1945). This model is generally understood as over-simplified, over-generalized, over-applied and a-historic (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Rumbaut 1997, Portes & Rumbaut 2001, Levitt & Waters 2002, Aparicio 2006) although it has become doxic within folk ideologies to the extent that it remains a powerful narrative shaping public discourse. The iconic image emblematic of this narrative is of course the black-and-white photograph of an Eastern European family gazing at the Statue of Liberty from the deck of a boat as it approaches Ellis Island, the gateway to a new life in America. At this port of entry, they will undergo a rite of passage that includes inspection for disease, transformation of the family name into an Anglicized version, and initiation into a new identity as new Americans. The children in the picture, and those yet to be born in US soil, will maintain a certain level of hyphenated ethnicity, perhaps able to understand their parents' mother tongue but unable to speak it fluently. They may begin their American life in a crowded urban tenement, but by the third generation they will be living comfortably in a single-family home in the suburbs, and the children's children will be completely "Americanized," monolingual English speakers,

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absorbed unmarked into an undifferentiated population. The burning question, however, is whether this process can actually happen if the newcomers are not understood or perceived as being white (Haney Lopez 1996): What does racialized difference mean within assimilation narratives?

An example of this dilemma from my field site concerns the presence of Russian-speaking religious refugees from the Ukraine and Belorus, the second-largest group of newcomers in Rocktown and Pine County (third are Iraqi Kurds). One of Mexican anthropologist Gonzalez Huerta's Mixtec research collaborators contrasted his observations of Latino and Latina workers with Russian-speaking immigrants he had seen in Rocktown and Pine County: "Los rusos son muy inteligentes, aprenden el ingles rápidamente… yo pienso que como ellos quieren quedarse acá en [Rocktown] para toda la vida, pues le echan todas las ganas del mundo [the Russians are very intelligent, they learn English rapidly… I think that since they want to stay here in Rocktown for their whole life, they put in all the effort in the world]" (2006:136). What stands out in the comment from this unnamed Mixtec worker is the perception that Russian-speakers arrive with the intent to relocate permanently, which contributes to their commitment to learning English – and becomes inscribed as essentialized intelligence. Implied is the contrast with the Mixtec worker, who stays for an indeterminate period of time and is less inclined to work at learning English – and is thus perceived as less intelligent. Layering in the intersectional qualities of the Russian-speakers, who are generally characterized as being 1) white, 2) Protestant (Baptist), and 3) refugees, heightens the contrast to dark-skinned, Catholic, presumed-undocumented transmigrants from Latin America.

One evening in Rocktown as I entered the movie theater with my husband, we crossed paths with a group of five or six teen-aged girls exiting the theater. As we passed them I heard them talking among themselves and realized they were speaking Russian. Looking again, I noted that their clothes, hair, and general appearance in no way marked them as different from the white majority – only their language. It is still an open question how the Russian-speaking second and third generations will be received in the Valley; however, an opportunity exists for future study in contrasting their experiences as white, state-sponsored refugees and a much smaller minority than NLD newcomers (only 6% of students in the city schools designated as English Language Learners [ELL] in 2010 spoke Russian as their first language, in contrast with 78% who spoke Spanish).[4]

Bonnie Urciuoli's 1996 framework for understanding the processes of racialization and ethnicization through discourse is foundational for this project. As even the current US Census form struggles to define and explicate the difference between "race" and "ethnicity," it is important to clarify from the beginning how and why these terms are used. In Urciuoli's words: "Race discourses, or racializing, frame group origin in natural terms; ethnic discourses, or ethnicizing, frame group origin in cultural terms" (15), as a kind of expression of an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983). These discourses can slide into each other; when a facilitator at a nature camp commented to me that the Latino student group he was working with had completed the ropes course with a spirit of collaboration and teamwork that he had never seen before, this was an observation with possibly ethnicizing overtones. When another colleague present asked

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[4] [Rocktown] City Public Schools, updated June 11, 2010. "LEP Student Enrollment." http://harrisonburg.k12.va.us/HarrisonburgCitySchools/media/images/Documents/Instruction/ESL/Countries_and_Languages_June_11_2010.pdf

me "do you think that's learned, or innate?" the conversation began to move in the direction of racialization with the suggestion that group orientation (over individualism) is a genetically coded characteristic of Latinos. Illustrating these intersections perhaps more clearly, a Latina service provider in Rocktown complained to me about racializing discourses she had encountered around instances of sexual assault:

> **Clara**: I hate it when people say things are a cultural issue when they're not. So I say, you know what? One in three girls in the United States is assaulted so maybe it's an American cultural issue. If you're going to claim that, claim it here. And they're like, well it's different. No, it's not. It's not different... So don't say it's a Hispanic issue and we shouldn't address it because it's culturally appropriate. Seriously! People say that!
> **EEP**: So when they're saying it's a cultural issue they're saying – hands off?
> **Clara**: Yeah. That it's understandable. It's insulting! It's kind of like saying, "they're kind of primal – not much we can do about it." It's kind of saying, "it's a cultural thing, so we can tell them not to do it, but it's going to happen." So the expectations are lowered right away, when people say it's a cultural issue. That just pisses me off.
> (Interview, August 26, 2010)

Here Clara notes the easy slide from ethnicization (framed in terms of culture) to racialization by use of the phrase "they're kind of primal" (framed in terms of innate, natural, and essential qualities), the implication being that Latinos are inherently more violent and prone to assaulting one another than white Americans (and therefore for Latinos, assault is deemed "culturally appropriate"). As Urciuoli describes this kind of rhetorical move, "racialized people are typified as human matter out of place: dirty, dangerous, unwilling or unable to do their bit for the nation-state" (16). In contrast, and possibly implicit in the observation of the ropes course facilitator described above, "in ethnic discourse, cultural difference is safe, ordered, a contribution to the nation-state offered by striving immigrants making their way up the ladder of class mobility" (16). If the ropes course instructor in this scenario went on to characterize the Latino and Latina

students as working hard to collaborate in order to achieve their goal, thanks to a culturally based collectivist mentality, this would be an ethnicizing discourse. However, if he (or my colleague) would go on to characterize the group as inherently "tribal" or "primitive" in their outlook and approach, then the discourse would slide into racialization.

My analysis is further informed by the basic tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) that inform this analysis. Drawing from Delgado and Stefancic (2000), these are:

1. That racism is deeply embedded "in the everyday experience of most people of color in this country" (8). Research in the fields of sociology, psychology, and anthropology of the US continue to show the implicit biases based in racialized concepts of humanity that all of us carry with us.

2. Race is socially constructed; for this reason the terms "racialized" and "racialization" are preferred: "Not objective, inherent, or fixed, they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather, races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient" (Delgado & Stefancic 2000:8) Abundant research also demonstrates the fluidity of racial categorizations, especially over time, and the absence of any basis in genetic code.

3. "No person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity" (Delgado & Stefancic 2000:9) – that is to say that racialized identities are intersectional, based in multiple dimensions, and do not belong *essentially* to a person.

That intersectional and racialized identities are constructed in and through everyday experiences of NLD youth in Rocktown, Virginia, is both the presupposition and the argument of this dissertation. What I find most useful in CRT for the purposes of my

analysis is the way of fore-fronting racializing processes in discourse, understanding the ubiquity of these processes, and unpacking the ways in which ascribed racializations are doxic – taken for granted as given facts about people, when they are in fact socially constructed and therefore subject to revision (Bourdieu 1991).

One only need consider the furor surrounding Amy Chua and Jed Rubenstein's controversial popular non-fiction "ethnic studies" book, *The Triple Package: How Three Unlikely Traits Explain the Rise and Fall of Cultural Groups in America* (2014) to see how race, ethnicity, and culture all become entangled in public discourse on newcomer incorporation in the United States. Even though the book is presented as countering racial stereotypes by referencing "cultural groups" (a rhetorical move in which culture becomes code for race), the rhetoric essentializes difference and has been widely panned by academics as promoting a "culture of poverty" explanation for immigrant success and failure. But as extensive research continues to demonstrate, it is precisely these kinds of arguments and rhetoric that are persistently deployed in public discourse. As Leo Chavez documents, a stubborn "Latino threat narrative" continually promotes a notion of dangerous foreigners invading white, Protestant America (2013). Similarly, Dick 2011 shows how the discourse of illegality in Hazleton, PA, reinforces differentiation among immigrant groups, a process that "has consistently relied on the racialization of the 'undesirable,' as national belonging aligns with racial hierarchies that construct whiteness as neutral and prototypically 'American' and nonwhiteness as fundamentally Other and unassimilable" (E36). At a panel organized by George Taplin of the Hazleton Minute Men that took place in Rocktown in March 2007, Bill Buchanan of the anti-immigration American Council for Immigration Reform (ANCIR) stood and declaimed against

immigration, saying "I fear my country turning into a Spanish-speaking country, I fear America becoming like Mexico and every Spanish-speaking country on earth. Corruption, and violence, and crime, and poverty" (field notes, March 30, 2007). Here language, as Urciuoli also documents extensively, becomes indexical of and even conflated with a racialized identity (see also Zentella 1997).

Likewise, Allegro (2010) demonstrates the ways in which using the language of illegality allows for "racist deniability" (173). This is precisely the tactic I witnessed deployed by George Taplin during the same meeting cited above. Although he staged the event as a panel discussion to promote "civil discourse on the problem of immigration" – the panel included two NLD advocates, as well as representatives of the Federation for Immigration Reform (FAIR) and ANCIR – Taplin afterwards urged a group of individuals interested in creating a Rocktown civil defense organization "never talk about Hispanics or Latinos or you'll be labeled a racist. Always talk about illegals" (field notes, March 31, 2007).

Allegro's and Dick's analyses align with Coutin and Chock's 1997 analysis of media discourses in the coverage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), which showed the role of journalists in constructing the legal and social selves of newcomers – as either dangerous and foreign "illegal aliens," or sympathetically ethnicized "amnesty applicants." While "illegals" are constantly criminalized and racialized, the "good ethnics" are depicted as following the classical or canonical assimilation narrative – regardless of whether or not that path is followed consistently in reality. As Coutin and Chock point out, journalists by and large ignored the transnational ties many amnesty applicants maintained. Likewise, in two studies of local discourses in

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Midwestern NLD sites, Fennelly (2008) and Hamann and Reeves (2012) found similar patterns; Fennelly demonstrates how nativist discourses serve as a thin veil for racialization, while on the other hand Hamann and Reeves show the humanizing tendencies embedded in discourses involving children in particular.[5]

As all these scholars demonstrate, issues of race and racialization persistently come up in relation to processes of NLD incorporation. As Clifford (1994) points out, the assimilationist immigrant narrative has simply not reflected the lived experiences of racialized or otherwise minoritized people, producing instead a "diaspora consciousness" (311-312) that entails a sense of dislocation and longing. At the same time, the exclusions experienced by racialized newcomers are all too often reinterpreted as their own failures to assimilate due to some kind of deficit – the wrong values, wrong language, even a deficiency in their essential capacity to "Americanize."

Following Tambiah 2000, I have been using the term "incorporation" to describe the processes by which newcomers become a part of the society which receives them. Tambiah actually parses the term into three subset categories:

1) assimilation: the one-sided incorporation of newcomers into the host society

2) exclusion: incorporation of newcomers into only the lowest socio-economic rungs of a stratified society

3) integration: "positive two-way processes of mutual accommodation between migrants and their host society" (168)

"Positive two-way… mutual accommodation" is clearly elevated as the ideal; in contrast, "exclusion" might be better called "exploitation." This dynamic can perhaps be most

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[5] Because of the social and legal protections around children historically, the recent (2014) furor criminalizing undocumented child migrants as "illegal juveniles" has been particularly jarring.

clearly seen in the case of undocumented workers. As DeGenova (2002) argues, "undocumented migrations are constituted in order not to physically exclude them but instead, to socially include them under imposed conditions of enforced and protracted vulnerability" (429). Dick likewise points out how this exploitative inclusion is due to the core capitalist contradiction of US immigration policy over the past century:

> the country aggressively recruits Mexican laborers – indeed, its economic development has depended on this labor since the late 19th century – but at the same time, the U.S. government consistently provides an insufficient number of visas for their legal entry. This contradiction legitimates the integration of people of Mexican descent through their positioning as 'illegal people.' (2011:E36)

In the Shendandoah Valley, the "Latinization" of the low-skilled workforce has been seen as a deliberate strategy to prevent poultry processing plants from unionizing, because an undocumented workforce is completely at the mercy of the corporation (Zarrugh 2008). Indeed this exploitative form of incorporation is predicated on critical legal and social exclusions, "whether through deportation, detention, or denying such migrants access to employment, higher education, drivers licenses, public benefits" and so on (Coutin 2005:7). As Dick (2011) demonstrates, these exclusionary processes and practices are not confined solely to those whose immigration status is undocumented or undefined; anyone phenotypically characterized and racialized as "Hispanic" also becomes subject to discriminatory practices (Haney Lopez 1996). For example, my US-born colleague and research participant Carlos R. routinely carried his US passport with him to work any time there were rumors of ICE (previously INS) raids occurring in the area; at least while he was doing restaurant work which further marked him in the "unskilled labor" class category. He furthermore vows that he will never purchase a new sports car, because he

believes that people will assume he is a drug dealer. Carlos's appearance matches the phenotypical stereotype of "Mexican."

Alongside this notion of exclusionary or exploitative incorporation runs segmented assimilation theory, a framework that has gained a great deal of traction particularly in social science research, as a model for understanding differences in rates of assimilation between various groups of newcomers. It is important to note that the critique of this framework revolves around the centrality of assimilation itself as a core concept in the model. As Zhou (1997) describes it, "The segmented assimilation theory recognizes the fact that immigrants are today being absorbed by different segments of American society, ranging from affluent middle-class suburbs to impoverished inner-city ghettos, but that becoming American may not always be an advantage for themselves nor for their children." The pattern of "downward assimilation" that Portes and Zhou (1993) identify as one of three possible alternatives for new diasporic families and communities can be escaped, they posit, either by assimilating into middle-class, white America – which is not an available option for many – or by maintaining a co-ethnic identity within their own immigrant enclave. While it is clear that by building strong social capital within such an enclave would contribute to the general wellbeing of its members, it is unclear what this option might look like in new receiving destinations where the co-ethnic enclave might be tiny – perhaps just one family resettled through a refugee support program in a place like Rocktown, for example, where during the 2009-2010 school year forty-five of the 51 languages represented in the city school system were each spoken by

fewer than twenty students[6]. After returning from Chicago with a master's degree in education in hand, Raquel Sandoval (the NLD young woman profiled at the beginning of this chapter) noted the absence in Rocktown of the both the co-ethnic solidarity groups and transnational "clubs" that she had seen in the metropolis. Both of us were aware of Mixtec transnational organizations linking families in Rocktown to their *ranchos* of origin in San Juan Mixtepec, Mexico, but these primarily served to organize support for the communities in Mexico and were not the kind of "well-established and diversified ethnic groups" that Portes & Zhou advocate (1993:86) which might build private schools and establish scholarship programs for their own community (although they did establish other practices to support their children's transnational education, see Rodriguez Perez 2006).

Anthropologist Ana Aparicio (2006) has strongly critiqued the segmented assimilation theory as fundamentally a reiteration of the canonical assimilation model, that implies an endorsement of "elements of the culture of poverty arguments made more than half a century ago while ignoring larger economic and political occurrences that affect the choices and life chances youth of color face in the United States" (168). In Aparicio's view, Zhou & Portes locate the source of the problem in the immigrant family's choice to live among and identify with a "native minority group" – Black, Puerto Rican, or Mexican-American – which causes the newcomers to experience downward mobility. This view is supported by Zhou's own words:

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[6] This data, taken from the city schools web site, is as specific as the publicly available data gets; what I know informally is that there is one Albanian-speaking family from Kosovo, for example, and two Tigrigna-speaking families from Eritrea (or, as Reba Davis erroneously said, "I don't think they even *have* a language"). The option of an Albanian heritage-language private school – one of Zhou's recommendations – seems unfeasible.

While the emergence of a middle-class population is a distinctive aspect of today's immigration, a disproportionately large number of immigrant children has converged on underprivileged and linguistically distinctive neighborhoods. There, the immigrants and their children come into direct daily contact with the poor rather than the middle class; they are also apt to encounter members of native minorities and other immigrants rather than members of the dominant majority, creating new obstacles for assimilation. (1997:979)

What this position seems to suggest is that NLD youth must be preserved from contact with "the great unwashed" lest they fall from the path of purity and upwardly mobile assimilation. But because NLD youth of color cannot be absorbed unmarked into the white majority, the only other alternative must be the ethnic enclave – even though that kind of parallel, separatist social practice is not always a realistic possibility, especially for the most exploited workers (such as the undocumented Mixtec migrants in Rocktown) or the numerically small and isolated families that abound in Rocktown and Pine County.

Deficit Framing for Differential Achievement

A primary concern regarding segmented assimilation theory, echoing debates in the anthropology of education literature, is the way in which success is framed as fundamentally a matter of having the right motivation. In Zhou's words, "For example, first generation members of some immigrant minority groups, such as the Mexicans, have seldom been able to motivate their children to excel in school and move upward in the host society, while other groups, such as the Asians, have far more often succeeded in pushing younger people toward upward social mobility" (1997:982). This focus on motivation and, implicitly, personal values and priorities, mirrors the modernization narrative (see Rostow 1960 and Inkeles and Smith 1974 for the classic conceptualizations) which posits that the progress and advancement of any nation or

social group are predicated on developing the values of individualism, work ethic, rationality, and so on. These ideologically rooted priorities align with Castagno's (2014) characterization of "liberalism," which she argues and demonstrates reinforces the dominance of whiteness in society and in schools.

Furthermore, in the modernization narrative, every nation or social group is expected to pass through the same developmental stages towards "modernity" in the same sequence, and can thus be located on a timeline from primitive to advanced. The modernization framework also ignores oppressive relations of power between differentiated groups of people; similar in many respects to the "culture of poverty" framework, as well as the deficit narratives that so often are the central analytical frame used to account for differences in achievement levels between differently ethnoracialized groups of students. Teachers at Rocktown High School told me they knew before meeting them that new Cuban students would work hard and stay out of trouble; that Dominican students would be constantly happy; that Otomí students would struggle with reading. What these essentializing generalizations ignore are the structural factors, including institutionalized racisms, that position students differently in accordance with a broad range of sex-, race-, and class-based factors – what Ochoa (2013) calls "academic profiling."

The work of John Ogbu (1987) has proved both controversial and foundational in the anthropology of education literature, in his attempt to account for the problem of "differential achievement" – the noticeable pattern of minoritized students performing more poorly in schools than the dominant majority. Ogbu's answer is to draw a distinction between "voluntary" and "involuntary" minorities: the former including most

immigrants, and the latter comprising refugees and "conquered" people – the descendants of slaves, American Indians, and Chicanos. In this rubric, "voluntary" minorities carry with them a range of attitudes and practices that position them for success within the dominant framework, such as "effort optimism," whereas "involuntary" minorities are more likely to develop "oppositional identities" – a refusal to conform to the dominant sociality as a result of feeling rejected by it. Although in some ways this rubric draws attention to the legacy of occupation and colonization of North America by Europeans, there is less room in this binary for acknowledging the legacy of historical, recent, and contemporary invasions and occupations of Central and South America by the United States.

So while Ogbu's work has proved foundational for such concepts as oppositional identities as a form of resistance (Valenzuela 1999, Olmedo 2003), at the same time his model "relies on a static and adaptive model of culture, reifies history, and undertheorizes and dehistoricizes what constitutes the 'dominant' society" (Lukose 2002:407) – not unlike Chua and Rubenstein's "Triple Package" schema. This analytical trajectory contributes to a tendency towards reifying and essentializing culture, as in Portes 1999, where he includes "compatibility between students' native culture and that of the dominant groups" (490) as a prerequisite for newcomer educational achievement. In addition, Portes discusses "culture-based models of success" that factor in "learned helplessness, effort optimism, self-esteem achievement motivation, and study and television habits" (491-2). It becomes increasingly clear, here, that students' attitudes and behaviors are additionally reified as "cultural" characteristics belonging essentially to particular racial or ethnic groups. This pattern is also visible in the dynamic of

"benevolent racism" (Villenas 2002), wherein paternalistic attempts to "help the needy" NLD communities are persistently based in essentialized and racialized conceptualizations of what and who those communities are (Santiago-Irizarry 1996), a dynamic that plays a major role in creating situations of sequestered inclusion in my field site.

Perhaps one of the clearest arguments for an alternative approach to the deficit narrative can be found in Valenzuela's (1999) ethnography of "subtractive schooling." Building on theories of social capital and caring in education, Valenzuela finds that youth draw on extensive funds of knowledge and social capital in response to the often-alienating (over-crowded and under-funded) school environment where their linguistic and cultural capital are not only unrecognized, but are eventually "subtracted" from them. Because Valenzuela's ethnography focuses on a school where the majority of students are Latino and Latina, a significant percentage are also NLD youth. Thus she frames her analysis of subtractive schooling within an analysis of "subtractive assimilation" – precisely the kind of exclusionary and symbolically violent form of assimilation that removes heritage language and cultural practices from new diasporic children, demanding that they "Americanize" on nativist terms. In a way, perhaps the phrase "subtractive assimilation" simply highlights the subtractive element that characterizes any assimilation project. The boundaries of belonging constructed and reified through nationalist discourses will always exclude certain people, unless they are able to excise from themselves those elements that fail to fit the nationalist project.

The alternative to subtractive schooling and subtractive assimilation may be elusive, but, as Patthey-Chavez (1993) puts it:

> as long as educators see themselves as assimilating Latino immigrants into the mainstream, they will continue to meet with less enthusiasm from their students than they anticipate… If the educational needs of Latino students are really going to be served, schools need to become less mainstream, less well defined, more open to negotiation. (56)

Just what this kind of negotiation and openness might look like in practice has been explored in localized contexts. One well-documented example took place in a Yup'ik community in Alaska, where educators and researchers worked together to develop a culturally and linguistically contextualized pedagogy (Lipka et al 1998) that truly transformed the culture of the local schools. This process entailed a tremendous investment of time and energy on the part of a grassroots teachers' group, but resulted in fundamental pedagogical changes – such as treating elders' knowledge as central, rather than supplementary to the curriculum. Similarly, Gonzalez et al (2005) document and theorize pedagogical practices that unite classroom activities with the funds of knowledge found in students' homes and families, such as recruiting a parent to teach a unit on making candy. Rather than uncritically privileging the knowledge of the dominant majority in a hegemonic way, teachers were able to reframe their perspectives of their students in order to create a synergistic approach to teaching. On a smaller scale, Guiterrez et al (1999) and Irizarry (2007) both document the work of individual teachers who, on their own initiative, developed culturally responsive classroom practices that embraced the hybrid languages and cultures present in their classrooms. All of these, to some degree or another, demonstrate the potency of abandoning the deficit framework in order to focus on how schools might shift their approaches in order to do the work of education in a more egalitarian and inclusive way.

As Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and others (McLaren 1994, Foley 1990, Willis 1981) have extensively argued, schools function primarily as sites of reproduction for the dominant social structures in any given society. While instances of critical pedagogy can occur, as the above examples illustrate, generally speaking schools as institutions are hegemonic. However, what these examples illustrate are ways in which local school systems institutionalized processes of incorporation that are not based on deficit framing or benevolent racism, and therefore shift the relations of power (between school and community, between dominant cultural group and minoritized students) at least to some extent. While these kinds of approaches may never become institutionalized broadly, at least these instances demonstrate that pedagogy based in a funds of knowledge approach exists within the realm of possibility. Locally, the Migrant Education Program in Rocktown-Pine built summer programs around mural and photography projects which likewise structured learning around a notion of funds of knowledge and forms of social, linguistic and cultural capital of the migrant children and youth. Although these summer programs were interstitial, unaccredited, and thus did not carry much weight in the eyes of the formal school systems, they did result in tangible and enduring visual displays – such as a collectively created mural on the walls of a community center, a collection of photographs displayed at the city high school, and a book of short stories written by Mixtec children in the county, a copy of which was given to the library of each school where these children attended – demonstrating, again, the realm of possibility.

Diversity and Multiculturalism

In Rocktown, institutionalized processes of inclusion for NLD youth derived to a large extent from ideologies of multiculturalism and diversity. Whether a university creates "diversity" scholarships to boost minority representation in its student body, or the regional hospital decides that a "diversity coordinator" is needed to facilitate inter-cultural communication between white, English-dominant hospital staff and a growing population of newcomers among their patients, decisions were being made in Rocktown at the institutional level, changing internal structures in order to open doors for NLD communities. Even though the shape and scope of these apertures need to be interrogated – which in this dissertation is precisely my aim – the fact that there was movement in that direction is important to recognize.

At the same time, an extensive literature documents the great variance that can exist between forms of multiculturalism – from what McLaren (1994) calls "corporate multiculturalism," a relatively superficial acceptance of non-threatening difference, to the more politicized critical perspective which interrogates unequal knowledge/power relations (see also Hall 2002, Urciuoli 1996). Castagno, in her 2014 school ethnography, argues that interrogation of structural inequality is so threatening to the status quo of the dominant majority that "multicultural education is almost always equated with either what I call *powerblind sameness* (i.e. denying difference) or *colorblind difference* (i.e. denying racial difference while recognizing other forms of difference)" (48). In other words, even when matters of diversity and cultural difference are surfaced and acknowledged to exist, the discourse around these is so proscribed that it neutralizes any liberatory power in the conversation. As she describes it, this neutralization occurs through "niceness," an approach that renders diversity non-threatening:

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Because majoritarian perspectives and knowledge are normalized, particular kinds of niceness are valued (so dialogue and action related to power and race are avoided), social harmony and unity are valued (so anything that might disrupt these goals is avoided), and meritocracy and equality are valued (so oppression is ignored and reproduction ensues). (80)

This "niceness," which avoids recognizing stratification of social power as well as the historical roots of racism and discrimination (hence seeking to be "colorblind") ultimately serves to buttress whiteness as normative.

In McLaren's schema, approaches based in "corporate" multiculturalism posit whiteness as the unmarked category, the invisible norm by which all others are evaluated. "Diversity" becomes a term to "cover up the ideology of assimilation" wherein "ethnic groups are reduced to 'add-ons' to the dominant culture" (McLaren 1994:49). In this rubric, cultural expressions in food, music, and dress especially may be put on display in ways that exoticize and essentialize difference. The International Festival in Rocktown skates very close to the edge of this kind of "corporate" multicultural display, although Latino and Latina organizers and participants value the event as a statement of presence, of being and belonging in the Valley (Saul Mercado, interview, February 12, 2010). Showcasing food, music, and other forms of expressive culture frames cultural difference as flavorful and enriching, introducing a variety of value-neutral and power-neutral options (a marketplace framing) without addressing historically based inequities.

When the Festival was first instituted in 1994, event organizers found spray-painted swastikas and a "Mexican" hanging in effigy from a tree at the site. This kind of hate-based protest is certainly not "nice," and could be evidence that local nativists sensed a shift in the local power structures. What Castagno argues, and what I saw in my

field site, was that the discourses of xenophobia and hatred served mainly to polarize the opposition into extreme niceness.

At the same time, the superficiality of corporate multiculturalism generates a great deal of frustration among advocates and allies over "the multi-culti mumbo-jumbo that I know *this* university just stumbles all over themselves just trying to regurgitate, this sort of doctrine of very vapid, very… non-helpful, non-useful just mush of multiculturalism. And… in its own way, it's very insulting" (interview, Saul Mercado, February 12, 2010).

From a different angle, as a white police officer who consistently espoused a canonical assimilation narrative (interview, August 24, 2010), Reba Davis complained about the diversity training offered at the Rocktown Police Department, facilitated by "a fifty-year-old white guy," which she summed up as "people are different." Then she went on to say, "they preach conformity in the name of diversity, forcing people to like black people, or homosexuals, or women – what if I don't want to like those people?" (interview, August 24, 2010). In both cases, the superficiality of "diversity" training and rhetoric offered by institutions in Rocktown deeply frustrated my interlocutors, although for very different reasons; while Saul sought deeper awareness of institutionalized power and privilege predicated on intersectional identities, Reba confusingly complained about both the superficiality of the "people are different" message, as well as the enforcement of a pluralistic stance wherein one is required to "like" everyone. This ethic of inclusion may be deployed by the dominant group in order to square their positionality of privilege and power with post-civil rights sensibilities, but insofar as these efforts fail to actually address unequal power relations based in race/class/gender differences, they remain unsatisfactory.

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At the end of the day, the superficiality of the corporate multiculturalism described by Saul and Reba contributes directly to situations of sequestered inclusion. Although valuing "diversity" and multicultural representation may open doors through scholarships and hiring practices, the expectation that minoritized individuals participate in these institutions solely in order to represent their group renders their participation tokenistic and one-dimensional (see Delgado 2000).

Part II: Methodology

In *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (2004), John Law argues that even the most careful and systematic social science research methods are involved in creating the social realities they purport to study. Over the past few decades, it has become almost a truism for socio-cultural anthropology that ethnographic research can only be messy, partial, and perspectival (Clifford & Marcus 1986, Behar & Gordon 1996), and that the researcher plays a role in constructing – rather than simply "discovering" – the world that is then narrated through the ethnography. Rather than belabor ontology, metaphysics, and epistemology here, I will simply state that I share these suppositions. The central concept in this project, "sequestered inclusion," stands as the organizing metaphor or allegory based in an assemblage of evidence (Law 2004). What I offer in this section is an account of how I gathered, sorted, sifted, and selected the evidence presented here in support of this theoretical construct.

Personal and Professional Background

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The analysis in this dissertation is based not only on formal ethnographic fieldwork, but also on the time I invested previously living and working with NLD communities in the city of Rocktown and Pine County from 2000-2006. My own experience of moving into the Valley in 2000, and the schooling I received from NLD families and from social service allies in immigrant advocacy have been foundational in how I understand theoretical anthropological constructs in these thematic areas (immigration, diaspora, Latinidad, and so forth). The questions that propelled me to seek an advanced degree in anthropology all arose from the desire to better understand the dynamic interplay between NLD youth and the institutional programs that seek to serve and support them. I began formal fieldwork during the summer of 2007, and concluded with a focused year of research from 2009-2010, but the direct process of participant-observation in Rocktown began in the spring of 2000 when I walked into a Migrant Education Program office for a job interview, and for the first time read the slogan "No Human Being is Illegal" on a poster on the wall.

I was hired as home-school liaison for migrant children in Pine County, and soon began an intensive on-the-ground induction into immigration and advocacy issues. Although my job was to provide wrap-around educational support for migrant children (that is to say, facilitate their progress in school through tutoring, interpreting for parent-teacher conferences, and the like rather than giving direct instruction), it became unmistakably clear to me within a few months that the documentation status of children and families had an impact on nearly every dimension of their lives. Access to school lunches, to Medicaid, to driver's licenses (for high school students) – all were governed by the kind of papers held by individuals and family members. It also became equally

clear that the aperture created by Plyler vs. Doe (1982), the Supreme Court decision

granting every child physically residing in any given school district in the United States

the right to be educated there regardless of documentation status, was a critically

important one – not only creating a mechanism for undocumented children to go to

school, but also codifying into law a sense of children's innocence from legal culpability

in the realm of immigration.

The principle space in which I was inculcated with these notions about

culpability, vulnerability, and human rights was during the monthly meetings of the

Rocktown Area Hispanic Services Council (HSC), where I eventually took on the role of

secretary. An extensive analysis of the HSC is found in Chapters 3 and 4 of this

dissertation; for my own personal and professional development, this space proved

foundational as an introduction to all immigration-related issues.

What I also began to understand during the 2000s was how my own ethno-

racialized identity shifted and changed through different roles and served different

purposes. In 2002, a Mennonite immigrant advocate, Lydia Shenk, invited me to become

a board member for the brand-new ConnectingPeople Immigrant Resource Center

sponsored by Virginia Mennonite Missions and a large number of local Mennonite

congregations, where she was director. She was building support within her board for

offering paralegal support to undocumented immigrants, and one strategy was to recruit

new board members already sympathetic to that idea. Furthermore, ConnectingPeople

bylaws demanded that a simple majority of board members be themselves immigrants,

and she counted me in this category. I was born in Peru, with US citizenship thanks to my

father, and have maintained dual nationality all my life. For me, presenting as Latina –

and as an immigrant – in this context of rapid professionalization of services to the NLD communities was currency.

Similarly, when I began working at Big Brothers Big Sisters in Rocktown in 2003, my new boss consistently introduced me as "a member of the Latino community" in Rocktown, even though my familial and social ties linked me almost exclusively to the German-ethnic Mennonite circles. Whereas my friend and research participant Olivia Tremain, a Mennonite of Eastern European heritage married to a man from Central America, wondered out loud "how many bautismos [baptisms] and quinceañeras [fifteen-year birthday parties] do I have to go to, to be considered part of the Latino community?" (interview, October 27, 2009) my Peruvian parentage and darker coloring made me "a member of the Latino community," at least from the perspective of my Scandinavian-origin supervisor.

These identifications bemused me. As an undergraduate, I had been equally confused when a white male friend told me, during a heated debate on affirmative action, "but I don't think of you as Hispanic." Was it my Anglo surname? My East Coast-inflected pronunciation of standard English? Or something else entirely, that allowed me to pass as non-Hispanic white? When in the spring of 2007 I first came across Ian Haney Lopez' term "situationally Latino" (1996), a bell rang in my mind. Perhaps situational ethnicity is a tired concept by now, since mostly what it does is to call attention to the ways in which ethnicized and racialized identities are always and everywhere socially constructed, mutable, polysemic, and contextual. However, this phrase gave me a conceptual framework for understanding my own experience of ethnicization based on the needs and desires of those around me (such as my employers).

When I returned to the Valley in order to conduct a year of focused fieldwork, I found myself adrift from the Latino families I had known previously through my social service roles. When I left the Migrant Education Program in 2003, and when I left Big Brothers Big Sisters in 2006, I left my contacts and connections behind. As a researcher unaffiliated with local institutions, the schools no longer handed me lists of names and numbers of families with children in school whom I could call. In fact, now the assistant superintendent denied my request to conduct research in classrooms, saying, "I can't let you have unfettered access to our kids" (personal communication, July 7, 2009). Without an institutional home, I became an outsider. I felt of little use to anyone, whereas previously I had felt eminently useful to marginalized NLD families. I had not realized until that point how much I had relied on my professional contacts to maintain linkages to the NLD communities in Rocktown; while many professional advocates and allies (Latino, Latina, and white) were among my social circle and eventually became research collaborators as well, I had relied almost entirely on my role as service provider to connect to Latino families and youth; ultimately, this reality shifted my research approach towards formal, public, and institutional spaces rather than the more neighborhood-oriented approach I had imagined implementing at the proposal stage of conceptualizing this research project.

As mentioned above, my familial and social connections were and are primarily to the German-ethnic Mennonite circles; I married a Mennonite of Swiss-German descent whose family lives in Rocktown. We attended a Mennonite church, and taught at a Mennonite university. And although Mennonite and Latino are not mutually exclusive categories, the overlap in Rocktown is small, as I examine more fully in Chapter 2. What

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this connection afforded me was heightened awareness and insider knowledge of Mennonite presence and influence in social service circles and discourses, which is significant.

This research project is shaped and informed by the road that brought me to it; by the liminality of my own identifications as Latina, American, Peruvian, Mennonite, and professional across multiple fields. It is shaped and informed by my life in Rocktown and Pine County prior to beginning academic training in anthropology. Given the constructivist nature of anthropological work, it is necessary to explicate the positionality of the researcher across all these dimensions.

Centering Discourse

Methodologically, my ethnographic approach centered discourse (cf. Fairclough 1989, Gee 1990, Bourdieu 1991, Urciuoli 1996, González 2006). Simply put, I approached discourse as the socio-cultural production and reception of language (text, speech events, media broadcasts, etc.); I looked for the patterns of meaning embedded beneath the referential surface in order to analyze the ways in which discourses deploy ideologies by and about NLD youth. Leo Chavez develops the following useful definition for discourse, following Foucault (1980) and Stuart Hall (1997): "a formation or cluster of ideas, images, and practices that construct knowledge of, ways of talking about, and forms of conduct associated with a particular topic, social activity, or institutional site in society" (2013:24). Or, as Gee puts it, "What is important is not language, and surely not grammar, but saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (1990:142). In other words, discourses are ideological through and through – and intrinsically

connected to "the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society" (Gee 1990:144). In this vein, I observed, recorded, and participated in public events where discourses were staged and shaped by the contours of audience and intent, as well as the relationships of power being enacted in those spaces; interviews where discourses followed a line of inquiry molded by my interview guide and particular points of interest; online and print media discourses in multiple genres (news stories, bulletins, meeting minutes, program brochures). I was tracking echoes – when and where local discourses as ideologies reflected and echoed dominant national discourses of illegality vs. the good ethnic, ways of being and belonging, and processes of racialization and ethnicization. This approach forefronts the ways in which social reality is discursively and socially constructed (see González 2001:192-193, Holland et al 1998:26-27) in the dynamic interplay between the micro-level local context and broader patterns on a national scale (see Hamann & Reeves 2012). While I focus on the particular nuances of how discourse is deployed at a local level, these micro-level discourses echo the same tropes heard around the nation, especially through public mass media – including advertising, news, and online forums. Close focus on localized instances reveals the particularities of that local context, and how the broader tropes are deployed according to those specificities.

For example, Chavez (2013) extensively documents the predominance of narratives of "Latino threat" in public media, tracing the historical rise of these narratives in conjunction with specific socio-political movements and moments in the United States. Most of these discourses revolve around an apparent anxiety among the dominant majority over the possibility of a "reconquista" or re-conquest of the United States by unassimilable Latinos retaining a "Mexican" identity, even after generations of belonging

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to the United States. In the same vein, Coutin and Chock (1995) outline the two dominant

narrative discourses in the popular media on immigration that emerged around the time of

the IRCA amnesty (which are eerily identical to post-9/11 discourse): on one hand there

is the crisis narrative of the "illegal aliens" posing a criminal threat – faceless interlopers

taking jobs from Americans, flooding the country (the word choice implying disaster)

and unfairly using government resources; on the other hand there is the opportunity

narrative of amnesty applicants, hardworking future citizens looking for a better life.

Highly relevant for my own work is Nicholl's 2013 study of how DREAM Activists

adapt and deploy these dominant discursive frameworks to their own ends. On a more

local scale, a qualitative study by Katherine Fennelly examined discourses in new NLD

destination communities, finding that "complaints about linguistic difference,

multiculturalism and the use of public resources are ultimately about power, and that

demands that immigrants give up their former customs and languages are thinly veiled

exhortations for one-way assimilation. Likewise Allegro (2010), following De Genova

2002, focuses on discourses of "illegality" in the U.S. "heartland" of Oklahoma. In

contrast, Hamann and Reeves (2012) examine counter-narratives to the more prevalent

anti-immigrant ideologies in "Flyover Country." What all these studies have in common,

and what I draw from, is an interest in examining how ideologies are revealed by and

deployed in local-level discourses. Moreover, my specific interest in this study is to

unravel the discourses that create conditions of sequestered inclusion in the interplay

between nativist and multiculturalist discourses in my field site.

Data Collection

I began full-time field research in September 2009, after two summers previously carrying out preliminary work with the Shenandoah Valley Migrant Education program. I had also conducted a small preliminary study in the spring of 2008 interviewing people about the origins and ideological positions of the Rocktown Area Hispanic Services Council. As it happened, 2009-2010 turned out to be a dramatic and interesting year for DREAM Act organizing culminating in the Congressional vote that defeated the dream in December 2010. During my field research period, I was able to bear witness to the development of a local DREAM Activist Virginia chapter organized by local NLD DREAMers, and their story added an important dimension to this study.

I approached this project by focusing on three sources of information: 1) public events and meetings touching on themes of immigration and new diasporic communities; 2) print and web media discourses on the same subjects, especially from local media; and 3) semi-structured interviews with advocates, activists, and allies involved in NLD communities. One factor that powerfully shaped my approach was the fact that, locally, I had no clearly identifiable specific institutional home. I related to a network of advocates, activists, and allies that was dense but diffuse due to the informality and flexibility of the interconnections between people and institutions. Although I could clearly identify as a graduate student conducting research from Cornell University, Cornell was not local enough to be truly relevant to the scene. This lack of a locally identifiable institutional home undermined my relevance to the network; compared to the role I had as a social service provider, my power to influence and act locally was lessened. At the same time, this looseness of affiliation was a boon in the sense of affording me generalized access to

people in the network, and plenty of time in which to explore these connections and think

about what they were saying to me.

Participant-Observation in Public Spaces

Specifically, I attended the following open, public events:

- monthly meetings of the Rocktown Area Hispanic Services Council (August 2000 – August 2006; summer 2007, summer 2008, July 2009 – August 2010)

- a panel discussion organized by the Minute Men of Herndon, Virginia (March 30, 2007)

- occasional inter-agency summits organized by the Fairfield Mediation Center, and sponsored by Mayor Hans Ranger
    - Health and Wellness Summit (September 14, 2009)
    - Intercultural and Interfaith Summit (October 22, 2009)
    - Youth and Families in Crisis Summit (March 19-20, 2010)

- three meetings of the Migrant Education Parental Advisory Committee (October 18, 2009; December 14, 2009; February 11, 2010)

- a Town Hall meeting with governor MacDonnell, preceded by DREAM University (August 19, 2010)

- a City Council meeting where a resolution was passed to sign a statement in support of the DREAM Act (February 3, 2010)

- a chapel presentation at Small Anabaptist University (SAU) focused on the DREAM Act, organized by the Latino Student Alliance (April 7, 2010)

- an informational coffeehouse event at SAU on the DREAM Act, organized by the Latino Student Alliance (April 8, 2010)

- a vigil for the DREAM Act held on the city courthouse lawn (September 20, 2010)

Whenever feasible, I made recordings of these public events, later transcribing them. At

some of the more high-profile meetings, news media personnel were present filming and

recording. When this was the case, I also obtained copies or transcripts of the story as it

appeared in the news media. At the time of my research, the local newspaper had a comment box attached to each story published online, which allowed me access to a rich panoply (or, at times, cacophony) of local voices on the subject.

Over the course of my fieldwork, I also attended closed meetings of groups that were not open to the public. While I do not draw material directly from these meetings for reasons of confidentiality, participating in these initiatives did inform my thinking about the social service network in Rocktown – as did the cumulative experiences I had working and participating in these kinds of spaces prior to entering an academic program. These groups were:

- weekly meetings of the Chicas Project at the city high school
- bi-weekly meetings of the FUTUROS Group (a scholarship and mentoring organization for local Latino college students) at the home of a local Latino leader
- DREAM Act organizing meetings

In any case, I was able to interview many of the principal actors in these organizations, specifically for the purposes of this dissertation.

Semi-Structured Interviews

In considering whom to interview for this study, I prioritized those individuals who exercised leadership through involvement in institutionalizing processes of inclusion for NLD youth in some way. I wanted to talk with those who were most involved in these efforts. I focused on two related and overlapping groups: 1) social service providers working with NLD communities, and 2) young adult Latinos and Latinas living and working in the area. Sometimes, as in the case of Raquel and Raul Sandoval (whose story is featured at the opening of the dissertation), these categories overlap.

Over the course of my fieldwork (including preliminary fieldwork conducted in the summer of 2007, as well as a small study of the HSC conducted in the spring of 2008) I conducted in-depth interviews of 22 individuals who are connected in various different configurations to the social service network in Rocktown as well as to NLD communities. Some I had known since moving to the Valley in 2000; others I met in 2009 through this focused research project. At one point I attempted a visual map of institutional affiliations of interview participants, but the lines of connection were so many, so thick and so dense, that no clear visual pattern emerged. I concluded that what I was seeing was the interconnectedness of advocates, activists, and allies in a small community in densely overlapping social networks. As Saul Mercado commented during an HSC meeting, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, "We cycle through each other's jobs every six months" (field notes, July 25, 2008).

I conducted formal interviews with fourteen women and eight men; six were non-Latino white people (five women and one man); many of whom I knew through the Migrant Education Program or Small Anabaptist University (or both; see Table 2). Because I had been actively part of this network for so long, the principal actors regarded me as a friend and ally and were quite willing to grant me interviews.

As all were (actually or imminently) professionals in their respective fields, this could be seen as a situation of, if not "studying up" (Nader 1972), then perhaps "studying across," with the concomitant benefits and challenges that entails. While my interlocutors and I spoke the same language in the sense of understanding the specialized vocabularies of the non-profit world and educational institutions, I have always been keenly aware of their ability to access and critique any published work that results from this research

project. All the interviews were conducted under conditions of confidentiality, although I could not promise my interlocutors that someone familiar with the Rocktown area NLD communities and social service world would not be able to identify them from anonymous quotes. In any case, all names used in this dissertation, including place and institution names, are pseudonyms, and at times identifying information (such as country of origin) has been changed or left out completely.

Table 2: Pseudonyms and Characteristics of Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Sex	Latina/o?	Role	Relationship to me
Blanca	F	Yes	SSP* – education	MEP – coworker
Carlos	M	Yes	SSP – education	HSC / friend
Cassandra	F	Yes	DREAM Activist	Former student SAU**
Cesar	M	Yes	Health professional	Former student SAU
Clara	F	Yes	SSP mental health	MEP
David	M	Yes	Student	Student SAU
Elena	F	Yes	Mother/worker	MEP
Julia	F	Yes	Student	Chicas / SAU
Liam	M	No	SSP - education	MEP / HSC
Lourdes	F	Yes	Professional	PROMISE
Olivia	F	No	SSP – health/ed.	MEP – coworker
Oscar	M	Yes	SSP – education	HSC / PROMISE
Paloma	F	Yes	Student	BBBS / HSC
Penny	F	No	SSP – education	MEP/HSC
Raquel	F	Yes	SSP – health/ed	MEP – student, vol., worker
Raul	M	Yes	SSP – education	MEP
Reba	F	No	SSP – law enf.	Met at HSC
Saskia	F	No	SSP teacher	MEP / BBBS
Saul	M	Yes	SSP – education	MEP
Tony	M	Yes	Health professional	PROMISE / MEP
Wendy	F	Yes	SSP – ed/health	HSC
Zara	F	No	Anthropologist	HSC/mentor

*Social Service Provider
** Small Anabaptist University

Strategies of Analysis

Analysis was – and continues to be – an iterative process. After transcribing all my recordings – both individual interviews and public events (this step alone took two

years) – I divided the interviews into separate categories, with service providers and young adults in separate groups, and dividing Latino/a from non-Latino/a service providers. Although these were not completely discrete groups (e.g. Raul and Raquel are both service providers and young adults), it did reveal a reflection of the demographic shift in the Valley, as the average age of non-Latino service providers who were prominent actors in NLD advocacy was noticeably higher than Latino and Latina service providers. However, the number of people interviewed was too small to be able to make broad generalizations.

I grouped transcripts of public events with my field notes from those events, as well as any news media available – newspaper articles, and radio or TV broadcasts available online (some had transcripts of broadcasts available as well as video or audio clips, but I did not transcribe any of these myself as the time needed to do so was prohibitive). This allowed me to sort and filter the material for different discursive patterns as they surfaced from different sources. When accessing news media articles online, I often looked at the comments left by readers. These tended to polarize quite repetitively into radically different camps, nativists vs. multiculturalists, with little variation or nuance within each group, but consistent across different platforms.

As I worked on transcribing and gathering material, I made a series of preliminary analytical notes, looking for narrative patterns as they began to emerge. In this process of coding and sorting, I primarily drew from Patton (2001) and Creswell (1998) for qualitative research methods in the social sciences.

Although not strictly anthropological, these methods derive from the ethnographic tradition and provide a framework and structure for handling extensive qualitative

material thoughtfully. In the early stages of analysis, the emerging themes and patterns multiplied in an unwieldy way; as I continued to hone in on the key moments and tropes I focused more closely on seeing how local-level discourses – primarily among social service providers – echoed national discourses on immigration, illegality, cultural assimilation, and related topics. I wanted to know if the discourses of social service providers and educators in Rocktown complicated, contested, or nuanced those patterns, in what ways, and what those variations could tell us about contexts of NLD reception. I also was curious to know to what extent these patterns were echoed in the discourses of NLD young adults as well.

A rubric which I found immensely helpful for consolidating my analytical categories was Nicholls' (2013) analysis of DREAM Act discourses, which focuses on the national-level organizations and leaders of the movement. Most of my concerns and observations articulated well with his digest of the DREAM Act master frame's three key elements (nationalism, exceptionalism, and innocence) as the fundamental pillars of the movement's discourse and I was able to use this rubric to organize much of my material. However, two additional thematic clusters continued to surface and resurface in my field site: faith-based ideological stances towards NLD presence (both nativist and multiculturalist in spirit, but expressed in religious language), and a persistent concern with cultural difference. In fact, I found that nearly everyone I spoke with struggled to articulate his or her understanding of cultural difference, sometimes in surprising ways. Eventually, these articulations came to inform my understanding of how even the most "culturally sensitive" service provider can fall under the influence of essentializing

discourses, even while fighting against them, simply because these narratives are so very dominant (Santiago-Irizarry 1996).

My understanding of these processes in creating a situation of sequestered inclusion in Rocktown continues to evolve. This dissertation stands as a point-in-time reference to my understanding at this moment but I will not pretend that it is either definitive nor even completed. What I seek to articulate here is the notion that well-meaning social service providers espousing an ideology of multiculturalism can yet contribute to sequestered inclusion of NLD youth, most especially through a discourse of need. Paradoxically, service providers in Rocktown situated NLD communities simultaneously as needy *and* as sources of various forms of capital. In part, advocates for NLD presence worked to counter nativist hostilities by celebrating the rich cultural and linguistic diversity brought to the area by newcomers as well as their material and economic contributions through providing cheap labor; and on the other hand the grant funding processes which fuel the social service worker trade and which demand paternalistic narratives of NLD need in order to justify themselves. These strategies fail to address fundamental differences of power and privilege, and indirectly have an effect of racializing NLD communities. In this context, the young NLD adults who had come of age in the Valley and were now working to end their sequestration while maintaining heritage identity stand out in their potential to actually achieve a more just social order.

Chapter Descriptions

In Chapter 2, I describe in detail the field research site for this project, the mid-sized city of Rocktown, Virginia. I conceptualize a deep understanding of the location

through four interlocking narratives: 1) Racialization and Historic Memory in the Nuevo New South, an examination of historic patterns of racialization in the Shenandoah Valley area – how the legacy of the Civil War continues to shape self-concept and self-understanding, particularly among rural working class whites, and the spatial dimensions of those racializations in recent history and contemporary to my field research period; 2) The Poultry Story: Transnational Labor, an account of the "Latinization" of the Valley through the recruitment of racialized labor pools, and the role the poultry industry has played in creating the Rocktown-Pine area as an NLD receiving destination; 3) Intellectuals, Advocates, and Eminent Domain, an examination of the role that a large State university has played in shaping social service discourses primarily in the city, and the town-gown tensions that have arisen alongside those; 4) the Quiet in the Land; this section describes the role that Mennonite and Brethren churches and church institutions have played with respect to establishing refugee resettlement patterns in the area, and the roles they continue to play in terms of institutionalizing processes of inclusion for NLD youth. While each of these four narrative areas could be developed into a full dissertation project alone, what I provide here is a basic outline for understanding the local geography – physical, historical, and socio-cultural – in order to situate the research project in what might be considered a four-dimensional map.

Chapters 3 and 4 describe and analyze the work of the Rocktown Area Hispanic Services council, the premier social network in the Valley for advocacy and activism on behalf of NLD communities. In Chapter 3, I describe the emergence, activism, and eventual withering away of the HSC, through several key events that took place between 2007 and 2010. As the sense of "crisis" that accompanied the initial surges in NLD

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presence abated, organizing energy in the HSC decreased (while, interestingly, the

DREAM Activist group grew and flourished). I argue that part of the breakdown in the

HSC originates in the internal and discursive contradictions which NLD advocates and

their allies had constantly to negotiate: on the one hand, in order to counter nativist-

driven resentments about NLD overuse of local resources, advocates and allies had

constantly to reaffirm NLD contributions and the different forms of capital they bring to a

receiving community. However, and in stark contrast, in order to justify their own

interventions and *raison d'etre*, the same entities were required constantly to frame their

"clients" or "beneficiaries" as needy and voiceless, especially to funding agencies. This

constant tension and contradiction infuses all the discourses around NLD youth in the

Rocktown area, and underlies the dynamics that lead to conditions of sequestered

inclusion.

In Chapter 4, I build on the analysis of these discursive contradictions by

examining more deeply several emblematic conversations that emerged within the social

service network during my field research period. I identify three conversations that

hinged on deficit framings, although in each case this framing is mitigated by either

appreciative or revolutionary attempts to steer the conversation in another direction: first,

an in-group discussion on the "top three needs of the Hispanic community," and what can

the city do to help; second, an attempt to organize a grant-funded project to prevent a

perceived "Latina suicide crisis;" and third, an ongoing racialized "Latino gang threat"

narrative. Untangling the contradictions and tensions in these discourses reveals the

dynamics creating conditions of sequestered inclusion.

Chapter 5 inverts the questions framing the preceding chapters, to ask what frames NLD youth are using to understand and describe their own processes of acculturation and inclusion? Although a certain kind of discourse of need is apparent in these conversations, it is not a racialized concept of inherent neediness, but rather a very practical plea for specific kinds of support. In addition, the discourse of resource is deployed by NLD youth almost exclusively for promoting the DREAM Act to non-NLD audiences. In-group discourse, in contrast, reveals that while they are willing to act as bilingual and multicultural resources to the receiving community, or sometimes as role models to other youth, they are as much or more interested in furthering their own educational and career trajectories. I conclude Chapter 5 with a reflection specifically on how "role model" discourse contributes to sequestered inclusion, playing into the "good ethnic" trope and ignoring the complexities of intersectional identities as well as the ways in which this discourse serves to promote the interests of the dominant community.

Chapter 6 reviews DREAM Act discourses, particularly as they developed in the Rocktown DREAM Activist Virginia chapter, and how they were deployed through public events and presentations in different venues. I draw extensively on Nicholls' 2013 analysis of DREAM Act organizing, which he documents over a period of several years and across multiple activist organizations, including United We Dream, the Dream is Coming, and several more. This national-level analysis provided a crucial framework for my local-level analysis. In this chapter, I examine disruptions to the basic frame of nationalism, exceptionalism, and innocence, as local DREAMers responded to the particular dynamics of their own local context.

Conclusion

The position I take in approaching this research project is fundamentally a humanistic one. The first time I walked into a Migrant Education Program office was the first time I saw a poster bearing the phrase, "No Human Being Is Illegal." As advocate Carlos R. said to a panel of anti-immigrant Minute Men meeting in Rocktown in 2007, "it's about human beings, it's about human beings, it's about human beings, it's about human beings" (field notes, March 31, 2007). In considering the research questions that emerged from this project, questions that concern the material effects of ideological discourses on social and institutional incorporation of people marked as "different," I am guided by that basic notion: it is about human beings, "created equal." I base my analysis in the foundational concepts of Critical Race Theory precisely because "CRT is committed to social justice and offers a liberatory or transformative response to racial, gender, and class oppression" (Yosso 2005:74). While there are certainly many ways in which this research project could be more liberatory and transformational, it would also be naïve to expect that a dissertation written within genre conventions could in and of itself achieve sweeping social change. However, by adopting this particular intellectual and analytical stance I hope at the very least to contribute to an important conversation about racialization of New Latino Diaspora youth and the limitations of what can be achieved through benevolent institutionalizations.

CHAPTER 2: Racializations, Turkeys, Universities, and Mennonites – The New Latino Diaspora Encounters "the Friendly City"

> "There's a different way of doing things here in the Friendly City. It's more of a Southern genteel model." (Carlos, social service provider)

The story of the New Latino Diaspora in Rocktown is nested within multiple layers of social networks that are closely tied to the city of Rocktown's institutions, each of which has its own particular history and dynamic. Four intersecting stories inform the ethnographic moment that is the focus of this study: 1) the historical context of race relations as re-constructed through memory of the Civil War era and its fallout in the "Nuevo New South" and how this context shapes reception for NLD communities; 2) the role of the poultry industry in both "seducing" and coercing a largely NLD labor force; 3) the social and economic dominance of Big State University in the city of Rocktown, and how the university's interventions shape local discourses about newcomers; and 4) the "quiet in the land" influence of the Mennonite and Brethren churches and church-affiliated institutions in the Valley. Whereas parallels and similarities can be found between Rocktown and other NLD sites along all these axes (meat-packing, racialization, and the influences of universities and churches), the ways that they have come together in this one town are what have created situations of sequestered inclusion that are the focus of this study, and what local DREAMers had to learn how to navigate discursively.

Local Geography

The city is shaped by the contours of the Valley itself, which runs north-south at a slight northeast-southwest angle. Three major roads, including an interstate highway, run

parallel through Rocktown, making it extremely easy to navigate the city from north to south or vice versa, but awkward to find an quick and easy route east-west. Likewise Blacks Run, the nitrate-choked stream that once upon a time carved this Valley into being, meanders through the city – mostly underground. But to the east, the skyline is dominated by a view of a distinctively shaped mountain peak. Raquel Sandoval, the young adult Latina profiled at the beginning of Chapter 1, reminisced about the emotional impact of the local geography when she returned after a year in Chicago: "we were in the car driving and we crossed the West Virginia and Virginia border line--it was summer time everything was green and you could see the mountains and beautiful scenic views and I even got a little emotional and told [my husband], 'I'm so glad to be back home'" (personal communication, May 19, 2011).

Big State University (BSU) sits in the city center, near the historic downtown area and cheek to jowl until recently with the regional hospital – which relocated at the end of my field research period to a new site at the south-eastern edge of the city, moving, as have so many businesses, from the heart of the city to its periphery. The old hospital property was purchased by the ever-growing university, and roads were re-routed to accommodate new traffic patterns to the new hospital. At the eastern edge of the city is the Valley Mall, and numerous big box stores serve as a shopping magnet for the surrounding cluster of rural counties, especially away from the I-81 corridor. To the northwest of the city is Small Anabaptist University (SAU) in a predominantly Mennonite neighborhood. Deliberately and uneasily, the headquarters of Rosetta Stone (once Fairfield Language Technologies) occupy an old seed warehouse by the railroad tracks near downtown, bypassing the brand-new "Technology Park" in development on

the northern edge of the city in order to throw their weight in with the movement to revitalize the historic downtown area – a choice made by the company founders.

Although newcomer families are increasingly buying single-family homes throughout the city (particularly in older neighborhoods near the city center), the sites known locally as being comprised primarily and overwhelmingly by NLD families are the mobile home parks, which apart from a practical solution to the need for inexpensive and flexible housing, is in and of itself an index of class positioning. Only one is within city limits, sited in a commercial district undergoing rapid development over the past ten years, but the four largest mobile home courts in the county are just outside the city limits, on the borders of the urbanized area.

Surrounding the city is Pine County, where poultry farmers and apple orchards dominate the agricultural life of the region. Conservative Mennonites (who appear similar to the Amish due to their conservative dress, community-oriented social organization, and option for simple living interpreted as a low-technology farming lifestyle) populate rich farmland through the valley, highly visible especially south of the city driving their buggies to church in long lines every Sunday.

In a talk to a sociology class at SAU, local organizer Patrick Lincoln commented that knowing the deep history of the city gives him a 3-D map by which to navigate the streets and neighborhoods (April 22, 2010). Buried underneath the city traffic are trails walked first by the American Indians who first hunted there – the Piedmont, Sioux, Catawbas, Shawnee, Delaware, Cherokees, Susquehannocks and the Iroquois (Fogelson and Sturtevant 2004) – the footprints of Revolutionary War combatants, and the martyrs of the Civil War for which local schools are named. Vanished beneath the new

performing arts center at BSU are entire neighborhoods now memorialized in the documentary "Rocktown: From the Small Farm to the Big Box" (Edwards & Carcalen 2009). Paved over by a 50-year-old commercial district in the Northeast of the city are the old foundations of Rocktown's historic black neighborhood. Knowing something about these historical layers adds nuance to our understanding of contemporary events.

Racialization, Historic Memory, and the Nuevo New South

To some degree or another, the hills and valleys around the Shenandoah remain marked by Civil War history. Turner Ashby, the "Black Knight" of the Confederacy and now the official mascot of a local high school, lost his life in a charge on Pine Ridge between Rocktown and Port Republic. Today, Pine Ridge is crested by a row of subsidized housing, and the place where Ashby fell is marked by a small white sign with raised black letters. Port Republic Road is a congested four-lane road leading past BSU towards the new regional hospital. On the northern side of Rocktown, one of my friends lives in a crumbling 150-year-old two-story brick home hidden in a hollow off route 42; one of the few homes to have survived the scorched-earth devastation of the Valley during the Civil War. Liam Peabody remembers being taken to Civil War re-enactments from the time he was a small boy, and seeing the portrait of Stonewall Jackson hung in a place of honor in the family home (personal communication, April 4, 2010). In 2010, the now disgraced then-governor Tom McDonnell attempted to declare the month of April "Confederate History Month," a move which was highly contested in the Commonwealth.

Considering the patterns of racialization of NLD youth in the Valley, it makes sense to build onto the geographic sketch with a discussion on racialization and residential patterns. While there is nothing unusual about residential patterns developing along racialized or ethnicized lines, attended by heightened surveillance (understood as governmentality, following Foucault 1980) of racially and ethnically "marked" communities, the race and residence story in Rocktown has a very clear history that bears retelling.

In 1958 Rocktown's historic black neighborhood was razed by the city under a Housing Development Authority program for replacing "slum dwellings" with subsidized public housing. This process gutted Rocktown's black community, destroying family-owned businesses, generational homes, Black's Run creek, and scattering the people, as the city blocks that had once been their homes were converted to commercial real estate and paved over (McKinney 2000, Lincoln 2010). Apartment buildings still in use as subsidized housing today were built at this time, but some families were able to move into single-family homes just up the hill, "behind Rose's store, the 'bad' part of town" as I was told when my husband and I moved to Rocktown in 2000. On the "Racial Dot Map" created by the Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service at the University of Virginia (see Figure 1), the Northeast neighborhood is visible as the most kaleidoscopically color-diverse area of the city.

Late one Friday afternoon in 2009 as I drove from the big box shopping area on the east side of the city back to the Mennonite neighborhood on the northwest side, I took a different route from the usual – through the heart of the Northeast neighborhood. I saw one police cruiser after another crisscrossing the area that was once designated as a Weed

and Seed neighborhood (2003-2004) – a federally-funded program providing grant

money to non-profits for social welfare programs that would "seed" the neighborhood
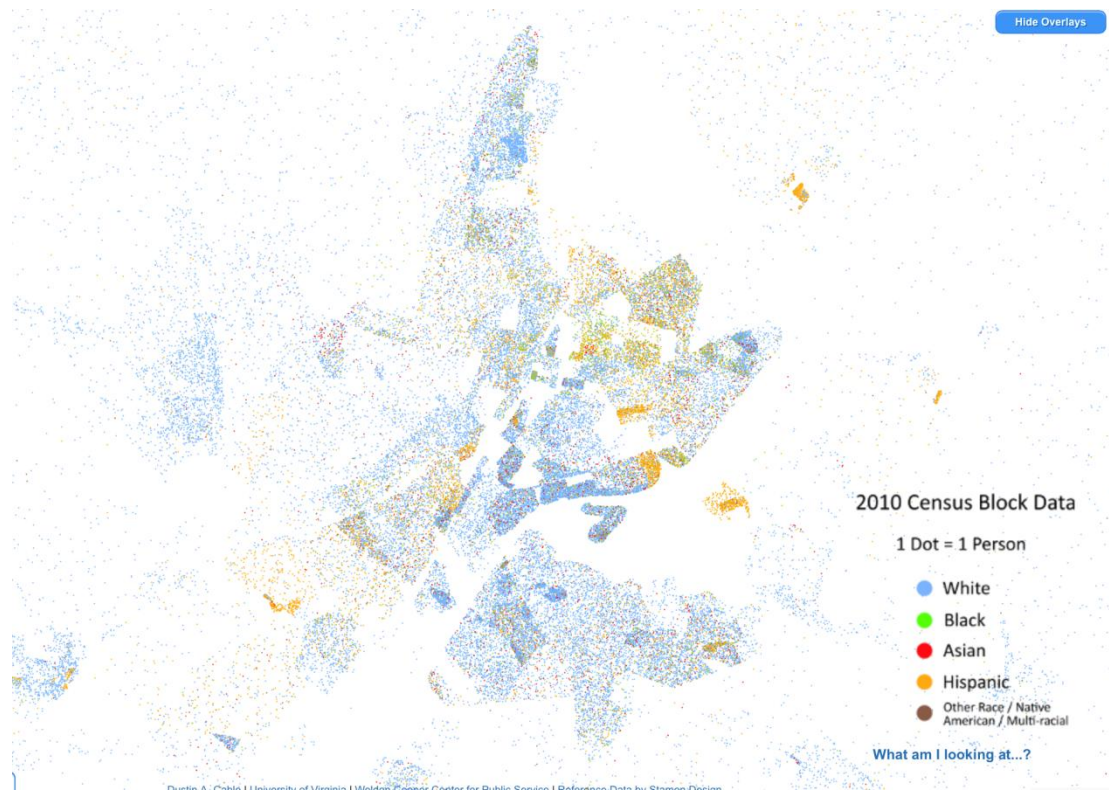
Figure 1: Racial Dot Map of Rocktown, VA. Image Copyright, 2013, Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia (Dustin A. Cable, creator)

with positive inputs, even while police presence was ramped up in order to "weed" out

criminal elements. As Lincoln (2010) documented, residents of the Northeast

neighborhood highly resented both the marking of their community as problematic, and

the physical removal of friends and family members from their homes. Lincoln also

draws a striking connection or parallel between the historic events that first created the

Northeast neighborhood through the attempted erasure of Rocktown's black community,

to the recent stigmatization of the neighborhood as a "Weed and Seed" area in 2002: "It

was another federal program, federal money… that ostensibly is about benefiting the

community, but that is also targeting Northeast, for the most part… on the surface it was about weeding out the bad element, and seeding in community programming, and services, [but] they didn't see much *seeding* happening" (Lincoln 2010). Instead, the community saw increased police presence, and a 9:00 p.m. curfew set by the police assigned to patrol that neighborhood. They saw cases that used to be tried in county or state courts being sent to federal courts, where harsher penalties can be meted out. Similarly to the way the R-4 program was carried out in 1958, once again residents experienced the violence of public policy "that was also targeting Rocktown's traditionally black community" (Lincoln 2010).

The Northeast community is no longer predominantly black; police officer Reba Davis describes it as "poor, not well educated, a lot of kids… everything from crime to Mennonites"; civic leader Jim Deskin describes it as "immigrant poultry workers" (McKinney 2000). The neighborhood has come to be defined by class as well as by ethnicity and race, and of course these all intersect. In any case, the pattern of forced relocation followed by intensified surveillance is an almost classic instance of governmentality exercised over marked populations. It is important to note that the corresponding county neighborhood designated for Weed and Seed intervention was the Valley View trailer park on Route 11 north of the city, which residents describe (and personal experience corroborates) as almost 100% Latino – thus, both of the neighborhoods marked for heightened surveillance and intervention were, not coincidentally, primarily people of color.

Apart from residential patterns, several particular events over the past twenty years have underlined the undercurrent of hostility towards racialized minorities in the

area. In April of 1994, a Latino man of Mexican origin was fatally shot by police officers

as he sat in a tree outside a burning building (Nafziger 1994a). Although (or perhaps

because) the officers were exonerated of any blame, a wave of outrage ran through the

city; inter-faith candle-lit vigils were held at the courthouse square in the historic city

center, and a "Hispanic cultural festival" was organized at a local park (this event

eventually evolved into the annual International Festival) (Mellott 1994). However:

> When organizers arrived on Oct. 2 to set up for the city's first Latin American
> Encounter, they found a dummy hanging by its neck from a tree, wearing a sign
> that said "Mexican." On the road to the picnic shelter was painted "Mexicans go
> home." Midway through the event, television station WHSV received a phone call
> from a man who claimed a bomb had been placed at the picnic site. Rocktown
> police investigated both reports, finding no bomb and, as yet, no culprits.
> (Nafziger 1994b)

Some believe that the shooting and following defacement of the festival site were the

catalysts for the formation of the Hispanic Services Council (Liam Peabody, personal

communication, April 24, 2010). In any case, these events showed clearly the explosive

tensions surrounding NLD presence in those early years.

Even though much changed in the following fifteen years, explosions still

occurred, which also served to underscore some of the social and cultural differences

between the city of Rocktown and the surrounding Pine County. In September 2009, a

group of students at Wayland High School (WHS) in Pine County north of Rocktown

organized a "Confederate Pride" day at school. In addition to wearing Confederate flag

shirts – which was permitted under school policy – students also flew Confederate flags

from their vehicles in the school parking lot. According to the mother of a student of

color at the WHS that day, small bands of white students marched through the halls of the

high school shouting slogans about "White Power" and "Blacks and Hispanics out" (field

notes, September 25, 2009). A teacher at WHS whose Spanish classroom has long been a safe space for students of color reflected on how "forceful and ugly" the tension and mood at the high school had became through the course of the day, to the point that by the last period she saw students deliberately taking steps to de-escalate the conflict:

> And I saw things in my classroom that day – where a student who was wearing a flag shirt and had to move her desk over and talk to the only Latina girl in the class, she put on a sweatshirt and covered it up… Never before had the Latino students that I was in close contact with in an incident like this – this time they just were willing to be quiet and want it to go away. And *never* – I mean usually there was "well we'll wear our flags tomorrow, or we'll wear jerseys tomorrow," or a much more overt answer, and this time? They just were quiet. And that was painful, and I think that it also avoided other further problems because they were willing to do that. (Saskia Miller, interview, August 17, 2010).

In short, the intensity of the emotions that exploded during and after this event moved many of Miller's students to keep their heads down and seek ways to de-escalate the situation.

While nearly an entire morning was spent discussing this event among the members of the Hispanic Services Council, no joint action was decided on, in part because there was no consensus on what the event signified. While some Council leaders pushed for diversity training for teachers and administrators at the high school, others resisted this framing, saying: "I feel like it's not an issue with diversity, but an issue of whiteness… white kids feel that their heritage and pride is threatened, that it's sequestered and put into a pressure cooker… whatever they see diversity as they don't feel like they have a seat at that table" (Saul Mercado, HSC meeting, September 25, 2009). Long-time NLD advocate Olivia Thompson added that having worked for years in the county, she has sensed strong feelings of marginalization among the rural and working class whites, and "the need to be heard" (field notes, September 25, 2009).

While it is easy to dismiss any felt need for racializing discourse (or outright racism) to be heard, what Olivia and Saul seem to be trying to articulate arises from the marginalization that poor or working-class rural whites feel in the US South, the sense of markedness experienced by precisely this group of people, stereotyped in the popular imaginary as "hicks," "rednecks," "white trash," or other even less kind terminology (Shirley 2010:37). Because the Shenandoah Valley borders West Virginia, some would characterize this area as more closely related – in terms of local culture and social class – with Appalachia than with the historically plantation-based social economy of the Piedmont region (Lincoln 2010). Local stereotypes of certain extended family networks and particular neighboring cities and counties characterized these people as "white trash" – overweight high school dropouts who cook and deal methamphetamines out of their mobile homes, poach deer, and possibly even engage in incest (as the felicitous term "cousin-fuckers" would suggest, which I heard on more than one occasion). As Florida anthropologist Grindal notes, "stereotypes abound when referring to white working-class male culture in the South… which variously characterized Southern culture by violence, racism, sexism, brutish behavior, hedonism, primitive mentality, and simple-mindedness" (2011:99). Thus the trope of "Rebel pride" is born, as a form of resistance to this kind of derogatory marking.

A 12-year-old girl from Puerto Rico whom I mentored from 2005-2006, Lady, described an instance of "Rebel pride" asserted in terms of working class white ethnic culture at a school dance. That fall, Lady and her family had moved to Pine County after living in Rocktown for several years. After the first school dance at the new middle school, Lady told me in appalled tones that all the music at the dance had been country

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music, instead of the hip-hop favored at the city school. She had moreover been shocked to hear a song with the refrain, "Let me get a big 'hell yeah' from the redneck girls like me, hell yeah" (Wilson 2004) which elicited enthusiastic "hell yeah"s from the crowd. To her, celebrating that particular identity seemed incomprehensible, and was something she had never seen at the school dances in the city.

In fact, as illustrated in the Confederate Pride event at Wayland High School, tensions between rural whites and communities of color appear to be more overtly visible in the county than in the city of Rocktown. During my Migrant Education days, a white school security officer in a county elementary school once commented to me, "I really feel for the Latino kids here. The city is more multicultural, but here in the county we're all just rednecks." The suggestion in the officer's characterization was that the city overall, and the schools in particular, were more accepting of children of color (especially NLD children) than the county, mobilizing the stereotype of the racist redneck to make her point – and possibly implying a kind of cosmopolitanism on the part of the multiculturalists, in contrast.

As Shirley (2010) argues, however, recognizing the marginalization of poor rural whites does not negate white privilege *vis a vis* communities of color, but rather recognizes that in-group distinctions serve to rank class-based signifiers and reinforce a white ideal. In marking the rural poor as the undesirable "other," in spite of their whiteness, popular discourse reinforces an "ideal type" of whiteness through the implicit contrast with that which "is considered untainted, normative, and superior" (Shirley 2010:35). The fact that white people are discriminated against based on class status does

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not mean that discrimination is color-blind, but that it is intersectional, and communities of color remain also marginalized.

The "ideal type" of whiteness conceptualized as a tolerant, humanistic, multicultural cosmopolitanism is then constructed in apposition to the stereotype of the racist redneck. And while I certainly observed the potency of humanist discourse working in favor of NLD incorporation, Leonardo (2002) aptly identifies the enormous blind spot that develops around the racisms of the dominant white majority: "Conceptually, constructing white supremacist organizations as 'fringe' groups is problematic. Students learn inadvertently that multinational racism sits at the margins of society, whereas racial democracy exists at the center" (35). In other words, the dominant majority presume that we are in a post-racial society, playing into "either what I call *powerblind sameness* (i.e. denying difference) or *colorblind difference* (i.e. denying racial difference while recognizing other forms of difference)" (Castagno 2014:48), and constraining the likelihood – or even possibility – for racializing discourses embedded in certain forms of multiculturalism even to be recognized, much less addressed.

For Liam Peabody, the class-based marginalization of rural whites could be the basis for solidarity with NLD workers: "I find it a troubling assumption that there's no way the white working class community will ever understand that immigrants' rights are worker's rights, that's not true. There's a lot of common ground and people could really get behind it" (interview, September 5, 2008). However, because whiteness features as so strongly an intrinsic feature of the "redneck" identity, one wonders what it would take for such solidarity to be built across color lines.

The Poultry Story: Transnational Labor

The poultry industry forms a significant part of Valley social and economic life.

Vehicles crossing into Pine County on Route 11 from north or south pass by a monument

to turkeys erected in 1955. White chicken and turkey feathers litter the median and verge

along highway 42; a prominent sign at the Cargill plant south of Rocktown reads "Now

Hiring – Estamos Contratando" in English and Spanish. When visiting South Africa in

the fall of 2003, I found frozen turkeys in a Pick-n-Pay in Pretoria that had been

packaged in a Pilgrim's Pride plant in Wayland, just 17 miles north of Rocktown. As

described by Mexican anthropologist Jorge Gonzalez Huerta:

> El marco de referencia en el que se da la constitución de los diversos espacios
> sociales es básicamente una pequeña ciudad semirrural de aproximadamente 30
> mil habitantes. A primera vista parece ser el típico caso de la vieja comunidad
> tradicionalista en la que una o dos familias pujantes sueñan con el "American
> Way of Life," como en el caso de los Strickler y los Wampler, quienes
> finalmente, al paso de las décadas crearon una importante industria de pavo y
> pollo que se ha convertido en una industria transnacional por su mercado y lo
> diverso de sus procesos productivos. [The frame of reference in which [these]
> diverse social spaces are constituted is basically a small semi-rural city of
> approximately 30,000 inhabitants [in 1999]. At first glance it looks like a typical
> case of the old traditionalist community in which one or two vigorous families
> dream of the "American Way of Life," as in the case of the Stricklers and
> Wamplers, who finally, over decades created an important turkey and chicken
> industry that has become a transnational industry in its market and diversity of its
> productive projects.] (2006:150, translation from Spanish my own.)

The poultry industry narrative entails an intricate story about labor and

transmigration. While Valley apple orchards have long featured as part of an extensive

migrant circuit within the US, changes in the poultry industry as well as the legacy of

IRCA are what primed the Valley to become an NLD site (Hernández Sanchez 2006,

Godziak and Bump 2004). Many of the families I met during my six years in social

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service had joined a parent – usually the father of the family – who had obtained residency and permission to work through IRCA.

NLD youth even now continue to define their identities to some extent against poultry. When the Latino teen theater group, Teatro Chirmol, dramatized their own lives in 2003, a favorite line from the play was "I See Chickens" – a line repeated at intervals by a poultry worker who sits staring into space at home, earplugs dangling around his neck; family dramas play out all around him to the rhythms of *norteño* music, but all he can see are the chickens he handles for a living. The poultry worker features prominently in the drama of their own lives, since so many of their parents or other adult relatives work in poultry; but this is not the future that NLD youth envision or seek for themselves, perhaps because it is not the future their parents envision or seek for them: "I mean definitely, [my parents] don't want me to be working at a poultry plant" (Cassandra Ibarra, interview, October 8, 2009). Second-generation newcomer César believes that if he had not moved to attend high school in the city instead of the county, "A lo mejor mi futuro ahorita sería otra cosa o sea, mi presente sería otra cosa… Porque siento que ya me hubiera sentido debajo de los demas, y así me hubiera quedado, y me hubiera terminado en la poultry plant." [Most likely my future right now would be something else, or rather my present would be something else… I feel that I would have felt myself lower than the rest, and I would have stayed like that, and I would have ended up in a poultry plant"] (interview, February 3, 2010). César clearly associates poultry work with feeling "lower than the rest," a dead-end future. The emergence of Rocktown and the surrounding Pine County as a NLD destination is inseparable from the development of the local poultry

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industry; yet the same industry that brought these young people to the Valley is precisely the one they wish to avoid.

As it pertains to NLD youth, the labor story here is not only about the movement of bodies and hands for work, but a story about the racialization of labor through the exploitation of an ethnoracially marked group of transnational workers (cf. Gonzalez Huerta's 2006 study for an excellent analysis of flexible transnational labor of Mixtec workers in Rocktown). According to Zarrugh, "there is fairly wide agreement among locals that Mexicans did not displace workers in the poultry plants, but rather, that the plants, as a result of expanded production needed more workers than were available locally" (2008:32). But because the shift towards a new Latino Diaspora workforce followed closely on the heels of union disputes with several of the largest poultry plants in the area, resulting in decertification of those unions, there is a strong perception that NLD workers were hired precisely because they are generally difficult to unionize. According to sociologist Bruce Busching:

> Companies went and looked for – invited – Latino workers to come in. And part of that strategy was to break down worker organization, union organizations here. And it was quite effective. It put great strain on workers to develop solidarity across ethnic lines. Particularly when companies were very interested in that kind of solidarity not being built. (Edwards & Carcalen 2009, minute 30:15)

Mexican anthropologist Jorge Gonzalez Huerta, who conducted fieldwork with transnational Mixtec communities in Rocktown in 1999, observed that "Los trabajadores de [Cargill] no tienen sindicatos a los cuales recurrir para demandar algo que se perciba como injusto, el trato es directo entre empresa y trabajador [the workers at (Cargill) have no union to support them in making demands against perceived injustice, rather it is a direct treatment between company and worker]" (2006:142, translation from Spanish my

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own). During my time working in the local Migrant Education program, I heard many stories about overtime pay being withheld, workers being denied compensation for injuries, and other irregularities regarding payment. None of this comes as a surprise to immigrant worker rights advocates anywhere in the United States (see Dick 2011). Again according to Zarrugh (2008):

> Current estimates of the proportion of immigrants working in the poultry plants, most of whom are Latino, range from 60 per cent at one plant and 70-75 per cent at a second, to as much as 100 per cent for second shift workers at any plant. In 2005, none of the poultry-processing plants in the local area were unionized and the vast majority of workers were immigrants. As one company official explained, "locals don't want to do the jobs. The rooms they work in are cold, 50 degrees due to the USDA regs [regulations]. They stand all day. It's knife work. It's hard work." (34).

However, according to others she interviewed, none of the supervisory or administrative staff at the plants are immigrants or Latino. Even as a transnational workforce, diasporic Latino/as in Rocktown are in several different ways sequestered into very specific niches. For example, Gonzalez Huerta's research collaborators showed him their persistent "social confinement" (135) into particular residential and work spaces – for the most part, living in trailer parks and working in the "dirtiest" poultry jobs (e.g. hanging live turkeys from their feet for mechanized slaughter).

What may perhaps illustrate more clearly the confinement or sequestration of NLD communities into this labor market is a remark a sixteen-year-old Mixtec boy related to me: as he walked through the hallway to his ELL classroom, a white boy said to him dismissively, "Y'all are gonna work at Rocco." Implied in this comment was the question, "so what are you doing here at school?" In fact, this boy had just come off a night shift spent cleaning the floors at a nearby poultry plant; he went from school to

sleep for a few hours before his next shift began. But it was neither his hope nor his expectation that he would work there for long – just that of his schoolmates.

Tellingly, white professionals interfacing with NLD communities layered onto these workforce racializations their own conceptualizations of legal status. During my time working at the Migrant Education Program in the early 2000s, a local white immigration attorney informally estimated that something like 80% of all diaspora Latinos and Latinas in the Valley were undocumented. Local health department workers put their estimate – unofficially – at 30%. While the Migrant Education Program refused to make even unofficial estimates, my own private perception was around 25%. In other words, without any kind of objective measure, the positionality of every non-NLD community member completely shaped their perception of the people with whom they interacted, and by extrapolation, the entire NLD community.

Consonant with my own observations, I also heard in 2009-2010 from multiple people (Blanca York, HSC members, and MEP staff) that the climate of fear had increased in recent years among undocumented workers and their families, a contagious fear infecting nearly all Latinos and Latinas in some way. Whereas Gonzalez Huerta (2006) and Zarrugh (2008) recount stories of poultry workers fleeing INS raids in 1998-1999 only to return to work again the next week as though nothing had happened, in the years preceding and after my fieldwork period fear had increased to the point that York describes families refusing to enroll children in school for fear of coming to ICE attention and being deported (March 26, 2010).

Big State University: Intellectuals, Advocates, and Eminent Domain

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While the poultry industry and its exploitation of transnational labor pools sets the stage for racialization and segmented incorporation of NLD youth, the power and influence of Big State University (BSU) have set the tone for a good part of the discourse in social service circles about NLD youth incorporation and inclusion. Local activist and former Migrant Education worker Liam Peabody characterizes BSU as "an integral part of the Rocktown owning class, because the current Rocktown identity, and the City Council, for example, really can't be separated from Big State, they're kind of one and the same." In addition to the typical university town-vs.-gown tension, Liam observed a close interconnection between BSU affiliation and local governing bodies, noting the class divisions reflected in the university's structures and power (interview, April 22, 2010). Due to its power of eminent domain, BSU has over the years generated a great deal of resentment in the city by taking control over surrounding neighborhoods and either razing everything to build new facilities, or transformed the property into university grounds in other ways (Edwards & Carcalen 2009).

Part of BSU's work in framing discourses specifically around NLD youth occurs through the development of the Institute for Innovation in Health and Human Services (IIHHS), which houses numerous social service programs, providing a space for advocates and allies to work for diversity and inclusion of new immigrant communities – especially language inclusion. Part of this discourse framing occurs through the basic work of the university: providing a college education. Four young adult Latino and Latina leaders I interviewed received their undergraduate degrees at BSU, and one more a graduate degree. In this way, BSU provided them with credentials and degrees as well as connections to the local scene wherein they carried out their mentoring, advocacy,

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organizing, and other related activities. And finally, BSU's Community Service-Learning program has provided a venue for connecting student volunteers with social service programs operating in the local community – a symbiotic process whereby social service agencies receive free labor, while students build social capital through volunteering (and satisfy course requirements as well).

In tandem with programs housed at the IIHHS, but also with scores of other agencies, BSU's Community Service Learning program constructs NLD youth as a "field" for students to practice interventions (in collaboration with area social service institutions that are not BSU-affiliated as well as those that are). Hundreds of students participate every year in various kinds of social service placements that satisfy various kinds of course requirements. They might take on a role as tutors and/or mentors, often interacting with NLD children and adolescents in their homes. The persistent framing through these interventions is to position NLD youth as 1) vulnerable, 2) needy, and 3) malleable, paralleling the mental health interventions analyzed in Santiago-Irizarry's work (1996, 2001). Despite efforts to avoid the language of paternalism (e.g. the "Little Moments, Big Magic" campaign at Big Brothers Big Sisters, or the Migrant Education Program's use of a popular quote from Aboriginal activist Lilla Watson as their web page slogan – "if you have come to help me, you are wasting your time; but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together") the structure itself and role of tutor or mentor creates relationships that are more vertical than horizontal, and are contingent on a division between "haves" and "have-nots," echoing Villenas' (2002) characterization of many social service interventions as forms of "benevolent racism." As Wendy commented about the mentors she supervised, "I think

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the only thing that would have had more room for improvement [would be] doing more

cultural awareness, when it came to the mentors mentoring Latino children, because I

think a lot of the younger mentors…were kind of judgmental, you know?" (interview,

March 27, 2010). Unfortunately, the "judgmental" attitudes of these student mentors most

likely arose from and reinforced racialization of NLD children.

As Barbara Cruikshank (1999) argues, "citizen-making" programs and

interventions such as all those managed by the IIHHS at BSU exercise a Foucauldian

kind of governmentality that enlists the "voluntary compliance of citizens" (4) in re-

shaping their own behavior in accordance with a socially desirable pattern or profile.

Parents involved in Migrant Education, for example, enter into an exchange with the

Migrant Education case workers whereby the parents receive various kinds of assistance

in exchange for their participation in Migrant Education activities and events. At the

same time, the processes involved in these interventions are designed with specific kinds

of changes in mind, which might include dramatic changes in social and cultural practices

and attitudes. These might revolve around child-rearing practices, or ways of relating to

government institutions such as schools, or even diet. In any case the intention is actually

quite clear: to mold program participants (of their own free will) into healthier, happier

social beings. This is precisely why these processes must be scrutinized for elements of

cultural imperialism, erasure, and so on. As forms of "soft power," it is not only possible

but probable that such dynamics are taking place, perhaps even inevitably so. As Reba

Davis put it, "they're trying to turn [NLD children] into little Protestant white kids"

(interview, August 24, 2010).

At the same time, these programs and interventions should not be viewed entirely through the lens of cynicism. BSU also sponsors a mentoring program at the city middle school which is organized by a Latina professor, and recruits Latino and Latina college students to promote cultural heritage pride with NLD youth there, as well as a Latino film festival. IIHHS also channels funds for FUTUROS, a scholarship program coordinated by a majority Latino board that seeks to raise money almost entirely from local Latino businesses and individuals.

Additionally, the IIHHS has housed services that challenge the status quo – for a long time the Migrant Education Program led the vanguard for advocacy and organizing with the NLD communities; during my fieldwork period, the IIHHS launched a Community Health Center which, in response to a decision on the part of the United Way-funded Free Clinic to close their doors to undocumented immigrants, made a deliberate decision not to ask their community health center patients for proof of legal residence in order to receive services. This decision is in keeping with their approach to other programs and services housed there (such as Promotoras de Salud), although not in keeping with the decision of the university not to admit undocumented students. In these ways, there is a certain element of change that could be seen as addressing power inequities in a substantive way.

Backed by the institutional weight of the university, the IIHHS wields a great deal of power in the social service networks in Rocktown. Because the IIHHS houses several dozen health and social service programs and consolidates significant resources and organizational power, the directorship of these programs has a relatively strong voice in community circles. The grant money funneled through these programs is a significant

source of power as well for those in decision-making seats. For example, the Office on Children and Youth (OCY) housed in the IIHHS at BSU runs five different programs: Teen Pregnancy Prevention, The Reading Road Show, Migrant Education, Smart Beginnings (an early childhood intervention program), and Youth Suicide Prevention. The director of the OCY, then, oversees all of these five programs through staffing, funding, and giving direction to their overall vision (within the funding constraints that might exist). Depending how many people are enrolled in each program, over the years the OCY directorship might influence the lives and wellbeing of several thousand individuals in the Rocktown-Pine area. In addition, the OCY director would be networking with peers across the social service field locally as well as at the state level, influencing discourse and decision-making laterally as well.

The "Quiet In the Land"

Although much smaller in size than the state institutions that so clearly shape discourses around NLD presence in the Valley, Mennonite institutions have had an outsize impact that bears probing. Admittedly of personal interest due to my familial connections to this denomination, I can corroborate the significance of Mennonite presence and activity through Zarrugh's (2008) research on the "Latinization" of the Valley:

> Any attempt to understand Rocktown and the surrounding area as a host community to new immigrants must take into consideration the strong influence of the Mennonite Church and closely allied Church of the Brethren on local values and attitudes…. World War II experience with alternative service and the presence of a 'liberal' Mennonite college in Rocktown have contributed more recently to a subculture of community service and conflict resolution, as well as *a disproportionate representation of local Mennonites in the helping professions*. Both the Mennonite Church and Church of the Brethren also have long histories

of involvement in refugee and immigrant assistance within the US and in relief and development work overseas. As the pastor of one local Mennonite church explained, 'Mennonites have been hounded from place to place and of all people, we should be empathetic to immigrants.' (24-25, emphasis my own.)

Whether or not empathy for newcomers is a universally held Mennonite value is debatable; for the purposes of this study, I am most interested in discerning the impact of Mennonite involvement in social service agencies "through infiltration" (Carlos R., interview, April 4, 2008) and how the particularities of Mennonite theological convictions have shaped discourse about NLD incorporation in the Valley both overtly and covertly.

Overtly, two Mennonite-affiliated institutions have played a prominent role in NLD incorporation, particularly for youth (both the 1.5 and second generations): SAU, and ConnectingPeople Immigrant Resource Center. ConnectingPeople was founded in 2000 by the Virginia Mennonite mission organization as well as a cluster of local Mennonite congregations which all pitched in to fund this small agency. Beginning with only one full-time staff person, ConnectingPeople sought to fill gaps in the local social service network for newcomers, eventually becoming the only free paralegal support provider in the area (apart from the Diocese of Richmond) for immigration cases. Among other services (assistance with emergency Medicaid, e.g.) ConnectingPeople also managed "Immigration Learning Tours" for SAU and other interested groups, with activities including poultry plant tours and newcomer panel discussions.[7] ConnectingPeople has also been a presence and active participant in every significant social service network space, playing a critical role, for example, in organizing the

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[7] As mentioned in Chapter 1, I served on the Board of Directors for ConnectingPeople for several years; I also volunteered my time helping to organize the Immigration Learning Tours.

Spanish-language version of the Health of the Community survey that is carried out every five years in Rocktown-Pine by the Healthy Communities Council.

For its part, SAU, according to NLD leader Oscar A., "has always been a facilitator, at least through their structure, their space, to help the Hispanic community" (interview, September 20, 2010). In addition to sponsoring the youth theater group which Oscar directed in the early 2000s, SAU hosted a Summer Leadership Institute for high school Migrant Education Program participants for several summers during that same time period (Raul and Raquel Sandoval were both active in this program, first as participants and later on as counselors). But perhaps the most high-impact initiative for inclusion for NLD Youth has been SAU's scholarship program for local Latino youth, which does not discriminate on the basis of documentation status. Although the scholarship only covers half tuition, leaving a hefty bill still to be covered by private means, this gesture of inclusion has been significant both for opening avenues to college education locally, as well as changing the face of the NLD student body (Gavin Janssen, personal communication April 18, 2011). The cascade effects of this scholarship program will be discussed further in Chapter 6 through the impact on DREAM Act organizing.

Briefly, for the purposes of this chapter, I will outline in broad strokes cultural and theological aspects of Mennonite faith that have impacted local discourses in the Rocktown-Pine area around NLD incorporation. Two particular features of Mennonite ecclesiology stand out as significant: a posture of empathy towards refugees and migrants, and a strong Germanic-ethnic identity associated with Mennonite and Brethren church membership historically. These two features can come into tension with one another as Mennonite congregations seek to be themselves more inclusive of "diversity"

(however that is understood – for example, positions on homosexuality vary widely across the denomination, so inclusion of LGBTQ people is a highly fraught and contested topic currently), while still maintaining a socio-cultural and ethnic identity with a very particular history and subjectivity.

Mennonite sociologist Conrad Kanagy distinguishes – and laments the divide – between historically white Germanic congregations – "cradle" Mennonites" – and the "racial-ethnic congregations" (2007:118) that are produced through mission work among people of color in the United States as well as the global South. Anthropologist Philip Fountain has noted that "the Mennonite peoplehood are often also described colloquially as 'Germanic', 'ethnic', 'cradle', or 'birthright' Mennonites" (2011:38), and cites this commentary from Mennonite theologian and sociologist Calvin Redekop:

> unless one came from German parentage and was reared on the heritage of German preaching and Bible reading, enhanced by the sacred mythology of the martyrs… one could never fully identify with the Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage… The division between the Germanic and non-Germanic is so sharp that a knowledgeable Mennonite can tell immediately by a surname alone whether a Mennonite is a birthright or convinced member. (1989:31)

In Rocktown, ethnic Germanic congregations abound, while a small handful of Mennonite-identifying "racial-ethnic" Spanish-language congregations have emerged as well. There appears to be little interaction across language and ethnicity lines, even though these Spanish-language congregations also belong to the Virginia conference – the governing body of the church. The point is that these congregations operate more or less separately. On World Communion Sunday, Mennonite churches in Rocktown ask congregants who have lived or served overseas to wear ethnic costume of those countries, and will serve tortillas and chapattis as Communion bread, despite having very few people of color in the pews.

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Even as this powerful ethnic identification buttresses the Mennonite sense of belonging, grounded as it is in almost sacred narratives of persecution and difference, there is simultaneously a powerful humanistic impulse which informs Mennonite institutional commitments (for a thorough discussion on Mennonites and social service, see Fountain 2011). Mennonites in the Valley may struggle to figure out how to incorporate NLD communities themselves, but have at the same time developed a specific theological stance towards newcomers which they strive to put into practice. In some ways, Mennonites are themselves a diasporic community, with Mennonite colonies and communities present in Russia, Europe, Mexico, Paraguay, Bolivia, Belize, and Brazil, as well as the United States and Canada (Fountain 2011:39). This pattern arises from a history of fleeing from religious persecution and seeking political and religious freedom wherever they might find it. This demographic fact also informs the pastor who said, "'Mennonites have been hounded from place to place and of all people, we should be empathetic to immigrants'" (Zarrugh 2008:24-25), as well as the words of theologian Nancy Heisey in a chapel talk at SAU on April 7, 2010, directly after a presentation by two NLD students on their own experiences with immigration and racialization:

> Very often the words stranger or foreigner appear in the Bible to relate to two ideas: number one, that God's people are foreigners and strangers in the world, and number two, that for that exact reason God's people are called to open themselves and to be hospitable to foreigners.

Interestingly, these kinds of articulations of Anabaptist responsibilities towards "foreigners" have also arisen at another particular juncture of Mennonite intellectuals and

rural/farming NLD destinations – the area around Elkhart, Indiana, home of Goshen

College (which is considered even more "liberal" than SAU).[8]

While numerically small, Anabaptists in the Valley have had an outsized (if

usually indirect, subtle, and above all *quiet*) impact on processes of inclusion for NLD

youth, institutionalizing these processes in different ways. On the other hand, Mennonites

and Mennonite institutions may have had less of an impact in the sphere of public

discourse, in part because of the tendency towards separatism. Yet the social change

effected through "infiltration" is worth noting; at any given public gathering, round table,

conference, etc. I could always count a hefty number of Mennonites present. The founder

of the IIHHS at BSU was a Mennonite nurse and academic; the two representatives of the

pro-immigrant voice at the Minute Men "debate" were Mennonites; the Migrant

Education staff during my tenure there were 100% Mennonite. The intersection of

Mennonite narratives and experiences of Diaspora with current attitudes towards new

diasporic communities of color and their incorporation, both generally and within

German-ethnic Mennonite circles, deserves a dissertation of its own to fully unpack and

understand. For the purposes of this project, this basic sketch will have to suffice.

Conclusion

Rocktown, Virginia is a place that many have come to call home; a trope repeated

and rehearsed a hundred times a day by DREAMers in their bid to win the legal right to

remain. This green Valley, angled slightly in its north-south course, marked by the fires

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[8] http://www.themennonite.org/issues/14-3/articles/MC_USA_leaders_stand_against_ Indiana_immigration_bill

and deaths of the Civil War; a place where it is becoming "more profitable to grow houses than apple trees" (Finnegan 2007); where a monument to turkeys marks the entrance to Pine County on Route 11 South; a place where a "Mexican" was hung in effigy on the eve of a community family festival; where one clinic closes its doors to undocumented immigrants while another one opens; where Old Order Mennonites drive their buggies past one of the biggest poultry processing plants in the country; where Blacks Run chokes on nitrate runoff from area farms and smells like sewage; where over a hundred people stood up at a City Council meeting in favor of a resolution in support of the DREAM Act.

Against a background of nativist hostility, Mennonites and university intellectuals have embraced an ethos of multiculturalism which has led to significant action with and for NLD youth and families. This multicultural ethos has not been, however, unproblematic; what has become normative is less a substantive multiculturalism that engages awareness of entrenched and racialized power differentials (see Hall 2002, Castagno 2014), but rather an unevenly implemented acknowledgement of linguistic and expressive cultural difference that remains relatively superficial. I argue that this kind of multiculturalism has led to a form of sequestered inclusion of NLD youth that frames them primarily and almost exclusively in terms of need and resource. Within this background of uneasily inclusive sequestration, I examine how a group of NLD youth have leveraged the social capital they gained through institutionalized processes of inclusion in order to mobilize in support of the DREAM Act, although their mobilization strategies both contested and capitulated to the dominant discourses in complicated ways.

CHAPTER 3: Advocates, Activists, and Allies - The Rise and Fall of the Hispanic Services Council

> "It was intended to start the Revolution… I see it as the energy engine for a lot of things that then went on to become programs… I see it as a portal, a channel, not an entity. We were channeling the goodness of the universe." (Penny Kidd, April 6, 2008)

> "It's a professional coffee club." (Liam Peabody, April 5, 2008)

Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the work of the Rocktown Area Hispanic Services Council and its informally-denominated "allies" – broadly speaking, those sympathetic to undocumented immigrants – as the organization formed in response to the demographic changes of the mid-1990s, remained active for about fifteen years, and then withered away around the time of my field research window as the sense of "crisis" abated. I focus my analysis on the internal tension maintained in the HSC by the need to constantly maneuver discourses between two contradictory poles: framing NLD communities as needy, and framing them (especially the younger generation) as a resource that benefits the receiving community. In order to preserve and present their own relevance to grant funding bodies, advocates and allies had to frame their "clients," "beneficiaries," or "program participants" in terms of need and deficit; but in order to simultaneously persuade hostile nativists in the receiving community that newcomers represented a net benefit to the community (especially in economic terms), the same individuals and organizations had to deploy a discourse of social and economic capital to support NLD inclusion. While Flores and Yudice (1990) observed a similar dichotomous pattern of need and resource emerging in public discourse a quarter century ago, in their findings the economic focus was on Latinos as consumers as opposed to specially qualified

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workers – educated bilinguals – which was the predominating argument or framing in my field site. Nonetheless, both emphases fall under a neo-liberal, market-based approach; both dehumanize newcomers through economic calculus, and both ultimately ethnicize. The specific terms of inclusion, then, become predicated on these paired notions of deficit and capital, which translates into specific constraints on where, when, and how inclusion happens.

Ultimately, all the advocates and allies shared the same humanistic goal of contributing to the construction of a receiving social context amenable, welcoming, and "user-friendly" for new arrivals from different parts of the world, with equal access for all to the same services, the same employment and educational opportunities, the same quality of life. However, the very programming designed and carried out to support NLD inclusion in this receiving context was almost invariably subject to grant funding structures predicated on paternalistic discourses and narratives of need and deficit framing of the NLD people arriving there (Dolhinow 2005). In other words, the onus of change became for the most part firmly placed on the shoulders of the newcomers. This meant that while processes of inclusion did become institutionalized in a variety of ways throughout the Valley, and with a high degree of success in certain sectors (such as training and promoting the use of professional health interpreters), they were not necessarily successful at engaging or transforming underlying power structures – or making much headway against the hostile backlash of racializing nationalist discourses. For example, repeated attempts to secure access to driver's licenses for undocumented individuals have made no headway. Equitable housing and labor opportunities remained

severely constrained. Even a bid for city council by a local Latino teacher and family man went nowhere.

There are other reasons as well for the limitations on the success of the "allies"; in part, internal conflicts between key players within the network related to implicitly (and explicitly) held theories of culture and social change undermined efforts to work together towards their common goals. But the influence of the deficit framing in grant funding structures cannot be emphasized enough. In order to access funds, institutions and allies within them must demonstrate not only need on the part of the "target population," but also their own capacity to meet that need – a narrative which then becomes inscribed into program structure and discourses. This is not a new story; Santiago-Irizarry (1996) notes the parallel discourse in the field of mental health since the 1970s: "Crucial to the development of the bilingual, bicultural psychiatric programs was the designation of Hispanics as a population especially 'at risk' of mental illness, so as to mobilize their entitlement to public resources" (1996:5) – their particular vulnerability being based in "a so-called culture of poverty: low incomes, unemployment, under-education, poor housing, prejudice, and discrimination, as well as the persistence of cultural and linguistic barriers to institutional resources" (Santiago-Irizarry 1996:8). When the "target population" in question is defined in racialized terms, the paternalism inherent in these efforts to "help" these needy people becomes a form of "benevolent racism" (Villenas 2002), which is precisely what sequesters NLD youth into particular narratives and roles, whether these are defined as the suicidal teen Latina, the young Latino male gang member, or the hardworking "model minority" student (Wortham et al 2009).

Two alternatives to deficit framing emerged in HSC discourses: an appreciative strategy aimed at highlighting funds of knowledge and various forms of capital (social, linguistic, and cultural) brought to the area by NLD communities; and a revolutionary strategy aimed at organizing resistance and change from the ground up through grassroots-level solidarity building. This pattern relates to a dynamic Aparicio (2006) identifies among second-generation NLD communities in NYC, distinguishing between community mobilizers working from the grassroots level, who believe that "empowerment can be accomplished only if local residents take it upon themselves to demand resources and simultaneously challenge state policies," vs. "ethnic entrepreneurs" who seek grant funding "and other resources for local community development and service delivery" (2006:10). In Aparicio's study, the "ethnic entrepreneurs" seeking this outside funding for social service were second-generation NLD themselves, not benevolent white people or outsiders enacting their own form of paternalistic racialization. I suspect that group membership could potentially mitigate the damage that can result from deploying deficit narratives to secure this kind of funding, in the sense that an appreciative rhetoric emphasizing cultural and social capital would make more sense for in-group initiatives. To consider a local example, BSU's "Amistad" program, facilitated by a Latina professor, draws fully on the social, cultural, and linguistic capital and funds of knowledge among Latino and Latina college students in order to strengthen heritage pride among Latina and Latino middle school students. Because I never directly observed Amistad meetings or events, I cannot speak to the inner/outer sphere dynamics that Urciuoli (1996) and Santiago-Irizarry (2001) elucidate, in terms of racialized and class distinctions that emerge within the "Latino" category as

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such, at least in that particular program. I did notice this dynamic at work in other spaces, which I examine in Chapter 5. In any case, as examined in Chapter 6, Rocktown DREAM Activists used both the appreciative and revolutionary strategies, although for the most part they steered clear of seeking grants.

The focus of this chapter is an extensive examination of the work and discourses of the Hispanic Services Council, the primary nexus in the Rocktown area for NLD advocacy and coordinated support, within the context of the larger social services response to NLD presence as it intersects with and often sets the stage for the work of the Council. I review the development and work of the Council for NLD inclusion, focusing on several key events in which the HSC played an advocacy and/or organizing role. I argue that the success of the Council was tempered by internal dynamics that eventually contributed to situations of sequestered inclusion, primarily disagreements about the best strategies for social change. Because the Council developed as an advocacy group speaking *for* NLD people, rather than a truly inclusive grassroots movement itself, NLD stakeholders remained sequestered into roles and positionalities of need and dependence. Furthermore, this approach on the part of the Council resulted eventually in the Council's own demise – as the Council gained ground, and supportive structures were created and established for NLD inclusion, the advocates and allies eventually saw that it was good, or good enough, and began to drift apart. However, underlying structures of racialized inequality were left unchanged, and NLD communities remained marked as "other," primarily defined in terms of their needs and deficiencies rather than being permitted to construct or negotiate the terms of their own inclusion.

The Rise of the HSC as a Coalition for Advocacy

Around 1993 or 1994 "Rocktown was experiencing the discomfort that comes with a certain level of immigration. It had moved from an interesting little oddity to a feeling that people were uncomfortable, and we wanted to address that" (Penny Kidd, interview, April 6, 2008). Fellow activist Olivia Tremain adds, "we all felt like loners out there and needed to group together for advocacy power." The "we" in question were "a very small number of people working directly with immigrants at the time, [in] a large area that we needed to impact." This group of like-minded individuals, for the most part white professional women working in social services, health, and education (the first institutions to feel the demographic shift) banded together to form the Hispanic Services Council, a loosely organized affinity group that worked actively together to share information and to coordinate different forms of advocacy efforts for the next fifteen years, even with no funding and no formal membership structure (which, according to Penny, was a deliberately chosen organizing strategy).

Because there has never been a formal membership structure for the HSC, there is no clear record of membership from the early years that would facilitate tracking ethnoracial identifications of participants. Based on the information I have been able to gather through interviews and my own observations starting in 2000, the group that started the organization consisted of about equal numbers of white and Latina professional women. When Penny Kidd left her position as chair, I observed a higher number of Latinos moving into leadership – two men (chair and vice-chair) and one woman (as secretary). Nonetheless, the white police officer Reba Davis (for example) who occasionally participated in meetings characterized the group as "a lot of white girls

and a few people of Latino heritage" (interview, August 8, 2010). To a certain extent, the Latino and Latina presence on the Council derived from the shift in hiring practices in education, health, and social services at the time, as more agencies began to seek bilingual and bicultural staff. My own presence on the Council began this way, first as a Migrant Education staff person, and then as the Big Brothers Big Sisters staff person responsible for the agency's "Hispanic Mentoring Initiative." Other Latinos and Latinas on the Council worked at a women's shelter, at an agency for prevention of sexual violence, and at BSU's Institute for Health and Human Services (see Chapter 2, and further details below).

Activist Liam Peabody believes that the precipitating event for the formation of the Council was the death that took place in the mid-1990s when police shot an unarmed Latino man out of a tree in the city under confusing circumstances (a longer description of this event can be found in Chapter 2). Clearly, in any case, the inability of the police to communicate with the man led to his death. In response to this event, advocates and activists organized the area's first Hispanic Festival (now re-organized and institutionalized as the International Festival, a non-profit organization in its own right); however the event was protested with the hanging of a "Mexican" figure in effigy and graffiti swastikas at the public park where the festival was held (Nafziger 1994b; Liam Peabody, interview, April 24, 2010).

Other HSC members I interviewed, however, did not mention this series of events at all; rather, all pointed to Penny Kidd as the founder of the organization, including Penny herself: "I was the person who started it – you have reached the mouth of the Nile." Penny explained that the HSC came about "from the need for additional energy,

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synergy of folks – we had a very small number of people working directly with immigrants at the time, and a large area that we needed to impact." Together with a sympathetic woman working in public health, Penny – who worked for the Migrant Education Program at the time – put together a list of likely interested people and organized a meeting: "We just looked around and invited everybody with whom we had had a positive interaction. Who are the potential allies here? ... Almost like an affinity group" (interview, April 6, 2008).

Some of the first actions the group undertook included a systematic community census in order to get an accurate demographic picture of immigrants in Rocktown, intended to address both the polarized perception of danger ("Hispanics are taking over our town") and the denial of a Latino presence to avoid creating services or hiring bilingual staff (Zara, interview, March 31, 2008). Not long after, the HSC created (and updated yearly) a "Latino directory" of services and businesses in the area that catered to Spanish-speakers. Around 2001, the group produced and disseminated a pro-immigrant fact sheet in response to an anti-immigrant hate flyer that had been appearing on people's front lawns. To create the pro-immigrant fact sheet, which highlighted the contributions – both economic and cultural – that newcomers bring to the community, the HSC engaged the police department, a conflict resolution program at a local university, and the Parent-Teachers' Association as part of a broad networking strategy. Throughout the years the HSC also wrote letters to the local paper in response to anti-immigrant sentiment on the editorial pages, advocated for increasing use of professional medical interpreters, and set up meetings with local candidates for delegate to the state Senate. In 2008, the HSC coordinated an organized (and somewhat covert) presentation for the Virginia

Commission on Immigration. As far as I have been able to discover, this presentation was the last cohesively organized HSC advocacy effort in Rocktown.

During the mid- to late-1990s, while the HSC was organizing and coming together, city and county systems began responding as well to the felt demographic changes in somewhat ad hoc and perhaps not always well-considered ways. In 1999, when Saul Mercado began teaching ESOL at the local high school, he experienced directly the stress on the school system generated by the rapid demographic changes taking place locally at the time:

> I was working with a program that had not fully developed yet. It was – obviously, if they're hiring some guy who was a waiter with a bachelor's degree to teach some of their neediest students, they didn't have their affairs in order…. I was in the cusp, when they were responding, sort of in an emergency sense – and this was before Carlos and Blanca became service providers; we didn't *have* service providers, or home school liaisons at HHS. And there were two ESOL teachers at the high school, and I was hired to substitute for one, and then during her sick leave it was just obvious that the program was not going to stop growing. So it was right as things were exploding, and looking back on it, one of the things that several people have said is that whenever you have a great amount of change in a short amount of time it creates a lot of stress. And so there was a lot of stress throughout the layers, in the classroom, among the teachers, at the administrative level, at the supervisor level, and… this was also when No Child Left Behind was coming in, and everyone was changing practices to try and accommodate what in my opinion were ridiculous expectations. (Interview, February 12, 2010)

The specific terms Saul uses to describe his six years in the city high school reflect the sense of dramatic change: the cusp, an emergency sense, exploding, stress, ridiculous expectations.

Simultaneously, other area services began hiring bilingual staff – the Department of Social Services made this a priority early on, as did the regional hospital – although these new hires were not necessarily Latino or Latina. In addition, the Institute for Innovation in Health and Human Services, or IIHHS, housed at BSU, launched several

health-oriented programs: Promotoras de Salud, a group of lay health promoters (mostly women) who received a certificate for their participation in this program, as well as an extensive program for training, certifying, and promoting the use of health interpreters in as many languages as they could (the three largest groups of newcomers speaking languages other than English were Spanish, Russian, and Kurdish speakers). As schools frantically expanded their ESL services, the local Migrant Education program also expanded staffing from two to six workers, reflecting the growing numbers of people coming into the area specifically for poultry work.[9] The two adult education programs in the area, one an independent non-profit and the other an extension of the county school system, both developed and expanded their adult ESL programs, whereas previously they had focused primarily on adult literacy in English and GED support.

While many of the bilingual staff being hired were white, some of the first NLD young people to have moved to the Valley in the 1990s were beginning to come of age – graduating from high school and college, serving in the military, becoming professionals on the job market. Although some highly qualified young people, like Cassandra Ibarra, were barred from actualizing their professional potential due to their documentation status, some began to find a place in the social service sector.

The sense of crisis that dominates narratives about the early years of the HSC continued to energize and motivate activities of the Council through the first decade of the new millennium. Monthly meetings were a place to problem-solve issues such as the threat of INS and then ICE raids in poultry plants, for disseminating information about

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[9] I was one of these six workers, hired in 2000 as a home/school liaison for county middle and high schools.

trustworthy paralegal and tax assistance, for exchanging information about educational programs and new ESL classes being offered in the area.

Later, in the second half of the 2000s, as the sense of crisis and immediate need began to subside somewhat, longer-term and more educationally focused programs were developed: Big Brothers Big Sisters was awarded a grant to enhance their Hispanic Mentoring services; the Boys and Girls Club received a similarly focused grant for Hispanic Outreach; SAU created their Local Latino Scholarship Fund; the FUTUROS group launched their own Latino business-backed scholarship program; the League of Therapists began actively looking for bilingual therapists to do in-home family counseling. In addition, services – particularly for translation and interpretation – began to professionalize, implementing higher standards for qualification and evening out the pay scale.

A young Latina DREAMer who had graduated from a local high school and college, Cassandra Ibarra, wondered how her life and her family's situation might have been different today if the systems and organizations that had been developed and institutionalized by the time of my fieldwork in 2009-2010 had been in existence when she had been in school – she named the bilingual and Latino home-school liaisons working at the city high school, as well as the Mennonite church-sponsored ConnectingPeople Immigrant Resource Center, primarily in light of the paralegal support for immigration cases that they provide. But in the early 1990s, these services, institutions, and structures simply did not exist, as the need for them had been seasonal and much less visible (Zarrugh 2007).

It was also at some point in the mid- to late-1990s that the basic character of the HSC was consolidated as an advocacy organization, rather than grass-roots mobilization from the ground up. At some point before 2000, unofficial letterhead paper was designed that included the logos of a number of participating organizations. This letterhead was kept by Migrant Education staff and used periodically when there was consensus at meetings about making a statement that needed to carry more weight than simply voicing the point of view of "concerned citizens" unaffiliated with something larger. During my time at Migrant Education, we used the letterhead once or twice to send letters to the editor of the local paper. In any case, the fact that the letterhead featured all these logos signified a coalition of professional organization. As one frequent attendee complained, "I get frustrated with the idea of speaking for those who can't speak for themselves. That concept dominates a lot of the talk and action in the Council, and I find it to be a patronizing attitude." He went on to say that "realistically, it's ridiculous that meetings are in English and held at that time of day. Even 2 p.m. would be better. People who work night shift could actually attend a meeting at that time" (interview, April 4, 2008). The regular meeting time, 10:00 a.m. to noon on the last Friday of every month, is a convenient time for professionals who participate in the Council, especially if participation fits under their job description. It is not a convenient time for people working in construction or poultry, or caring for small children at home. Evenings and weekends would be more convenient for this group of stakeholders, but professionals in social service or educational work tended to guard their "down" time carefully in order to avoid early burnout – and so avoided commitments outside the 9-5 workday. Carlos, who followed Penny Kidd as HSC chair from around 2003 to 2007, made it clearly known

once his first child was born in 2004 that he would no longer be attending any meetings scheduled after 4:30 p.m. Thus, continuation of the Friday morning meeting time has de facto demonstrated the nature of this group as an advocacy, not stakeholder, organization of the professional class.

As for the language of the meetings, in my six years of regular attendance, I can only recall one meeting being held in Spanish (with members providing ad hoc simultaneous interpretation for the two or three monolingual English speakers present). While the majority of attendees are bilingual in English and Spanish, the default seems always to revert to English. This practice is particularly ironic considering that the HSC has worked tirelessly to bridge language barriers in schools, hospitals, and other social service locations throughout the city and county. But in this case, the dominance of English says more about the collective identity of the group as social service professionals than anything else. Urciuoli's framework of inner sphere vs. outer sphere relations (1996), indexed and performed through language, is highly relevant for understanding this dynamic; considering that English is the prestige, professional, and public language, the dominance of English at HSC meetings is perhaps not surprising, but does indicate the kind of space that was constituted in these meetings. I can recall one meeting that was conducted entirely in Spanish, with interpretation provided for the few monolingual English speakers present, due to the participation of several organizers from Mexicans United. There were also not infrequent moments when regular participants (such as Sra. Juana, an older woman from Chile who always insisted on being referred to as "*Señora* [Mrs.] Juana," never simply Juana, although everyone else was called by their first name without any honorific) would interject a few comments in Spanish, but they

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did so as fellow professionals in positions of authority. According to Urciuoli, "outer

sphere relations are hierarchic by definition" (1996:9); thus the perpetual use of English

in HSC meetings can be seen as an indicator that, despite all intentions otherwise,

dynamics of hierarchy and exclusion still operated in that space.

The Withering Away of the HSC

In the second half of this chapter, I describe the decline in activity of the HSC

during my field research period. This decline is significant in that it is not entirely

explained in terms of the life cycles of organizations, or personal burnout on the part of

organizers. Although both of those dynamics are present, there is an additional sense in

which advocates and allies may have felt that their job had, largely, been accomplished –

that processes of inclusion had been institutionalized to a satisfying degree. Some

significant success had been achieved, and the sense of crisis that had dominated during

the mid- to late-1990s had attenuated. Additionally, the recession happening at the end of

the 21st century's first decade had a deleterious impact on educational and social service

institutions, which felt the pinch of anxiety about their continued funding – and even at

times their continued existence. So while funding anxieties continued to fuel the

narratives of need and benevolent racism around NLD communities, and while programs

continued relating to NLD communities as fields for intervention, the HSC as an active

force for social change through advocacy efforts became less and less involved. In this

section, I note the shift in energy by narrating two events, which occurred almost

simultaneously during the summer of 2008 but signaled the beginning of the HSC's

decline: a visit from the Virginia Commission on Immigration, and the decision of the

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local Free Clinic's board of directors to require proof of legal residence in the United States in order to receive services.

The Virginia Commission on Immigration: Stacking the Deck

In the summer of 2008, the Virginia Commission on Immigration visited the city of Harrisonburg in order, they said, to hear the concerns and voices of citizens related to immigration. A panel of ten people sat behind white tablecloths across the front of the Thomas Ballroom at BSU, while attendees who had previously signed up for rigidly-enforced three-minute slots each had their say. One young woman, SAU student Cassandra Ibarra, asked me nervously before the meeting whether I thought it was safe for her to disclose her immigration status to the panel. She had signed up to speak for the DREAM Act, to urge the Commission to support the passage of this federal bill on behalf of young undocumented immigrants. I did not feel confident in assuring her of her safety, so in the end she did not disclose her status, but stood alone and small before the Council, asking them in a quiet voice to consider the benefits entailed in passing this bill.

Meanwhile, a quiet conspiracy was afoot to convey a strongly pro-immigrant message to the panel. An ad-hoc sub-committee of the Hispanic Services Council had gathered input from past and present HSC members (keeping in mind that "membership" in the HSC was defined by participation in collective activities) prior to the meeting and constructed a joint statement to be read at the panel. To overcome the three-minute time limit per speaker, they broke the statement into three 3-minute segments and assigned each segment to a different person. It was imperative that these three people arrive early enough that they would be able to sign up for consecutive slots on the schedule, which

they did – the quiet rush brought a sense of clandestine urgency to the preparations for

the event. Having captured a full nine-minute block of time, they also recruited other

HSC members as well as less active local allies to speak sprinkled throughout the agenda.

Additional members of the Council, including a nurse, an immigration attorney,

and an ESL teacher put themselves on the schedule to make individual statements. A

representative of the poultry industry (unconnected to the HSC) spoke about the

important role of immigrant labor in the business. Finally, a Mexican man named

Gustavo spoke through interpreter Liam Peabody about the economic violence produced

by NAFTA in his nation of origin, causing so many from his region to migrate in search

of relief from grinding poverty. Other voices were heard as well, but in the two-hour span

of the hearing, only three were clearly anti-immigrant.

Although the HSC had been meeting regularly since 1993, it was not until this

particular event that even a provisional mission statement was developed, precisely for

the group's presentation to Commission. It reads:

> HSC's mission is to improve services for and access of information to the
> Hispanic community. It is a mission that benefits both local immigrants and the
> larger community. When information on health or safety is provided to
> immigrants, when health and safety services are extended immigrants, the whole
> community can be assured that we will all be healthier and safer. An additional
> goal of the HSC is to support partnership projects that promote a peaceful and
> healthy community.

This statement frames the Latino focus of the organization as a commitment that serves

the interests of "the whole community," possibly to deflect common complaints about

immigrants taking jobs and other resources away from "Americans" (Fennelly 2008).

That this statement was developed around the time of the Free Clinic crisis is reflected in

the emphasis on health and safety; an argument against the Clinic's decision against

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serving undocumented patients is implicitly embedded in the statement. This approach, rooted in a humanist ideology, defines immigrants as "one of us" – an intrinsic part of the social whole. At another time, however, this ideological emphasis might have been encoded differently, without the emphasis on health and safety triggered by the Free Clinic crisis.

Overall, the statement from the HSC emphasized a broad humanitarian vision for the good of the collective whole. It included excoriation of the 287(g) policy that linked local law enforcement with ICE and streamlined the deportation of individuals identified through minor infractions such as driving with a broken headlight, framing it as increased racial profiling and discrimination; addressed misconceptions such as "immigrants take away American jobs and don't pay taxes," instead stating that "immigrants provide needed labor… and keep the social security system afloat" (a perfect example of the appreciative strategy for countering deficit framings); and called for comprehensive immigration reform to address the contradictions between immigration restrictions and the proliferating use of illegal immigrant labor by big businesses. If nothing else, the HSC statement as a whole stands out as a premier example of the ways in which discourse "is partly defined by its points of opposition to a variety of other viewpoints" (Gee 1990:144). In fact, every point made in the HSC statement was specifically tailored to counter an anti-immigrant argument.

The effect of this organizing effort to "stack the deck" as it were for pro-immigrant advocates appears to have been quite transparent to the panel, and this transparency was used by at least one government representative as grounds for dismissal of the HSC's argument. According to the local newspaper report:

commission member Del. Todd Gilbert, R-Woodstock, did not think he was

getting the sense of the community.

Immigration advocacy groups focus on meetings such as the ones being

held by the commission, Gilbert said. Many residents were at home after a hard

day's work, he said, and felt little inclination to tell politicians what "common

sense should already tell them."

While he feels most Virginians believe in helping others, Gilbert said

there's also a feeling that the government should take care of the needs of its

citizens first. "We can't take on the poverty of the world here in America," Gilbert

said. (Mellott 2008)

Rather than being swayed by the coordination of rhetoric, Gilbert dismissed what he

heard – but clearly did not want to hear – by framing it as a minority voice presented

from a partisan viewpoint rather than an *authentic* voice of the "average Virginian." This

Commission meeting was the last time I observed the HSC as an organization actively

engaging in advocacy work in the community, and it could be that the apparent failure of

the HSC to influence the course of public discourse or policy may have proved

prohibitively discouraging, especially since another advocacy effort (examined in the

following section) occurring at the same time also failed.

The Free Clinic Debacle

Concurrently with preparations for the Commission's visit to Rocktown came the

HSC's concern about a decision on the part of the board of the local Free Clinic to

effectively close their doors to undocumented immigrants. In the analysis that follows, I include some of the speculation that occurred regarding the reasons for this decision, but a large part of the outrage at the decision also revolved around the lack of transparency that was rendered at the time.

In the weeks after the decision was announced, HSC member and Migrant Education worker Liam Peabody worked intensively with the Virginia Organizing Project as well as the Virginia Immigrant People's Coalition (including Gustavo, who had testified for the Commission on Immigration with Liam interpreting) to craft a strongly-worded letter to the Free Clinic board of directors, demanding to know who on the board had voted for this change in policy, and which doctors and donors had threatened to rescind their support for the Clinic if the policy were not changed. Doris Lopez, an African-American woman married to a Mexican, (whose daughter had been threatened during the Confederate Pride event at Wayland High School), noted with concern that the Bank of America – which at the time was rolling out a program to provide credit cards to undocumented residents in various places in the US – provided a good deal of funding for the Free Clinic, and that the local vice president of the bank was on the Free Clinic board of directors. In her words:

> Maybe I am looking at this issue at a broader scale but it seems to me that the Hispanic community has the right to know that one of the largest funding resources for the Free Clinic is sending a mixed message by saying that they will support illegal immigrants when it comes to taking their money but cannot be relied on when it comes to supporting their medical needs to ensure a healthy Hispanic community. (Personal correspondence, July 14, 2008)

The letter was endorsed by Mexicans Without Borders and invoked AMA guidelines and their mission statement. The letter also gave a deadline of August 9 (just two weeks

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away) for a response. Liam shared the letter with the HSC prior to the July 2008 meeting, in hopes that the Council would also endorse it.

At the July meeting, Saul spoke for the subcommittee (which did not include Liam) that had formed to address the issue and to plan a response: "First we need to recognize how difficult this decision was for the Free Clinic board. We should respect their process – don't alienate them by being too harsh." The plan developed by the subcommittee was to send a "gracious" letter to the board, stating that "we regret their decision," especially considering how much the Free Clinic has benefited the many people receiving their services. The main purpose of this letter would be to try to engage in a dialogue with board members as well as donors, asking them respectfully to reconsider and hopefully to reverse their decision. Talking points would begin with the moral value of health care for all people. "And it would be great if we could get one of us on the board," Saul added. "And we should also do everything we can to support the Community Health Center [a relatively new service recently launched at IIHHS], just flood them with support. We need to be more present and visible as Latinos volunteering for organizations. We need to find ways to contribute to one another. The Community Health Center is not ideal, it's a sliding scale fee, but we need to show the community that Latinos are involved and contributing."

Nick Samuels asked a clarifying question: "I understood that the Free Clinic board was pressured by doctors and radiologists who would cut off services to 100% of clients unless services were denied to 10% of clients. Is that right?"

Lydia Shenk answered, "Sid Rycher [the board president] said it had to do with pharmaceuticals."

"Oh, do you need a Social Security number to get medications?" asked Nick.

This time Wendy answered: "This has changed in the past few months – medications that are needed on a long-term, ongoing basis, basically prescription medications, are only provided for people who have a Social Security number. But the over-the-counters are donated in bulk to the Free Clinic, and they can dispense those without checking on people's documentation. If they want to."

"They're not going to be swayed by mercy," said a woman I didn't know.

"Look," said Nelson Estevez, a Mexican-born professional working in HR at a local poultry plant, and long-time ally. "The United Way campaign where I work raised $70,000 – seventy thousand! – and that was almost all from Latinos working on the lines. Some of this money goes to the Free Clinic. All of it goes to the community, but it's an invisible contribution. Nobody sees where it really came from."

"Our whole purpose for being the Hispanic Services Council is to share with the dominant culture," Saul jumped back in again. "We need to point out the inherent moral failings of policies that force people to live in the shadows, to point out the fallacies in logic that get applied across the board without careful thinking. Health care professionals are required by law, if they receive government funding like Medicare, to provide interpreters. This is something we've been trying to drill into people but they still don't do it. So for them to complain that oh, those people are breaking the law – well, the challenge is to show the nuances of reality. Even Jesus was an illegal immigrant in Egypt. We need to make the Hispanic Services Council more effective, more organized, and more proactive."

At this point in the discussion, the thrust of the argument consolidated around two prongs – a moral argument based on human rights discourse for the Free Clinic to continue providing services to undocumented immigrants, and another more pragmatic appreciative argument based on a calculus of Latino contributions to the community. This contribution is conceived in real terms – the $70,000 donated to the United Way by Latino poultry workers, an undeterminable number of which would be undocumented themselves – and in terms of potential – Saul's call for a "flood" of Latino volunteers visibly contributing to the health and non-profit sectors, perhaps as a not-so-subtle answer to the charge that NLD communities and people are parasitical leeches draining resources away from hardworking and self-sufficient receiving communities. What is partially elided in this discussion, however, are the in-group class differences between the poultry workers, many of whom would have been eligible for Free Clinic services (based on income and lack of insurance) prior to the ban on undocumented workers, and the professionals gathered around the HSC meeting table. Although Nelson seems to have been drawing attention to the fact that a large amount of money had been raised from low-wage workers, Saul seems to assume that all Latinos will be perceived simply as Latinos regardless of socioeconomic class.

Apart from the arguments and rationales themselves, however, were the strategies under consideration. After Saul's call for a diplomatic and gracious letter, Carlos asked Liam to present the letter he had been working to prepare along with the other community groups with whom he had contact. Liam read the letter out loud, and after a short silence, the debate began. Lydia told the group that she had talked with Penny Kidd about the letter, and *Penny* had felt that it was too inflammatory. Nick said "I like the

pressure and the anger," but that he felt the HSC should take a more "relational" route towards starting a dialogue. Liam said strongly that "the entire community has a right to know" which doctors, donors, and board members had spoken in opposition to serving undocumented patients, but Wendy seriously doubted that it would be possible to ever obtain that information. A lawyer from Shenandoah Legal Services noted that "you get more with honey than with vinegar" and suggested that someone make informal contact with board members before sending the letter, to soften them up. Carlos said he had reservations about the tone of the letter: "There's a different way of dong things here in the Friendly City," here in the South. Lydia then spoke up again, saying that the board president – whom she had spoken with – didn't believe there was any possibility of reversing the decision, because of the controversial attention that a reversal would get from the media and public.

In the end, the HSC decided that two letters should be sent, both Liam's strongly worded letter written in collaboration with NLD representatives, as well as a much more "relational" letter from the HSC subcommittee, which included in the opening paragraph the sentence, "We on the Council are awed by the wonderful work of the clinic and are proud to be a part of a community that is home to such compassionate and effective organizations like the Rocktown Pine Free Clinic." Although the overall intent of this letter was to push for institutionalizing inclusivity at the structural level, the overall approach of "niceness" perhaps resulted in maintaining the status quo, as Castagno (2014) might argue.

Overall the letter was silent on the question of race and racialization of NLD communities, and did not venture to interpret the decision of the board in terms of

racialized discrimination or oppression. Instead, the letter went on to offer the assistance of the HSC in discerning appropriate responses to the presence of undocumented persons in the community, and gently to remind the Free Clinic board the "just-so" story of the Clinic's origins that had been circulating around the table at the HSC's July 2008 meeting: according to Sra. Juana, a respected Latina advocate who had been present at the HSC founding from the beginning, the Free Clinic was formed in direct response to the 1996 amnesty and resulting increase in uninsured Latino presence in the community. However, because this origin myth could not be verified by Council members at the time, this assertion was struck from the letter.

The letter ended with a request for a meeting with the Board, but as far as I was able to learn this meeting never took place; nor did Liam's letter garner a response. The Free Clinic's 2008 decision on eligibility still stands today. Although the executive director of the Free Clinic resigned shortly afterwards, nobody knows if the letters that were sent had anything to do with this resignation; in any case, that had not been the intent of the HSC's advocacy work, and I can only wonder whether discouragement over the overall failure of these advocacy efforts – both the presentation to the Commission on Immigration and the Free Clinic decision – contributed to the HSC's decline.

The HSC Withers Away

In the spring of 2010, I was confronted suddenly by a glaring absence of the HSC in public arenas. Sandra, a Latina organizer from Richmond attending the Youth and Families in Crisis Summit in Rocktown told a small group at the meeting that in Rocktown Latinos "need to form networks that bridge well…. You have to create a better

base of dialogue and become politically active and become educated about the process."

In response, Dulce, a Latina member of the HSC asked, "What do you mean by networking? How do you do it in Richmond?" Sandra responded that about five years ago Latino professionals in Richmond had formed a coalition of local non-profits and social service agencies that work with Latinos, coming together in order to share information, solve problems, and avoid duplication of services. At that point I felt both insulted by and defensive about her comments; the implication that organizations and allies in Rocktown were not networking effectively especially bothered me. I interjected an explanation about the 15-year history of the Hispanic Services Council, to which the woman from Richmond did not directly respond. However, as I reflected later about the Summit itself, and what an outsider or newcomer might have observed there, I realized that apart from myself and Dulce only two other HSC members were actually present at this meeting, both white women. There was no visible or active presence of the HSC at this Summit.

As I reflected further, I noted the absence of HSC response to other critical events as well. In March 2010, the HSC had received information from the County school system that it would soon be requiring all students to self-identify according to Census race and ethnicity categories. The ESL coordinator for the County had wanted the HSC to be informed about this, presumably so that those of us who had direct contact with parents of school-aged children might be able to encourage or persuade them to fill out these forms, and to fill them out correctly. The children of parents who did not do so would be categorized by school personnel. Responses among HSC members ranged from troubled to outraged, and a long discussion ensued. Some felt that imposing

governmental race and ethnicity categories on children without their knowledge or participation in that identification was a violation of their human rights. They worried that children would be treated differently based on these documents – perhaps subject to retention rather than grade promotion, for example (what Gilda Ochoa [2008] calls "academic profiling"). Others seemed to be annoyed that whereas they themselves had been perceived as simply "white" in their country of origin in Latin America, in the United States they were ethnicized as "Hispanic;" no longer white, but brown.

However, the HSC could not organize a concerted response, although the feeling at the meeting was very strong that something ought to be done; if nothing else, at least to express our collective displeasure and to try to communicate why we felt the form to be problematic. However, nobody had time to meet with the county school personnel about it, except for me. Although I did meet with the ESL coordinator and one other person from the county school system, they were not interested in hearing any of the HSC's concerns; rather, they shared some literature with me outlining the rationales for this classification effort. In summary, race and ethnicity statistics had always been tracked by schools, but those compiling the data for the county believed that "Hispanics" were being under-counted. The purpose was to get a better idea of the actual number of people self-identifying as "Hispanic." The race and ethnicity categories were set up to match the Census categories, and the rationale for collecting these aggregate numbers was manifold – to be able to compare performance of differently categorized groups, to be able to screen for discrimination (purportedly), and for pro-active distribution and allocation of funding (field notes, March 10, 2010). Clearly, these rationales all concern forms of surveillance and governmentality (Foucault 1980), but the inability of the HSC to

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communicate our concerns to the county school system or influence them in any substantive way speaks to the hegemony of these structures.

By the time I concluded my field research, the HSC was meeting only sporadically, and with very low attendance. I had no reason to resent the comments from the woman from Richmond. In fact, I now agreed with her assessment.

Over the course of seventeen years, the coalition of advocates, activists, and allies had succeeded in creating and promoting a swath of programs for NLD acculturation and inclusion. Among these were the *Promotoras de Salud* and Health Interpreters programs at IIHHS; the International Festival; adult ESL programs at four different institutions (the county school system, BSU, SAU, and an independent adult education non-profit); dedicated support personnel for ESL students at all the city and county schools. A local law partnership had been specializing in immigration cases, and worked closely with the paralegal at ConnectingPeople. Several local chapters of large non-profit organizations had obtained dedicated grant funding for supporting the inclusion of NLD youth in their local programs: Big Brothers Big Sisters, the Boys and Girls Club, and the Boy Scouts of America. Two college scholarship programs for local NLD youth had been launched. Clara, a Latina mental health specialist, commented on the changes she has seen in Rocktown since moving there in the early 1990s: "There seems to be more Latinos. There seems to be more services for Latinos, there seems to be more Latino stores, more Latino restaurants, more diversity within that, more professionals coming to terms with having to be culturally appropriate but still not sure how to do it" (interview, August 19, 2010). The regional hospital had hired a cultural competency specialist to coordinate services and trainings for staff; the Healthy Communities Council had developed a Spanish-

language version of the community survey they administer every five years and a

methodology to administer it.

In this sense, the HSC had accomplished its role and fulfilled its original vision

fully. Founder Penny Kidd described that original vision thus:

> I see it as the energy engine for a lot of things that then went on to become
> programs. Its role is not to become anything or do anything… I see it as a portal, a
> channel, not an entity. We were channeling the goodness of the universe… Every
> once in a while somebody would come because it was part of their job, and we
> would make their skin crawl, because their energy was – they were totally freaked
> and would run for the door. (Personal communication, March 12, 2008).

The "energy" of the organization in its initial formation stages was the opposite of

bureaucratic; driven by a humanistic vision of universal goodness, the HSC under

Penny's guidance existed not for its own sake, but in order to facilitate the work of other

organizations, programs, and institutions for the good of the whole community –

including, obviously, NLD newcomers. Perhaps it was that very shift in *energy*, away

from visionary transformation to bureaucratic submission to funding agencies, that led to

the demise of the HSC.

Funding Anxieties

Not only was the HSC losing its visionary organizing energy, but around this time

anxieties about grant funding were on the rise. At several meetings and encounters of

social service workers and administrators, I heard of the "angst" spreading through the

non-profits due to budget cuts for social welfare and education programs at the State level

(field notes, March 19, 2010). Likewise, at the close of another meeting of social service

providers, the last word was that we mustn't "lose ground by losing funding" (field notes,

August 27, 2009). Anxieties were high about the long-term negative impacts on

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vulnerable people benefiting from these services, and the growing feeling that the services themselves are "at risk" of complete attrition if the trend should continue. At one point the director of Big Brothers Big Sisters predicted, "some people… will be lost" without the social welfare services of non-profit organizations (field notes, March 19, 2010).

The implication then was that grant funds spent on social service and educational programming were the primary factor responsible for maintaining the social health of the community. Without a steady inflow of grant funding from outside, the community would sicken and waste away. The argument always used to support the value of a coalition-based community health survey was that it had "brought into our community" at last count upwards of 11 million dollars over a period of ten years. The assumption was that the programs and institutions that housed and fed us all as social service workers and educators were saving the poor and vulnerable, and that without these programs social ills would run rampant through the community.

This may be true. What concerns me here is gauging to what extent the anxieties circulating among social service workers around funding re-directed focus and energy away from mobilizing advocacy efforts and towards bureaucratization. One of the risks entailed in this shift in focus, of course, is that organizations can relegate ethical or ideological commitments secondary to the priorities of the donors – as may have happened in the case of Rocktown's Free Clinic. Clara, the Latina co-director of a non-profit supporting victims of sexual violence, reported that she had shifted a good portion of her work time to fundraising, "because we lost $90,000 in grants, because grants are such a lovely thing… " She went on to reflect on how funding can drive programming,

expressing relief that "my director and my board would never say you can't see someone if they're undocumented… there's not always funding for that" (interview, August 26, 2010). Wendy, a Latina social service worker and translator, likewise mused on the future of the program where she was working at the time:

> I think they way they approach [the program] is still not defined, because I think the grants define it… It's tied to the Governor's Office, whether they like to accept it or not, so if the budgets get cut they get cut… so there's a lot of fluctuation on should we focus on this, should we focus on that… but you know that's also hard in these economic times – it's hard to convince people that [this need] is important." (Interview, March 25, 2010)

Wendy and Clara both alluded to two tensions inherent in the dependency of non-profit organizations on grant funding: the chance that at any moment the funding will be cut, and the ways in which funding can set the agenda – or at least influence the direction – of the organization. In this vein, Dolhinow (2005) notes the problematic impacts of neoliberal funding structures on non-profit organizations:

> Not only are NGOs now expected to be experts and professionals, but they are also expected to compete like full-blooded capitalists - even though they are not supposed to make a profit. The stress on quantifiable concrete and practical changes in individual communities that fuels this competitive system can limit the development of political awareness and empowerment. (2005:575)

I am also concerned with gauging to what extent these funding anxieties intensified the discourse of a needy and vulnerable NLD population (Santiago-Irizarry 2001). I do not believe that the HSC ever abandoned its humanist heart, but the requirement within grant funding structures to demonstrate need on the part of beneficiaries or clients means that advocates and allies had increasingly to deploy that language and deficit framing towards their funding sources. In the following chapter I more fully explore the ways in which these deployments took place through three discursive moments: a conversation about the "three top needs of the Hispanic

community," an ongoing "Latino Gang Threat" narrative, and a momentary "Latina

Suicide Crisis" narrative, all of which frame NLD youth, families, and communities in

terms of deficit and need.

CHAPTER 4: Latina Suicides, Latino Gangs, and Discourses of Need

"I've realized that [adult learners] probably have a depth of experience where they've learned to handle people, and I shouldn't go overboard in trying to treat them as tender little chickens, they can approach things for themselves." (Saul, February 12, 2010)

"These people who come like this with empty hands, to build everything from zero, are more fragile…. he's the typical 'what do I do?' and he's waiting for someone to give him a hand, because he doesn't know what to do." (Blanca, March 26, 2010)

In this chapter I focus my analysis on several key discourses concerning NLD communities and youth that emerged during my field research period within the social service network, particularly involving members of the Hispanic Services Council, in order to clearly draw the connections between racializing discourses and sequestered inclusion. I look at three conversations that hinged in particular on deficit framings: first, an in-group discussion on the "top three needs of the Hispanic community," and what can the city do to help; second, an ongoing and pernicious "Latino gang threat" narrative; and third, an attempt to organize a grant-funded project to prevent a perceived "Latina Suicide Crisis." I focus on these three conversations in particular in part because I was able to document them thoroughly, which allowed me to give close, focused attention to detail, and in this way locate the contradictions as well as the points of coherency in the discourse. I was interested in seeing how themes of race, class, and culture played out in conversations of public concern about NLD youth, and in the extent to which these discourses might intersect to position NLD children as "subjects in need of adult help and intervention or as threats to the homogeneity of the national order" (Rodriguez 2014). There is also perhaps an aesthetic sense in the symmetry or balance provided by the topics in these three conversations: a generalized "needs of the Hispanic community" that

reveals a strong cross-cutting concern for youth; followed by the gendered discourses about (male) Latino gang members and (female) suicidal Latina girls. The ways in which these discourses deploy the deficit narrative, as well as essentializing both culture and gender (which I do not analyze as deeply as one might due to constraints of time and space), and finally the racializions that occur through all these discourses are of course highly problematic. One factor that contributes to making these discourses a matter of interest and concern is that the narratives have a strong impact in determining where and how public and private funds are allocated. Consider the razing of Rocktown's historic black neighborhood, for instance; that project was undertaken with federal funds, and followed a racialized narrative of black "slum" dwellings that needed to be erased from the map. Untangling the contradictions and tensions in these discourses reveals the dynamics creating conditions of sequestered inclusion – implicated as they so often are in a profound desire to help.

Part I: Discourses of Need

In September 2009, recently elected Democrat mayor Hans Ranger asked Nick Samuels of the ConnectingPeople Immigrant Resource Center for help in defining or determining "the three biggest needs or concerns of the local Hispanic community." Nick passed the question on to his circle of contacts among the "allies," most of whom were regular or at least occasional attendees at HSC meetings, and all of whom were professionals in education, social services, or health. Twelve out of the 27 (half white and half Latino) who were contacted by Nick responded to the group e-mail, and I was additionally able to interview others on the list. While I have no clear indication what

prompted the mayor to ask this question of this particular group of people, Ranger's

reputation locally was that of a progressive thinker committed to fomenting dialogue with

a Habermasian character; as a BSU undergraduate he had formed a group called "Orange

Band" that facilitated conversation across political and ideological lines on college

campuses (I spoke at one such forum on immigration in the fall of 2001, after the terrorist

attacks of September 11) and as mayor he organized a series of community summits on

different topics which are referenced frequently in my research. I also know that the local

United Way director asked to see a summary of the responses to Ranger's questions –

presumably to inform funding decisions – and that Nick Samuels convened a session on

the topic at a community Summit on "Intercultural and Interfaith" issues later that month.

The question itself appears as an innocuous venture, looking for a sense of what

the city might do to help and support "the local Hispanic community." But every feature

of the question reveals the primary hegemonic framing shaping civic and social services

discourse about NLD communities. The primacy of *need,* the assumption of a singular

homogenous community, even the term "Hispanic" (linked to governmental census

categories rather than in-group self-designations) all serve the citizen-making forms of

Foucauldian governmentality Cruikshank (1999) highlights in social service initiatives.

Presented as benevolent interest in the well-being of NLD communities, the question is

not even directed towards representatives of these communities. While the HSC

collective was heartened by the simple fact that the mayor was showing interest in

allocating some form of support to NLD communities in the city, the ways in which the

question itself creates and defines this group of people as *essentially* vulnerable and

needy illustrates how "labeling, the act and art of designating group identity, involves

issues of specification and homogenization; of power, dominance, and resistance; and of agency. Within this play of paradoxes, one must choose even while aware of the potential of abuse inherent in the use of labels" (Santiago-Irizarry 1996:4). This is "benevolent racism."

I do read the responses to the question keeping in mind that the question itself gives them form and direction. An illuminating reaction came from Tony; a young man from Mexico who had grown up in the area, worked at Migrant Education, served with the US Army in Afghanistan, and was at the time I spoke with him acquiring a degree in a health-related field. He said, "Yeah, I was on that e-mail. I did not respond, simply because I didn't feel que estaba en la posición [that I was in the position] to… To me it just sentí que era demasiado [I felt that it was too] complex, and I didn't feel like I was in touch with the right people to answer back, and I just think that – que todo tiene que ver con algún tipo de reforma imigratoria [it all has to do with some kind of immigration reform]. I really think it does" (Tony, interview, January 28, 2010). Of all the people copied on the original e-mail, Tony might have been the most qualified to answer the question as a legitimate representative of the communities in question; but he did not see himself this way. In any case, his analysis of the responses to the question led him to the conclusion that immigration reform – a radical systems change – would address all the concerns expressed better than anything else.

Nevertheless, what this sample of local social services discourse offers is polyvocalic dialogue on the topic of NLD inclusion; the most frequently-mentioned areas of need all revolve around themes related to NLD incorporation with a particular focus on youth. Because the question itself evokes neediness, it follows that the majority of

responses were framed in terms of deficit on the part of newcomers: they lack English; the young ones are prone to trouble and do poorly in school; they lack civic education. Furthermore, the suggestions tended broadly to place the onus for change and adaptation on the newcomers vs. the receiving community.

The most frequently mentioned needs listed were English/language access (9 responses), programming for youth (6 responses), and integration (5 responses) – this last one a particularly complex and messy category. A number of suggestions touched on very practical, operational knowledge and information which would allow newcomers to enhance their ability to navigate US and local systems more easily; these are relatively unproblematic as they have to do simply with basic familiarity with local ways of doing everyday things:

- "Programs that inform people of, for example: how the medical system works (insurance processing, public insurance for children, emergency room vs. preventive care, etc.); how to set up a business (permits, requirements, taxes); how to buy a home or a vehicle." (Wendy, Latina social service provider)

- "I remember years ago Miss Mary Patrick from Rocco did a pamphlet with ideas, rules and requirements for the Spanish employees that were hired, something like that we need for the newcomers. They have to be welcomed, and informed of the law, traditions and customs of all the valley citizens (Americans and the international community)" (Sra. Juana, Latina social service provider)

- "Avenues to get ahead – business opportunities, understanding of banking and house purchases and credit scores, etc. Again – not just services – teaching them how to fish. (First time Hispanic home purchases could fuel the lower end of the real estate market. Ten years later they will move up to bigger homes.)" (Johann Penner, high school Spanish teacher)

I thought of this list later as I was reviewing my transcript of an interview with Blanca York, a school social service worker from the southern cone of South American who had come to the Valley 19 years previously. Blanca described her experience as a recent

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arrival, and then reflected on how much harder the adjustment is for those who come

without the same kinds of capital that she was able to draw on:

> No conocía a nadie, no tenía amigos, no tenía familiares… yo no vine bajo circunstancias que otros han venido, de pasar miseria, de pasar por una frontera, y de pasar hambre, sueño, yo vine con un marido, ya casada, y vine a vivir en un departamento. De ahí en mas… estuvo en mi, tratar de pelear la situación, porque yo no quería quedarme encerrada en el departamento, verdad? Tenía que superarme. Yo llegué aquí, y tuve que cambiar muchos de mis hábitos. Muchos, muchos…. no sabía manejar, mis hábitos, era dormir mas de día y no dormir casi la noche. No comía ningún vegetal, jamás había comido carne con sazón dulce, fumaba, y tantas cosas que yo tuve que cambiar. Muchas. Pero lo hice por mi propia voluntad.
>
> Creo que los que vienen sin recursos, mas humildes, se sienten totalmente desarmados. Son el típico caso, "y ahora qué hacemos?" Entonces, en ese sentido, yo he visto otras personas que necesitaban, sí o sí tener alguien que les de una mano grande en todos los aspectos de tratar de acomodarse aquí en esta sociedad. Si yo, cuando estaba sola, conté con por ejemplo con Sarita Aldorf, que me enseñó a manejar. Mi marido no tenía paciencia para enseñarme a manejar! Pero ella me llevó, me enseñó como se compra en un yard sale, como se compra en un lugar de segundas, como se compra con cupones, ella pasaba mucho tiempo conmigo…. Yo sé que yo hubiera aprendido esas cosas por mi, por mis medios, pero hubiera tomado a lo mejor un poco mas de tiempo. Pero estas personas que vienen así con las manos vacías, a construir todo de cero, son las más frágiles. Y son las que, si tienen suerte, de que caen en buenas manos, de gente que le va a brindar ayuda, o le va a dar un apoyo, porque no estoy hablando de ayuda material, estoy hablando del apoyo sicológico, no?… Viene una persona aquí, no sabe de leyes, no sabe dónde está cometiendo una infracción, no sabe dónde está parado, no sabe a dónde buscar cosas, es el típico "qué hago?" y está ahí esperando que alguien le brinde la mano, porque no, no sabe qué hacer.
>
> [I didn't know anybody, I had no friends, no family… I didn't come under the circumstances that others come under, going through misery, crossing a border, experiencing hunger, lack of sleep; I came with a husband, married, and came to live in an apartment. From that point… it was up to me to wrestle with the situation, because I didn't want to be shut up in an apartment, right? I had to overcome. I arrived, and I had to change many of my habits. Many, many…. I didn't know how to drive; I used to sleep more in the daytime and hardly sleep at all at night. I didn't eat a single vegetable, I had never eaten meat with sweet seasoning, I smoked, and so many things that I had to change. Many. But I did it by my own free will.
>
> I think the people who come without resources, the humbler people, feel completely disarmed. It's the typical case of "now what do we do?" So in that sense I have see[n?] other people who needed, *sí o sí,* to have someone who could give them a big helping hand, in every aspect of trying to accommodate themselves here in this society. Even I, when I was alone, counted on the help of

Sarita Aldorf [a long-time Valley resident from Guatemala], who taught me to drive – My husband had no patience for teaching me to drive! But she took me, she taught me how to buy at a yard sale, how to buy second-hand, how to use coupons, she spent a lot of time with me… I know I would have learned those things by my own means, but it would probably have taken a little longer. But these people who come like this with empty hands, to build everything from zero, are more fragile. And they are the ones who, if they're lucky, they fall in good hands of people who will help them, or give them a little, because I'm not talking about material help, I'm talking about psychological support, right?... A person arrives here, he doesn't know the laws, he doesn't know if he's committing an infraction, he doesn't know where he's standing – he doesn't know where to find things, he's the typical "what do I do?" and he's waiting for someone to give him a hand, because he doesn't know what to do.] (Interview, March 26, 2010)

Blanca notes her own position of privilege arriving as a middle-class woman with a husband and a comfortable place to live, and although she does not mention it in this excerpt, some knowledge of English prior to arriving. She recognizes the value of having another Latina woman willing and able to help orient her to local patterns of consumption and transportation, increasing her self-reliance and independence in the long run. She speaks compassionately of the people who arrive with histories of trauma and difficulty, in conditions of poverty, who cannot count on the same kinds of resources as herself, implying that their need for that kind of orientation and help must be all the greater. At the same time, her characterization of "el típico ¿qué hago? [the typical, what do I do?]" reinscribes the ethnoracialized stereotype is that of the helpless, dumbfounded new immigrant "with empty hands," fragile and lost, described primarily in terms of deficit.

One comment that begins to hint at deficit framing came from a teacher: "The importance of education and reading in the modern US society. The parents need to be 'educated' about education in the US. (The schools are doing a great deal with the students. The parents need to be reached)" (Johann Philips). To be fair, the entry may have been written quickly without time to think about nuance; however, the implied

suggestion that education and reading are not valued or considered important by Hispanic parents, to such an extent that this teacher named this as one of the top three needs of all Latinos in the Valley, is troubling (Heath 1982). Furthermore, the evocation of "modern" US society takes the conversation down a troubling road. The notion that all societies evolve along a predictable and linear path of development from "primitive" to "advanced," shedding traditional socio-cultural practices along the way, is a ubiquitous, powerful, and damaging narrative that frames popular discourse to such an extent that it is almost inescapable. As we shall see, this notion will resurface time and again, positioning groups of people in polarized relation to each other – with Latin American societies as more traditional than the advanced and modern United States; rural white people as "backwards" compared to cosmopolitan urbanites; people of color in general as more primitive or tribal than white people. This framework ignores oppressive relations of power between differentiated groups of people; similar in many respects to the "culture of poverty" framework, the modernization narrative posits that progress and advancement are predicated on developing the values of individualism, work ethic, rationality, and so on. As Castagno (2014) argues, the liberalism in this interpretive framework also reincribes whiteness as the definitive standard that sets the terms for newcomer incorporation.

Language Access (9)

The most frequently mentioned need related to language learning and language access:

"Continue to respond to the Hispanic community's need for English language services with a variety of ELL [English Language Learner] programs as I think

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the community has been doing well, keeping in mind that 'one size does not fit all.'" (Pam Mitchell, director of a local non-profit)

"Without English they cannot get better jobs, they cannot go to school and get an education, they are dependent from those who speak English. So English is numero uno [number one] on my list." (Pablo Lopez, older NLD adult)

"One basic thing stands out - language access. The city could easily invest in simultaneous interpreting equipment which would facilitate participation at city council meetings and other community events. There is some movement in this direction already, but we need to continue to push it." (Liam Peabody, activist)

"Adequate translation and interpreting services to facilitate basic connections and interactions between the established community and new arrivals in the community." (Fran Miller, teacher)

While presented in pragmatic terms, the predominance of this interest in language learning is an indicator of the dominance of English in the Valley, as throughout the United States. Two points surface as worthy of note in the sample above: there is no suggestion that the NLD communities are in any way "refusing" to learn English (which is the charge leveled at newcomers from the right-wing), and that Liam at least noted a venue for enhancing language access that was not dependent on English language instruction, but rather on making structural changes (purchasing simultaneous interpreting equipment) that would place the onus for change on the receiving community for accommodating newcomers, rather than the other way around.

Programming for Youth (6)

The theme of programming for young people stood out through repetition as well, although I will analyze this material more thoroughly in the second part of this chapter where I focus on the narrative of Latino gang threat. For the moment, I want to highlight the prevalence of "programs" as a need or response to a need, keeping in mind that the

people responding to the question at hand all work for social service or educational

programs themselves.

> "[We] need to run more groups for our area teens. We currently have some great groups doing some great things for our Latino teens… but we need more. There simply are not enough options for our kids so they all end up at the night clubs here in town." (Carlos R., Latino social service worker)

> "Programs for children and youth - to address the work schedules of the many parents who are juggling work schedules and family." (Fran Miller, ESL teacher)

> "We need after school programs for middle and high school." (Sra. Juana, NLD advocate)

> "Tutors to help and make sure that a high school senior is going to be able to read and write to his level before graduation, if this start early in middle school we can solve the problem." (Sra. Juana)

> "More Rocktown city/local congregations programs providing mentoring as well as role models for youth." (Lorenzo Martinez, NLD pastor)

> "We need to find alternative activities/services for youth to keep them busy and not have the need to join gangs. This also leads to high number of high school drop outs and other social problems." (Pablo Lopez, Latino social service worker)

All of these responses signal a need for tutoring, mentoring, and groups that youth can

affiliate with instead of gangs (or other unsavory activities, such as frequenting

nightclubs). This characterization of NLD teenagers as un- or under-supervised, and

lacking the necessary adult support to do well in school, suggests more of a deficit on the

part of their parents than perhaps the youth themselves (although there is a strong

tendency to see NLD youth through this lens as morally weak and incapable of staying

out of trouble if left to their own devices). How and when this particular narrative

becomes racialized is a discussion I will pick up in Part II of this chapter.

Systems

The e-mail chain did generate some specific suggestions for instituting changes in local systems, specifically law enforcement policies and practices, and availability of public transportation. These suggestions did not frame NLD communities in terms of deficit or deficiency. Notably, all the ideas for changing local political and law enforcement structures presented were generated by two people, Carlos R. from the city school system and former HSC chair, and activist Liam Peabody. The biggest issue for both of them was the need to end or at least modify 287(g), which is the memo of agreement between local law enforcement and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) for easy deportations: "287(g) is still a problem here. There is currently a lot of fear between the Latino community and Law Enforcement" (Carlos). Liam had more specific suggestions:

> 287(g) is still a huge problem here. The MOA's are up for renewal soon, which may be a chance to end the [287(g)] program, or at least would open the door for dialogue to be started. Many things could be done to lessen its effects even as we rely chiefly on Pine County in this – RPD [Rocktown Police Department] could instate protocols around which offenses warrant being taken to jail (where documents are checked) - perhaps starting with not taking anyone to jail solely for the charge of driving without a license.

Liam's proposal to work with the Rocktown police department is interesting, as there is some ambiguity whether he is making a clear distinction between the Rocktown police department and the Pine County Sherriff's office. According to a court interpreter I spoke with (Wendy Suarez, December 13, 2014), the Rocktown police department in her estimation does not target NLD community members for ICE screenings, as they have never had a 287(g) memorandum of agreement. In contrast, she perceives the county Sherriff's department as committed to identifying and deporting as many undocumented immigrants as possible. In any case, specifying which charges should be subject to ICE

involvement under 287(g) addresses the loudest protests against that policy – "deported for picking up firewood," e.g.; supports the constant argument from law enforcement that "we only deport criminals;" and seems to be a measure that would actually be a workable possibility.

Carlos and Liam also aligned on issues related to federal immigration structures and policies, and how these articulate with local city ordinances.

> **Carlos**: Immigration is not an issue that the city can do much about but it is possible for a municipality to make the situation worse by passing local ordinances that make it more difficult for families.

> **Liam**: I agree with Carlos that much of this trickles down from the federal and state level. However, there are options. For example, cities around the country, like San Francisco and Oakland, have issued ID cards to every resident that serve for local functions and are recognized by local police…. I certainly know the political will doesn't exist for this and would only be the result of intensive organizing at the grassroots, but it is an option and an example of what even small cities can do to change a political climate.

Both Carlos and Liam signal the power of the city to pass ordinances that create either a more hostile or more hospitable climate for newcomers, despite immigration policy being outside their jurisdiction.

One participant, Liam (also not surprisingly), who had attended a training at Highlander Research and Education Center on Interpreting for Social Justice earlier that year, had a specific suggestion for the city: "invest in simultaneous interpreting equipment which could facilitate participation at city council meetings and other community events." This suggestion was actually taken up and made a reality later that year.

Integration (5)

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The theme of integration emerged in complex ways. Five suggestions addressed this theme explicitly, although one might say that actually all the suggestions related to this theme in one way or another. These suggestions respond to nativist animosity, discrimination, lack of NLD involvement in community activities, lack of civic and citizenship education, and social isolation.

> "Without education that is structured and audience specific to the dominant/majority community all our efforts to support the Hispanic/immigrant community could continue to increase anxiety, fear, suspicion and animosity unless hearts and minds are changed about why we need one another." (Debbie Dale, Mennonite educator)

> "In Rocktown Middle School and High School there is a lot of discrimination to the Spanish, discrimination that helps to failure and for groups to rebel. What we can do? I don't have an idea." (Sra. Juana, NLD advocate)

> "Acceptance as full and valued members of our community (this is more a feeling or perception that the overall Latino community needs -- this doesn't come from 'services' being provided. It could come in many ways -- involvement in community activities such as in parades, First Night, use of parks, etc. For instance, get El Charro [restaurant] to put the winning soccer team from the Latino league in the Christmas parade. Ownership of our society (by the way this is my biggest argument for providing a easier path toward legal residence.)" (Johann Penner, Spanish teacher)

> "Citizenship, community inclusion, civic education programs that will help with integration into the community." (Pam Mitchell, director of a local non-profit)

> "Needs: Programs that 1) allow people to come together (especially families that are/feel disconnected to others) and that have a component that is "barrio"-centered (info and focus starting from the neighborhood and moving outward), that begin with what is already established for Latinos, and especially by Latinos (e.g. begin with churches, schools, futbol teams and other things people frequent, where families have already placed their trust)" (Wendy Suarez, Latina social service worker)

All of these responses evoke notions of integration, inclusion, connection, anti-discrimination, and people coming together. And yet elements of deficit narrative still infiltrate the conversation. The suggestions from Johann Penner, a high school teacher

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whom his students all identify as their strongest ally, supporter, and "significant other" (Stanton-Salazar 1997) in the city school system, sound like part of the same process as "challeng[ing] the dominant worldviews" – the suggestion from Mennonite educator Debbie Dale. However, the examples given by Penner to illustrate this acceptance would incorporate NLD newcomers into pre-existing local cultural rituals and practices, without substantively changing or modifying them: "involvement in community activities such as in parades, First Night, use of parks, etc… ownership of our society." The parades and parks still belong to the dominant society; Latino and Latina participation in these would undoubtedly be a form of inclusion, but sequestered by the terms of the receiving community.[10] Furthermore, Penner failed to recognize that these inclusions are already taking place – such as the popular Mexican musical group based in the area that frequently plays at the Pine County Fair, as well as First Night and other community events – not just at quinceañeras [fifteen-year birthday parties] or the International Festival. Has this kind of participation lead to "acceptance as full and valued members of our community"? While painting a pretty picture of inclusive multiculturalism and ethnic harmony, including a Latino music band or soccer team in the Christmas parade does not address nativist or racist ideologies, nor structures of power.

In contrast, the first suggestion listed above is the one that calls attention most strongly. Debbie Dale, a Mennonite educator, was the only one who spoke of a need to qualitatively shift the prevalent nativist attitudes in the receiving community (full quote below, excerpt above):

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[10] Thanks to Terrence Jantzi for helping me articulate and develop this point.

I am very aware that without education that is structured and audience specific to the dominant/majority community all our efforts to support the Hispanic/immigrant community could continue to increase anxiety, fear, suspicion, and animosity unless hearts and minds are changed about why we need each other. So my suggestions include: providing local churches, community groups, university students, etc. the opportunity to hear real stories, interact with real people and challenge some of the dominant worldviews held in this community. This is long-term work and requires all of us with connections to be important bridge builders. And many of you (us) are doing this work but it has to continue in tandem with meeting direct needs.

Her position reflects a strongly humanistic stance ("we need each other," where "we" means all of humanity), while still recognizing the merit of "meeting direct needs," thus giving recognition to the bulk of the work done by the network. Not surprisingly, Debbie works in a program that takes on the task of educating the receiving community in a deliberate and systematized way – the "Local Context Cross-Cultural" course in the Adult Degree Completion program at SAU, which Debbie teaches. This course is specifically designed to introduce students who for one reason or another cannot complete the school's cross-cultural experience requirement by traveling outside the country or region to carefully historicized and contextualized encounters of cultural, linguistic, and racial difference in Pine-Rocktown area itself. Although the reach of this program is fairly limited in terms of number of students, by all reports it is highly effective (Edwards 2013).[11] The Immigration Learning Tours hosted by ConnectingPeople were a similar effort – a tour of a local poultry plant brought up questions about the capitalist structures that recruited and exploited an NLD workforce, and engaged the compassion of participants by humanizing the immigrant alien "other"

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[11] I taught this course in May 2006, and heard similar feedback from my students about the transformation of their perspectives about NLD communities after the experience.

through direct contact (sometimes a panel sharing experiences of migration, other times visits to churches or homes). The aim in both these spaces – Dale's class as well as the Learning Tours – was to directly engage questions of racialized privilege and power in order to motivate people to work towards dismantling oppressive systems.

Soon after this informal survey took place, Nick Samuels hosted a discussion on the same question at the Intercultural/Interfaith Summit – an event designed precisely to build bridges and create a forum for multiculturalism. Lydia Shenk, a Mennonite affiliated at the time with IIHHS, speculated to me that "Intercultural" was code for "immigrant," but that "interfaith" was added on in order to either disguise that or dampen the polarizing effect of that focus. In any case, I was not able to attend Nick's forum but I spoke with Liam afterwards to hear his perspective. Although he was disappointed there were not more newcomers present, especially working class and recently arrived people there to speak for themselves, he was even more perturbed that a police officer had been present at the meeting which he felt distorted the conversation, especially since people seemed to defer to him or her constantly (personal communication, December 16, 2009). However, the city did take steps afterwards, both symbolic and substantive towards fostering inclusivity – buying simultaneous interpretation equipment, and in February 2010 passing the resolution in support of the DREAM Act. 298(g) expired in October of 2012 and was not renewed, but the public transportation system was not adjusted in any substantive way, and the Rocktown police department continues to this day to maintain a list of known and suspected (primarily Latino) gang members. In his response to the e-mail questions, Liam Peabody noted a pertinent question: "I think it was a great idea for Nick to open this up. I do have a question (perhaps Nick knows the answer, or we can

just share this all with Hans) - however - what's the intended process for this? Where do the responses to these questions go?" (September 14, 2009).

Broadly, the allies and advocates who responded to the mayor's questions called for greater allocation of resources to the programs that they themselves worked in – ESL classes for adults, mentoring programs for youth, better public transportation to support NLD participation in these programs, and the like. Most tellingly, non-profit director Pam Mitchell called for the city to provide "funding to non-profits that can show measurable outcomes of the work they are doing with the Hispanic population," outlining clearly the neoliberal logics of capitalism embedded in the grant funding structures that drive so much of what happens in these institutionalizations. As Dolhinow argues, "the stress on quantifiable concrete and practical changes in individual communities that fuels this competitive system can limit the development of political awareness and empowerment (2005:575). This is a competitive market-based way of allocating resources for the common good, with specific attention focused on the "bottom line" of "measurable outcomes" – a kind of profit margin, as it were, where desired changes *in the NLD population* are the currency of interest.

This overall pattern in grant-funded social change projects is examined in detail by Dolhinow (2005), in her ethnographic analysis of the work of non-government organizations (NGOs) working in Mexican-heritage communities in the South-western United States. The pattern she finds, which I have seen repeated across the world in development projects, is that of increasing competition for state and private donor funding among NGOs, which ultimately means that these non-government agencies are compelled to create and manage the kinds of projects that donors wish to fund – and these

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tend, by and large, to be structured as neo-liberal interventions based on notions of modernization and progress which ultimately contradict activist initiatives.

In the case of NLD communities, I contend here that the grant-funding processes contributed to the racialization of NLD communities precisely by positioning them as recipients of assistance. The programmatic discourses reify and essentialize neediness, contributing to the dominant narrative that NLD communities are inherently deficient – culturally, linguistically, even racially. While the humanistic and compassionate impulse to help others can and does open social spaces for newcomers, even institutionalizing processes of inclusion in innovative ways, it can and does at the same time sequester newcomers into racializing narratives.

Part II: The Latino Gang Threat Narrative

The anxiety about youth expressed in response to the mayor's question above connects to ongoing discourse in the Valley about the perceived threat of Latino gangs. As elsewhere throughout the nation, this discourse is perpetuated by news media, and among social service circles through police department education and awareness programs. Locally, this narrative found traction through the 2000s due to specific, verifiable occasions of gang violence occurring in the larger area, instances that were then deployed and perhaps exaggerated in order to mobilize the "Latino threat narrative" (Chavez 2013) as generalizable to all NLD youth. In the spring of 2010, I attended a community summit on "Youth and Families in Crisis" which featured a session on "Gang Prevention." What I realized in analyzing the conversation at this event was that in Rocktown and Pine County, gang presence and activities cut across all ethnoracial

groups; it is not a specifically "Latino issue." Yet NLD youth – specifically, boys – seem all to walk under the pall of suspicion. As the racially marked "other," they are selectively profiled as simultaneously vulnerable and dangerous.

As discussed in the previous section, respondents to the mayor's question expressed elevated concern about NLD youth in particular; the second most often mentioned need for the Hispanic community in Rocktown was programming for youths. However, among the advocates and allies, there was strong disagreement in terms of assessing how acute the problem of Latino gang affiliation was in Rocktown. Although the activity of transnational gangs operating across US/Latin American borders is a reality, the question among advocates and allies was to what extent these gangs were actually active in the Valley. The positions that service providers took on the issue seemed to mirror their political leanings, with left-leaning activists and advocates questioning or minimizing gang threat, and more right-leaning service providers emphasizing it. Pablo Lopez, a politically conservative Central American man who had graduated from SAU as a non-traditional student and now worked as a bilingual social service provider, expressed this heartfelt concern thus:

> You cannot ignore the gang activities of Spanish-speaking youth in our communities. We need to get those kids out of the streets and we need to find alternative activities/services for youth to keep them busy and not have the need to join gangs. This also leads to high number of high school drop outs and other social problems. I was very disappointed when I attended the Spanish council when they ignored me when I brought out the gang issue. Even as I said that "you cannot ignore the gang activity in our communities" I feel sad when I see a group of 5 or more kids walking in the street and thinking how many of those five (or whatever number they might be) are going to finish high school?… I work with kids who are involved in gangs, have anger and social problems, abused and many other things. I see it everyday at work, in the families I work with. (September 12, 2009)

As Pablo notes, he felt "ignored" when he brought his concerns about Latino gangs to the HSC (which he renders as "Spanish council"), despite his direct contact with youth and presumably some authority on the issue. However, I often observed HSC members (myself included) distancing themselves from Pablo due to his political views: his 4x4 truck boasted a large George W. Bush sticker and US flag, and he was known to refer to himself in online forums as "Right-Wing Immigrant." Although the political affiliations of all HSC members are not public, my sense of the group has always been that they collectively lean left of center.

In contrast to Pablo's assessment, Carlos R. (a public supporter of the Democratic party) had long argued in HSC meetings that the local police department perception of gang activity and affiliation in the area was highly exaggerated. In 2005, a combined task force was formed between county and city to address what was perceived as an increasing gang problem in the Valley. While the task force representative circulated images of graffiti, close-ups of tattoos, and wounded Latino and black bodies associated with well-known transnational gangs like MS-13 and the Latin Kings in his power point presentation on "gang awareness and prevention" to social service agencies and schools, Carlos and others argued that children and youth were being over-identified and marked as gang members or affiliated on very shaky evidence. As Liam said:

> The other huge thing here is the way Latinos are presented by RPD [Rocktown Police Department] through the lens of gang activity. I think most of us on this list recognize this as ridiculous and destructive. But RPD should not be maintaining a list of suspected gang members - especially when getting on that list is as easy as drawing a picture on your school notebook. Alternatives exist for responding to the issue other than from a law and order perspective.

Concerns about discrimination and racial profiling, similar to the situation with 287(g), strongly informed advocates' position on "gang awareness and prevention." At the same

time, half the respondents to the mayor's question mentioned the need for groups, programs, and activities for NLD youth as a top priority for the community. As discussed above, rendering NLD youth as needy and vulnerable serves as an ethnicizing discourse, which while "benevolent" also serves as a marker of exclusion (Urciuoli 1996, Santiago-Irizarry 1996). Advocates and allies expressed great concern about adolescents and youth, seeing them as precariously positioned between potential success and failure. At the same time, these educators and service providers cast great doubt on the popular framing of the "Latino Gang Threat" narrative as deployed by law enforcement personnel and the press.

In media discourses, Latino gangs are infiltrating the Valley, making Rocktown less safe. A gang-related homicide in a neighboring county that occurred in 2003 received a great deal of media attention, and was persistently deployed by law enforcement personnel to intensify the sense of threat and danger, even though all the people involved were from northern Virginia, which is locally perceived as geographically, culturally, and economically distant from the Valley (Edwards and Carcalen 2009). The murdered woman had traveled south to escape from MS-13 (an extensive Salvadoran gang) members and was hiding in the Witness Protection Program. Because the victim was a young woman, and discovered to have been pregnant at the time of her death, she experienced a kind of posthumous whitewashing. A line in the news story about her death reads, "'If she had been born into a white, suburban family, she would have been president of her chess club at Wellesley,' said Hunter, who tried desperately to persuade Paz to stay in witness protection. 'She was an amazingly intelligent and charming young woman who read Dostoevski and Cervantes'"(Markon & Glod 2003). Another homicide

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that occurred in the fall of 2010 was not clearly gang-related, but was attributed to gang pressures: "'He shot her, and it was a domestic situation; however, he did so because he didn't want to lose face within his own gang, the Latin Kings,' said Garst (the Commonwealth's Attorney)" (Corso 2013). While the first event was only tangentially connected to the Rocktown-Pine area, the narrative was used to inspire fear of gang encroachments on the area. Conversely, the second event took place in Rocktown, and was then re-interpreted as evidence of a specific gang threat. In either case, the fear is specifically linked to racialized identities.

Because of this persistent racialization, I was surprised to note the absence of race from public discourse about gang threats during a Youth and Families in Crisis Summit in Rocktown during the spring of 2010. Because the narrative of Latino Gang Threat is so strong, I expected that *all* gang threat narratives would place Latino youth front and center as protagonists of the problem. However, this was not the case in the session convened by Marsha Garst, Commonwealth's Attorney (a role similar to that of a District Attorney), which I attended. As I came to realize, the local gang threat – exaggerated as it might be in the public imaginary – is not specifically a "Latino issue" for those most directly facing it. In other words, although all young Latino males are constructed as suspected gang members, not all suspected gang members are constructed as young Latino males.

It may be illuminating at this point to include some background on Garst and her particular positionality. First elected to the position in 1999, as Commonwealth's Attorney Garst has been responsible for prosecuting every felony and most misdemeanors in the city of Rocktown and Pine County for the past fifteen years. In

2000, early in Garst's first term, NLD advocates were optimistic about her potential as an ally since she was choosing to prosecute cases involving undocumented immigrants in ways that minimized the possibility of deportation. Wendy, a Latina social service provider who is currently working as a court interpreter, perceives Garst's approach today as non-discriminatory in the sense that she does not go out of her way to single out undocumented immigrants for excessive punishment, nor take extra measures towards deportation proceedings (personal communication, December 13, 2014). I first met Garst in the spring of 2005, while I was working for Big Brothers Big Sisters, when I sat next to her at a gang prevention workshop sponsored by the Boys' and Girls' Club as part of a grant-funded initiative. At one point during this meeting, she leaned over to me and said "most of the gangs here are white motorcycle gangs dealing meth," thus minimizing (at least towards me, the Latina professional sitting next to her) the presence and activity in the Valley of Latino gangs. Nevertheless Garst has given close attention to the presence of gangs in her jurisdiction (Koepper 2011).

The session Garst convened in March 2010 on the subject of gangs in Rocktown-Pine opened with a round of introductions. Apart from myself, only one other person in the circle was connected to the HSC/allies network (a white female Migrant Education staff person). The greater part of the discussion was given to describing different programmatic approaches to creating community awareness about gang presence and activity in the area, and "rescuing" children and youth who are most "at risk" for being recruited into gangs.

A strong trope throughout the discourse on youth recruitment was the notion of individual choice, and the role of adult role models in supporting "good/right choices."

When an educator mentioned the importance of starting gang prevention work in middle schools, Garst noted that "it's where people are choosing – what to be involved in, who to be friends with, what their direction will be in life." A woman from a charter school for at-risk kids said "we didn't save them all, but we were the adults that made a difference." A woman who had retired from the court service stated that "according to the research, the one thing that changes a child's behavior is one interested adult." The director of the area's Big Brothers Big Sisters program shared several anecdotes illustrating the effectiveness of mentoring in helping kids make good/right choices. Donald, a Scout master, put in a plug for his own program, stating that "kids learn to look up to adults in Scouts." The director of Social Services for Pine-Rocktown described DSS as a place where "we work with families to fall in the right direction rather than the other direction." A woman who came from the neighboring county to talk about their work there with gang prevention and education said that she likes to draw a spider web symbolizing the network of relationships that need to be in place in order to keep children safe from gang recruitment: "if we connect all our things together we will hold our kids up." Together, this group of social service workers and educators illustrated and reaffirmed the value of their own interventions with young people – the safety net/spiderweb stretched out to rescue those children and youth at risk of falling under the influence of gangs. They are adults who care, and who can make a difference for at least one child specifically by helping him or her make the right choices.

These comments are not unique to the particular ethnographic moment I document here; I heard similar language from others involved in helping roles. In an interview, Reba, who works for the city in law enforcement, used similar language to

frame her work: "If I can teach one person to wear a seat belt, or don't beat your wife, or you can spank your kid but don't bruise, if I can save one person then I consider it a victory" (interview, August 24, 2010). Likewise, Latino leader Oscar A. used rescue language to talk about his work: "justamente el que *no* quiere ir a la universidad, el que tiene problemas en su casa, con su familia, y que la educación para ellos lo ha echado en nada, eso son los jóvenes que se tiene que rescatar [Precisely the one that doesn't want to go to university, the one that has problems at home, with the family, and he's thrown education out the window, those are the youths we need to rescue]" (September 20, 2010). Across the board, the trope of rescuing individuals in need persisted over interest in systemic structural change; and again, this focus on the individual is a feature of the modernization narrative.

Castagno (2014) identifies this framing of the conversation in individual terms as a feature of "liberalism," and a primary way in which "niceness" elides and silences talk about race. The rescue trope identified above is a particularly potent form of niceness – aligning with the hero-worship so prevalent in the popular imaginary. Heroes use their power responsibly, and are therefore exempt from having to share or interrogate it. As Castagno notes, "majoritarian perspectives and knowledge are normalized, particular kinds of niceness are valued (so dialogue and action related to power and race are avoided), social harmony and unity are valued (so anything that might disrupt these goals is avoided), and meritocracy and equality are valued (so oppression is ignored and reproduction ensues)" (80).

A dissonant moment occurred at one point when Devin, a young white man who identified himself as being from the county, told the group that he was present that day

because he had friends who had become caught up in the Bloods and Folk Nation. In his view, the reason this happened was due to the "crippling economic exploitation and systematic subjugation" they had experienced. Nellie, the Big Brothers Big Sisters director, then asked Devin if he would speak from the perspective of a peer to young people getting involved in gangs, as to what would be the best way to approach them? He responded that "it's more of a structural issue," and that the economic motivation for joining a gang is strong simply in order to meet basic needs. Garst responded, "So, poverty," and turned away.

As Castagno argues, turning the conversation to poverty silences the subject of race. This is what she categorizes as "colorblind difference" – recognizing intersectional forms of difference while denying racial differentiations. Instead, the intervention work done by the agencies represented in the circle is based, again, in discourses of need. The "children at risk" of falling prey to gangs, either as victims of violent crime or as recruits are seen as vulnerable primarily by reason of their socio-economic status and perhaps deficiencies on the parts of their parents and families. While low socio-economic status was not, in this session, racialized in the sense of assuming or suggesting that *only* children of color live in poverty, children of color are often constructed as highly likely to be living below the poverty line, and thus more vulnerable to gang recruitment. The three primary child-serving agencies present – Big Brothers Big Sisters, Boys and Girls Club, and Boy Scouts – all had special grant-funded programs running at the time for targeted recruitment of Latino children for participating in their salvific interventions.

What still remains unspoken is the potential for racial profiling in these processes of identification of actual or potential gang members. A large part of the security

worker's self-defined burden was to teach business owners and workers "on the front lines" of contact with "the community" in "our target areas" the visible signs of gang affiliation so that they could police those behaviors themselves: "they see people come in their stores with bandannas on – are they going to allow that?" She also recommended specifically training hairdressers and Wal-Mart workers to identify these signs of gang affiliation, so that either they might discipline the behavior in their places of business, or even identify individuals exhibiting behavior or dress suggestive of gang affiliation to the police. "Our target areas" in Rocktown are, operationally, the neighborhoods designated as "Weed and Seed" areas – the historically black northeast neighborhood in the city, and a nearly 100% Latino-occupied mobile home park north of Rocktown in Pine county. Heightened police presence in these areas did not cease when Weed and Seed funding ran out. Furthermore, in the visual representations of gang members used throughout these "prevention" trainings, every body marked through tattoos and/or gang colors (those transgressive bandannas) is of color.

The factor of race was either unacknowledged or dismissed throughout the Summit conversation on gangs. While HSC members clearly experienced local discourse around gangs as highly racialized (in fact Carlos claimed that he would never dare to purchase an expensive late-model car; as a dark-skinned young man of Mexican descent he felt that this would automatically mark him as a gang member), Garst proclaimed race as a non-issue in local schools: "I don't see any racial bias in the schools, among the kids, peer-to-peer. The gangs are recruiting everybody, and it's not based on racial discrimination. Diversity is not an issue for our kids." When I asked Blanca York, who works in the city high school, whether she thought this were true, she hedged a bit:

maybe not the boys so much… but the girls, yes, still, the girls keep seeing that difference of, oh, she's from there, and they call each other names, they give each other nicknames, the Boricua, the this, the that,… they pay a lot of attention, how do you dress, how do you look, how do you talk, how do you move, they're so detail-oriented with those things, so… they're going to be very sensitive to where this girl is from, like that. They study her, and they watch her. They observe her.

Even as the Confederate Flag debacle at BHS the previous Fall made clear, "diversity" (as a gloss for race) is very much an issue for young people in the area.

The woman from the gang task force in the next county over qualified her presentation with this closing remark: "We try to add the humanistic factor, we try to encourage people to reach out and not to treat gang members or suspected gang members like they have the plague." And yet, by marking children of color, or from lower socio-economic brackets, or both simultaneously, as "at-risk," concerned educators and social service workers ensure differential and discriminatory treatment. If a group of five NLD youth walking down the street together can automatically be assumed to be gang-affiliated, then entire communities have been criminalized in popular perception. In this context, any young Latina or Latino successfully graduating from college and finding white-collar employment becomes a positive role model and potential mentor as one who "beat the odds" against all expectations.[12] He or she is exceptional; and, as we shall see in the following chapters, this exceptionality becomes a double-edged sword, especially for DREAMers. Even though the "at-risk" marker does not preclude success, it defines it, effectively sequestering it within a narrative dominated by the expectation of failure.

Part III: The Latina Suicide Crisis Narrative

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[12] Thanks to Catherine Koehler for helping me articulate this point more clearly.

"There are not enough resources for the mental health needs of our community. The very few practitioners that we have are full and are meeting funding shortfalls. We need more collaborative work to find and write grants to pay for individual counseling and therapeutic groups, especially for our Latinas and also for parents." (Carlos R., September 14, 2009)

For months, Carlos had been campaigning to get somebody – anybody – to work on a grant to address what he referred to as "our Latina suicide crisis." During the summer months, he and his wife Clara – a mental health specialist and one of the only Spanish-English bilingual therapists in the area – had convened, along with mayor Hans Ranger, a "summit" on this very topic. Unlike the other Rocktown Summits, which were broadly advertised and broadly attended, this one was organized primarily by Carlos and Clara, and by invitation; twelve Latinas and allies working with NLD women attended, along with several (all white, and all male) city council members. The meeting took place at the city high school and consisted primarily of a power point presentation by Clara, with a long discussion following about what to do given the information she presented.

Then in September, at a much larger Health and Wellness Summit, Carlos again organized a round-table session on the same topic, this time with a much broader audience. But despite his efforts to organize action, nobody present at either of these events took up the banner and cause. Despite the fact that the psycho-social dynamics signaled in these conversations were also matters of concern to many NLD mothers and daughters, and despite the urgency communicated by Carlos in each meeting, and despite the feasibility of his proposal to create a grant-funded curriculum to address the issue, nothing was ever done.

At the heart of Clara's presentation at the summer session and Carlos' "crisis" framing was the notion of dissonant acculturation: that NLD daughters acculturate more

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quickly than their mothers, creating tensions within the relationship that stunt the ability

of mothers to provide sufficient understanding, support, and even affection for their

daughters. The resulting anomie causes daughters to attempt suicide at much higher rates

than any other adolescent demographic. According to the research by psychologist Luis

Zayas, on which Clara based her presentation, daughters of "Hispanic-oriented mothers"

(that is, those who in some measure identify as or exhibit closer cultural affinity with

Latino culture, however that might be conceptualized, than with mainstream white US

culture) attempt suicide at higher rates than daughters of bicultural mothers, and girls

who attempt suicide are more acculturated than girls who do not. (A much more complete

analysis of gender and immigration than the scope of this study permits might begin with

Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, Pessar 1986, and of course Anzaldua 1987.)

Before I continue, it may be relevant to revisit the anthropological

conceptualization of "culture," in order to clearly distinguish this understanding from the

ways in which this group of professionals was using the term. Following Bourdieu

(1977), Santiago-Irizarry offers this anthropological orientation:

> We now talk of culture as that which constitutes and comprises bodies of
> knowledge, practices, symbols, understandings, representations, and discourses
> that are not necessarily coherent or cohesive, as something constructed,
> negotiated, and deployed, and as the socially constituted system of cognitive and
> motivating structures that inform and mediate social interactions" (Santiago-
> Irizarry 1996:5).

In contrast, my interlocutors tended to reify culture as a "thing" – static, bounded, and

clearly identifiable as either "this" or "that" (either Latino, or American, e.g.). To some

degree, the discourses of professionals in this network also tended to essentialize culture

as something belonging intrinsically to a person based in their ethnoracial heritage. In

other words, rather than a dynamic and socially constituted, culture is spoken of as a

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thing that one has, or a thing that one is. Thus "acculturation" would refer to the process by which a person shifts from being Latino (e.g.) to being American (e.g.). Of course this model overlooks the vast variation that would exist within each constructed category, as well as presenting the categories as static, bounded, and clearly identifiable.

I want to emphasize that in this analysis I am forefronting discursive practice; I believe that many, if not most, of the advocates and allies in Rocktown held a view of culture more consonant with anthropological understandings, as negotiated and constructed practice. It may be that the reification of culture in discourse serves as a sort of shorthand, or a way of giving shape to something rather amorphous and mutable. Nevertheless, the effect of this discursive reifiation can be racialization in practice.

An additional complicating factor for Latina adolescents locally was identified as the high numbers – around 80% of NLD youth at Rocktown High School, according to Clara – of young people who had experienced separation from their parents, followed by reunification some time later in the United States. The disruption to parent-child attachment resulting from this experience is understood to contribute to great difficulties for young people in their adaptation processes. Given the statistics featured in Zayas' research, Carlos stated: "I believe we are at crisis stage with our girls," and Clara added, "Latina girls have the loudest [psychological] symptom."

Carlos spoke alone albeit compellingly at the Health and Wellness Summit in September of the imminent Latina suicide crisis, garnering interest from about twenty attendees for his round-table. This time, participants self-selected out of interest in the topic and included a heterogenous mix of institutional representation: City Public Schools, Department of Social Services, the Health Department, the regional hospital, the

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regional library, both BSU and SAU, and the March of Dimes, to name a few. Only four of the twenty people present were Latino or Latina, counting Carlos and myself. The discussion covered much of the same ground as the summer session where Clara had presented Zayas' research, although this time Carlos summarized the main findings from that project and did it without a power point. He also elaborated at length on issues of culture and acculturation, explaining that "the greatest clash between Latin and US culture is marianismo: the long-suffering mother who does all for others before, or even at the expense of, herself; and protect your daughters at all costs—not too much info about Big Wide World, and definitely a minimum about sex." He mentioned the traumas involved in family separation and reunification. The goal or ideal he expressed for all NLD youth was the creation of a new, third culture – taking "the best from both worlds" as a way of coping with pressures from their home culture and the receiving context.

The notion of marianismo (perhaps translatable as Marianism) derives from a concept of Mary the mother of Jesus as the ideal model for womanhood. Characterizing Latino culture in this way may seem "natural," given that Latin America as a region is predominantly Catholic (although not as hegemonically as is commonly understood). In any case, what I want to draw attention to here is Carlos' characterization of the "clash of cultures" between Latin, Catholic marianismo and the North American, presumably Protestant, presumably liberated notion of gender. All these things must – and will – be called into question; what stands out in the "clash of cultures" language is the reification of culture as static and bounded, as critics of Huntington's "clash of civilizations" argument have noted (Chavez 2013).

The wider range of institutional representation at this Summit broadened the discussion of interventions and prevention to include programming not specifically created for or targeting the NLD communities, but that included NLD youth among participants from the general population – such as Head Start, for example. Furthermore, the ethnoracial composition of the circle itself prompted a thoughtful question from one white participant: "A number of people in attendance here are, or at least appear to be, white, and we're talking about cultural awareness of, providing services and support for the Latino community. How do we address this dynamic?" Carlos replied, "white privilege is only a problem if the white people in the room aren't willing to talk about it. But once this elephant in the room has been acknowledged, we can then acknowledge both our similarities and our differences… we need to coalesce around a common goal." The session ended with a call to look for ways to collaborate together, especially for grant-writing.

While Carlos appeared to acknowledge racial differentiation here, he seems to fall into the trap of what Castagno calls "powerblind sameness." Although he names "white privilege" as a problem, especially when shrouded in silence, the solution he proposes is "acknowledge both our similarities and differences" in order to "coalesce around a common goal." In other words, he seems to suggest that as long as everyone in the room agrees to work together to save suicidal Latina girls from their anomie by writing a grant, then ethnoracial differences are irrelevant.

If event organizers and participants alike agreed with Zayas' research that dissonant acculturation coupled especially with family separation and reunification were at the root of the "Latina suicide crisis," then it bears looking at the proposed

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interventions or responses to this crisis in those terms – and why none of them were ever actualized. In order to talk about dissonant acculturation, this heterogeneous conglomeration of social service workers and educators had to theorize culture and cultural change in some way so as to deploy narratives of culture and acculturation. In this particular narrative thread, culture is at times pathologized (cf. Santiago-Irizarry 1996 and 2001), at times reduced to a fixed set of "values," and at times placed on a linear continuum of "progress." Predominantly, the proposed solutions to the crisis involved notions of intervention and prevention, consonant with the positionalities of the people present in the conversation. Latina, Latino, and white social service workers and educators proposed social service and educational programs and activities in response to the pain that all to some degree witnessed in the young NLD women they knew in Rocktown. Even though not one person in these conversations ever mentioned or identified a specific instance – or even local statistics – of young Latina suicide attempt, they manifested concern, and manifested it in line with the structures and systems that housed and fed them. This was not a grassroots response. This was an institutionalized response. As such, it bears considering how processes of inclusion were being institutionalized specifically for NLD girls, and the institutionalized structures themselves sequestered or limited those processes.

All the social service providers I spoke with and observed grappled to express their understandings of culture, cultural difference, and cultural change in different ways. During these conversations about Latina suicide, with the concept of "dissonant acculturation" placed at the center of the analysis, understandings of culture are placed front and center. During the initial mini-summit, Clara shared Zayas' definition of

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acculturation (based on a webinar he had given which she attended): "the process of cultural transition where an immigrant must address issues of their relationship with the new dominant society, while retaining aspects of their specific ethnic or cultural heritage and managing the stress and mental health concerns that comes from this" (field notes, June 25, 2009). As noted above, this definition reifies culture as a "thing" that one has. Without belaboring an academic debate, however, what seems most pertinent about its use here in this context is the emphasis on the dominance/power of the receiving social context, and the emphasis on mental stress. From the outset, then, the conversation about young Latinas positions them in terms of their vulnerability – and makes a reified understanding of culture an essential component of this vulnerability – similar again to Santiago-Irizarry's argument (1996).

This vulnerability was further explored through the discussion of "Latino cultural values," based on Zayas' presentation and filtered through Clara's and Carlos' concerns. At the mini-summit, participants considered this list of Latino cultural values: collectivism, simpatía, familism, marianismo/machismo, and respeto, with Clara and Carlos adding educación. It is important to note that in the presentation, a number of these terms were rendered in Spanish, suggesting that they are untranslatable into English – or that the nuances will be lost. Clara and Carlos found Zayas' description of *marianismo* particularly compelling as a counterpoint to *machismo* – understanding the role of women primarily in terms of motherhood, which is further characterized as "long-suffering … obedient, submissive, docile, quiet, self-sacrificing and stoic." Daughters, in preparation for this role, must be protected at all costs. In this rubric, machismo is understood as "rigid patriarchal structures of the belief that the male is responsible for the

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welfare and honor of the family and should be the provider." Carlos further emphasized the vulnerability of young Latinas by describing them as "most interested in two things: freedom, and stuff" – things that relationships with older men could provide them access to, but which were restricted within the confines of family.[13] In addition, Carlos urged non-Latino attendees at the Health and Wellness Summit to meet NLD communities "on their terms," keeping in mind "what they value" – soccer, church, family, parks, events – rather than planning events based on the interests and preferences of the receiving community and expecting newcomers to show up. "Latino families miss being outside, they miss gathering together outdoors," he told this group; dependency on cars and limited availability of public transportation make accessing the outdoors difficult for NLD families.

Although this whole conversation was incredibly well-intentioned, the discourse around culture continues to be problematic. The whole cluster of descriptions, from familism (orientation towards family) to love of soccer is presented in a way that renders culture, again, as a "thing." It is hard to see how these descriptions are not simply stereotypes. As such, the talk about culture in these spaces served as ethnicizing discourse – a sympathetic attempt to understand cultural difference that ultimately deployed limited understanding of culture, and served more than anything else to draw

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[13] Another entire dissertation could be written on the gendered aspects of this discourse; compare this statement with Raul Sandoval's description of his peers dropping out of high school in order to work: "At 14, 15, they were working at the orchard, or the local poultry plants. And so they always had money for the weekends, and they had cars, and all these things, so… at that time, I thought maybe it was best for me, and for them, so, I tried to quit, but my parents wouldn't let me." (Interview, August 17, 2010.) If both boys and girls were interested in the same things – "freedom, and stuff" – then why was this interest characterized as problematic only for girls?

the lines of difference all the more sharply between those constructed as "Latino," and those constructed as "American."

These characterizations also play into the modernization narrative, where familism relates to a notion of pre-modern tribalism, as does collectivism; and respeto [respect] relates to a notion of high-context honor/shame-oriented culture, as opposed to the presumed rationality of modern Western cultures (Huntington 1993). I was surprised during these discussions to hear one Latina social service worker say that "here in the United States we've made a lot of progress with regard to gender roles, in contrast to the antiquated values in the places these girls have come from," suggesting that part of the tension within families that contributes to young Latinas' suicide attempts arises from the tension these young girls feel between the restrictions of marianismo/machismo vs. purported North American feminist liberation. But to hear a blanket characterization of NLD cultures of origin as "antiquated" or traditional still surprised me, as it played uncritically into narratives of modernization and Western "progress." Although this group of compassionate professionals was seeking to effect social change in a way that would support and make life easier for Latina adolescent girls, reproducing the stereotypes about Latinos came somehow to dominate the conversation. Perhaps this is more than anything a testimony to the hegemonic power of these frameworks.

Because the diagnosis explaining the "symptom" of young Latina suicide attempts offered through Zayas' research focused on the concept of dissonant acculturation, discussion in these circles focused on a lay notion of biculturalism or hybridity. Clara claimed that "no one is teaching us how to be bicultural" instead of simply feeling "fragmented" – a metaphor that might suggest psychological brokenness, stress, and

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perhaps implies an opposite state of psychological wholeness, or a kind of cultural fusion.

Carlos, during the Health and Wellness Summit, quoted a line from the film *Selena*: "I'm

not Mexican enough for the Mexicans and not American enough for the Americans."

Then he added, "How do you help kids celebrate this third culture, where you take the

best from both?" Although she was not present at these meetings, Blanca York spoke at

length in an interview about this topic; she works closely with both Carlos and Clara and

had evidently been talking with them as well about "hybrid" identities (Blanca at one

point mentioned a book she was reading on hybrid identities, although she could not

recall the exact title or author when we spoke): "What I see with the second and 1.5

generations is that they want to shed their heritage, their ethnicity, like an orange peel, or

a shell – un caparasón – that they can just throw off." She then went on:

> Entonces cuando una chica no tiene ni lo suficiente de una cultura ni de la otra todavía está ahí… Se siente para qué lado voy. Y eso es lo que yo a las chicas les digo… porque no es cuestión de correr para un lado o para el otro, o voy al norte o para el sur, y eso es lo que yo les quiero hacer entender. Son la nueva generación, que tienen que rescatar lo mejor de un lado y del otro. No porque te viniste a vivir a este país te vas a olvidar de tu país, de respetar a tus mayores, de sentarte a la mesa en comer en familia, y no sé. Todas las cosas pequeñas pero que son culturales y que te alimentan a ti y alimentan a tu familia, que trajeron de tu país. No? Eh, sin negar esa identidad que trajeron, que sacaste cuando te sacaste de la cáscara…. Entonces rescatar de las dos culturas lo mejor. Y eso es el trabajo de los chicos ahora…. los híbridos que estamos diciendo. Rescatar de los dos lados lo mejor y ponerlo junto, para que ellos sean biculturales, y puedan entenderse y convivir tanto con la cultura de sus papás como el de acá.
> [So when a girl doesn't have enough of one culture nor of the other she's there between the two… she feels like, which side do I go to? And that's what I tell the girls… it's not a question of going to one side or to the other, do I go North or do I go South, this what I want them to understand. They are the new generation, who have to rescue the best from one side and the other. Just because you came to live in this country doesn't mean that you can forget your country, to respect your elders, to sit at the table to eat with your family, and I don't know what else. All the small things that are cultural and that nourish you and nourish your family, who brought you from your country. Right? Without negating that identity that you brought, that you threw off when you came out of your shell….So rescue the best from each culture. And that is the task of kids today… the hybrid ones, as we

were saying. Rescue from both sides and put it together, so that they can be bicultural and understand one another and live together not only with their parents' culture but also the one here.] (Blanca York, interview, March 26 2010)

While Blanca evokes a more constructivist sense of culture when referencing "all the small things that are cultural and that nourish you," at the same time the metaphors she uses to talk about cultural change tend to build on a reified notion of culture. The image of a shell or peel that can be removed; the polarity between North and South, even the notion of hybridity can all mobilize a sense of culture as "thing." Nonetheless, the desire she expresses is, like Clara's, for a sense of wholeness.

Consonant with Blanca's soliloquy above was a narrative shared with me by Saul, about an experience placing an English-speaking white tutor with an NLD migrant family. As delineated in Chapter 2, programs in BSU's Institute for Innovation in Health and Human Services, including the Migrant Education Program, often place community service or community learning volunteers from among the student body in mentoring or tutoring roles with NLD families. The majority of these volunteers are white, reflecting the general demographic of the universities they come from. As a Migrant Education staff person, Saul (as I myself had been in the same role) was tasked with matching these volunteers with young people, and then supporting and supervising the relationship and the work they did together. While this practice continually reinforces the perception of neediness of NLD communities and youth, Saul's anecdote also reveals the tension generated for service providers who must broker their relationships:

I understand why a lot of parents would not want their children to be involved in Boy Scouts, or any organization if there are no Latinos involved in leadership, you know? Like, will they teach my children the same values that my family shares? Will they do the same activities that I want my kids to know about? I don't think parents are hesitant to let their children learn other things, but I remember this experience through Migrant Ed where we had a tutor that wanted

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to do some kinds of non-traditional tutoring things with the daughter in the home, and she wanted to teach the daughter to knit, she wanted to make cakes with the daughter, she wanted to teach the daughter some less book-and-pencil type things, and the parents actually came back and said 'we want this tutor out. We do not want her anymore, she's disrupting the family, the dinner's not getting made on time,' and the mom, she had a very telling statement, she said, 'you know those are things that *I'd* really like to teach my own daughter to do.' (Saul, personal communication, Feb 12, 2010)

These questions of cultural transmission and identity circulate and generate their own kind of anxiety among the helping professionals as well as within families.

So how were processes of inclusion being institutionalized for young NLD girls, particularly, bearing in mind the heightened concerns about acculturation anomie expressed in this narrative? The list in Table 3 shows some of the ways, although it does not capture the nuances of *how* these programs were implemented or carried out.

Table 3: Programs and Interventions for Latina women and girls:

- *Promotoras de salud* – a training program for lay health promoters that included a component on mental health
- *Nuevas Raices* – Spanish newspaper, advice column for women, "*Pregunta a las comadres*"
- Crossroads Counseling Center – bilingual staff, starting a parenting group
- Migrant Education Program – new parent group, parent-driven agenda, mostly focused on economics
- Chicas project – organized by Blanca York, an after-school support group for Latina high school students
- Young Life Latino – Christian college-age kids connecting with young people
- "Visions of You" – a teen pregnancy prevention group sponsored by the Office on Children and Youth
- Separation and reunification support group at the high school organized by Carlos
- Migrant Education – youth photography project, "*Mi mundo es su mundo*" – photo exhibit at International Festival
- Catholic Church – group for Spanish-speaking mothers and daughters
- March of Dimes – partnering with a new Latina sorority at BSU
- City Middle Schools – Family Life curriculum now in Spanish (themes addressed include sexuality, suicide, sexting, substance abuse)

Presumably, the many support groups and mentoring programs that existed to support Latina teens embodied a similar mission of supporting acculturation, supporting family reunification, and supporting self-actualization in bicultural/hybrid terms. Without direct ethnographic evidence on all of them, however, I can only comment on the discursive practices around these programs, which at this point in time characterized Latina teens primarily in terms of problem. This positioning in and of itself is evidence of the governmentality at play in disciplining young Latinas' subjectivities (Luttrell 2003). Olivia Tremaine cited teen pregnancy statistics that reflected the same correlations with dissonant acculturation as teen suicide statistics; according to numerous people at these meetings, Latina teen pregnancy rates in Rocktown were the highest in the state, and higher than the general population. As Clara said, again, "Latina girls have the loudest symptom."

Portraying young Latinas as vulnerable and needy, as psychologically broken, may come from a place of great compassion. At the same time, this portrayal reinforces the deficit frameworks that so plague the majoritarian understanding of NLD youth, and reinforces treating the "problem" as it has been defined in neoliberal terms on an individualized basis. If the analysis concludes that what young Latinas need is acculturation consonant with that of their mothers, then culture becomes both reified and pathologized. Young Latinas are then incorporated into the social framework as victims, which reinforces the trope of abused Latina woman, and fails to explicitly address structural issues such as comprehensive immigration reform (which would go a long ways towards resolving the separation-reunification issue). Returning to the question of

sequestered inclusion, it could be said that the compassion extended to young Latinas included them, but only within a narrative of victimhood and psychological brokenness.

Conclusion

What are the terms of inclusion for NLD communities and youth? What are the requirements, the necessary conditions? What are the limitations and constraints? The concept of sequestered inclusion seeks to define in clear terms what incorporation looks like for the Latino Diaspora in a new receiving context, in this case a small city in the Commonwealth of Virginia. In this chapter my aim has been to dissect salient discourses that emerged around the subject of NLD incorporation during my field research window. What emerge are somewhat predictable and racializing discourses of deficit and need, but also structural critiques and humane efforts to create conditions or processes for mutual understanding and adaptation.

In the youth-specific discourses – the Latino gang threat and Latina suicide crisis – we see a clearly gendered process of racialization at work; in both cases, the trope of "rescue" comes to the fore, again characterizing a racialized group in terms of need. However, the discourses differ markedly in that the gang threat narrative intersects more strongly with class, whereas the suicide threat narrative turns on essentialized lay notions of culture. The problem with these lay notions of culture is that they are easily reified, and built on stereotypical understandings of cultural practice. These understandings then constrain NLD young people in terms of expectation – like the social service worker who

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asked me whether the group-orientation (over individualism) of the NLD young people

we were working with was "learned, or innate?"

What is most striking across all three of these conversations is the absence of community

organizing or grassroots-based responses. While they do appear briefly (e.g Wendy's

suggestion for "barrio-centered" programs carried out by Latinos for Latinos; or Liam's

call for grassroots organizing to promote a city ID), the primary push is for programs

providing various forms of assistance (language, civic, or even spiritual education), or

structural changes at the level of city or federal governance and legislation. Clearly, this

has everything to do with the positionalities of the participants in these conversations:

nearly all professionals in education and/or social services. Thus we see narratives of

deficit and need – benevolent racism – being perpetuated again and again.

This framing for NLD incorporation means that NLD communities and

individuals must perform the "good ethnic" characterization in order to be accepted;

"hybridity" or biculturalism is acceptable, even desirable, as long as newcomers

understand that "you need to stay within what America says… you still have to follow

the rules" (Reba Davis, interview, August 24, 2010). The dictates of the majority and the

social rules set by that majority are not negotiable or up for discussion; they are received

like the Ten Commandments. Sequestered inclusion means navigating a treacherous

territory of racialization in order to be accepted.

CHAPTER 5: NLD Youth Frame Themselves: Contesting Discourses of Resource and Need

"There were the people who wanted to excuse everything … they can do the pobrecito [poor little thing] syndrome, where they're just, "ay, pobrecito, no puedes hacer nada por si mismo [oh, poor little thing, you can't do anything for yourself]," like, "let me help you, let me do this for you, you need extra time, you need extra accommodations, you need this you need that," and probably what they need is somebody to say look, you're responsible for this, and I will help you." (Saul Mercado, February 12, 2010)

"I think sometimes people will see your potential, or anybody's potential, y siendo una minoría [as a minority] it just, [pause] como que necesitas eso, que necesitas ese [like you need that, you need that] little push. Y a little bit of that motivation. Creo que si le das a alguien un rol de liderazgo [I think that if you give someone a leadership role] they're gonna take it seriously. You know what I mean?… Si alguien te ve de esa manera, aunque tú no te ves de esa manera, [if someone sees you in that way, even though you don't see yourself in that way,] you're gonna, lo vas a cumplir [you will fulfill it]." (Tony, January 28, 2010)

Introduction

The needs-based deficit discourse that positions NLD youth as disadvantaged and

vulnerable may be seeking to evoke compassion or pity in order to motivate steps

towards their inclusion. At best, this takes the form of "benevolent racism." At the same

time, resource-based discourse argues that NLD youth should be actively included and

incorporated in the receiving community because of the net benefits that they bring to

that community – an argument that reduces them to economic units existing to serve the

dominant majority. Both of these discursive strategies fail to address underlying

inequities structured through institutionalized racism, and neither strategy predominated

among NLD youth in my field context in talking about their own incorporation. The only

exception was within DREAM Act discourses directed specifically at an audience of the

dominant majority, wherein an argument based on NLD youth as resource to the

community was often deployed. Overwhelmingly, however, when NLD youths talked about what they needed, they focused on structural issues: racism, and the legal barriers that prevented them from exercising full social citizenship in the receiving context (whether in terms of residency, education, work, or other dimensions). They recognized the value of coaching and support for navigating their new land, especially in early years, but they did not internalize these needs into a component of their identities. Nor did they spend too much time celebrating the various forms of capital that they brought into the receiving context, except – again – within DREAM Activism settings. The frames of resource and need, then, were frameworks and discourses that advocates deployed *for* them, and in speaking *to* the dominant majority.

In addition, while advocates were eager to position successful NLD youth (according to the standards of the dominant majority) as role models and mentors for others, I found that the role model discourse played into the pattern of sequestered inclusion that dominated in my field site. The function of the role model can be a hegemonic one, playing to the interests of the status quo and the modernization narrative. Again, instead of working against oppressive structures of power, the role model capitulates to them by encouraging youth to "make good choices" and perform according to normative expectations.

Discourses of Need

Because Cassandra's degree is in social work, I asked her, "did you ever feel growing up that you were subject to those kinds of interventions? Or was that not something that was really relevant to your life?" After a long pause, she responded:

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I guess not personally, but like some social programs that they talked about maybe I helped a relative on, or something. And then I think about different social programs and stuff I wish they had back then, like for example ConnectingPeople?... I see the work they do now, and if they had that back then, then maybe my parents could have gone there and maybe I would have been legal by now… things like that. (Interview, October 8, 2009)

The discourse of need was not completely absent from the discourses of these young NLD adults, but what they said they needed did not match what many service providers were promoting – "family values," after-school programs to keep youth out of nightclubs and gangs, education for their parents, or mentors who could teach them to be bicultural. What NLD young adults emphasized was social justice – a path to legal residence, an end to discrimination, and simply put equal access to the same opportunities for work and education that non-NLD young people had. If they wanted and appreciated mentors, it was for their help in navigating college applications.

In-Group Deficit Discourses

When discourses of deficit did emerge, these came often from NLD young adults who had "made it" and were now speaking from a position of greater power and privilege, in a position to help newcomers. For instance, Julia, a college student active in SAU's Latino Student Alliance and volunteer mentor in the Chicas Project commented that the LSA "es una buena manera de interactuar con la gente en EMU, especialmente crear conciencia de las necesidades Latinas que hay acá" [it's a good way to interact with the people at SAU, especially creating consciousness about Latino needs here]" (interview, August 3, 2010). SAU's community service-learning program had led Julia to teach English to migrant workers at local apple camps; she also mentioned several times during the interview her concern about high teen pregnancy rates among Latinas.

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Similarly, Raul Sandoval, a Mexican-born man who had come to the Valley as a young teenager and eventually graduated from BSU with a master's degree in administration (and who is profiled in the vignette that opens this dissertation) operated as a quintessential "ethnic entrepreneur," to use Aparicio's term (2006:10). As discussed in the introduction to Chapter 3, Aparicio distinguishes ethnic entrepreneurs as those who seek grant funding and other similar resources to strengthen their own ethnicized or racialized community – possibly in the form of services or material aid – as opposed to community mobilizers who organize at the grassroots level and believe that "empowerment can be accomplished only if local residents take it upon themselves to demand resources and simultaneously challenge state policies" (2006:10). Thus the former works within the system to redirect resources from outside the community in a more equitable distribution (presumably), whereas the latter looks within the oppressed community for the social energy to demand structural changes. When Raul created a before- and after-school program for children at a majority-minority elementary school, with both state and federal funds channeled through BSU, he acted as an ethnic entrepreneur. However, to do so meant deploying narratives of need:

> we'll look at maybe their reading levels, and some of the social aspects. Because we can't really serve *all* of the kids, and we need to serve the kids who are at most need, either academically or socially… And they get a snack, and they get great supervision, and help with their homework, their reading, and they have a safe place to be, I mean what more can you ask for?... So the program is all about serving the needy families, so we don't feel like raising the fees will necessarily help the cause, because we may be able to get a little more money, but that's not going to be sufficient to meet their needs. (Interview, August 17, 2010)

Raul was not looking to start a revolution, but simply to make life a little easier for families experiencing difficulties similar to those he had experience first-hand almost twenty years earlier. And while NLD identity was not a requirement to benefit from this

program, Raul's description of working with the parents of the children in the program

alludes not only to immigration issues, but documentation issues, in a way that almost

takes for granted that these are dominant concerns for the people he works with:

> Not only for school issues, but they'll come to me and they'll say, I got a ticket,
> and I used my other name, what do I do? You know what I mean? … they feel
> comfortable sharing the information with me, sometimes more than I need to
> know… I know what they're going through. And so it's easy for me to be there
> for them, because I know what's going on with them. (Interview, August 17,
> 2010.)

When these parents tell Raul "I used my other name," they are referring to the identity

papers they have procured in order to obtain work, not the name on their birth certificate.

Raul knows this community because he has lived in it for twenty years. Now, because of

his positionality as a professional and role model who has achieved citizenship and

middle-class belonging (to the point that he ran for public office), Raul's community

involvement forefronts the needs of his community, and he finds ways to work within the

system to address those needs.

Older, well-established NLD professionals whose nation of origin was in the

southern cone of South America also spoke in terms of deficit, most often about

Mexicans from rural (and possibly indigenous) backgrounds. Blanca, who through her

role in the city school system as liaison to ESL students' families was brought into

frequent contact with newcomers in very difficult circumstances, said:

> Creo que los que vienen sin recursos, mas humildes, se sienten totalmente
> desarmados. Son el típico caso, "y ahora qué hacemos?" Yo he visto otras
> personas que necesitaban, sí o sí, tener alguien que les de una mano grande, en
> todos los aspectos de tratar de acomodarse aquí en esta sociedad. Hay otras
> personas que realmente sufren, que tienen otras clases de necesidades muchas mas
> grandes. Cuando hay necesidad de afecto, necesidad de calor humano… hay ese
> vacío adentro que a veces se siente. [I think the ones that come without resources,
> humbler, they feel completely disarmed. They're the typical case of "and now
> what do we do?" I have seen other people that needed, no matter what, somebody

to give them a hand in a big way, in every aspect of trying to accommodate into this society. There are people who truly suffer, who have other kinds of much greater human needs. When there's a need for affection, for human warmth… there's a huge emptiness inside that can be felt.] (Interview, March 26, 2010).

Alluding to people who arrive in Rocktown with significant psycho-social needs and problems, she emphasizes their dependence on people who can support them with those needs as well as practical, material help. Several times during this interview Blanca repeated variations on the phrase, "el típico 'qué hago?' [the typical, 'what do I do?']" with a shrug and upturned, empty hands, gesturing towards the helplessness and neediness of these people.

As mentioned above, these in-group judgments seemed to emerge among my interlocutors in a south-to-north direction; that is, from the whiter, more European southern cone countries towards Latinos with stronger African and indigenous roots. Paloma, a young woman from the southern cone who at the time of the interview was a student at SAU (she went on to become a teacher in the city schools' new two-way bilingual program a few years later), spoke to the sense of cultural dissonance she experienced interacting with NLD classmates from Mexico and the Caribbean:

> When we moved here it was more shocking dealing with Latinos than with Americans. The accents, the words people used for things. For example when I was in 6th grade to say someone liked you they would say "te quiere [he loves you]" instead of "le gustas [he likes you]." Like, "te *quiere*! [He *loves* you!]" To me that was too strong a word. In my ESL class there were Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans. I couldn't connect with them *at all*. We didn't have *anything* in common. Why was I so different? Why am I not darker? There was a girl with an older boyfriend… people would say things that were shocking to me. I still don't have any connections with the first generation that I was in school with. (Interview, November 3, 2009.)

Along similar lines, Oscar, who for many years occupied a position of lay leadership in the Catholic church, framed the Rocktown NLD community in terms of culture and social class as well as nation-of-origin:

> El venir acá, pero también tuve el choque cultural de trabajar con tantos Mexicanos, y que era, que eran muy diferentes a mi experiencia de personas, no?… totalmente diferente, muy tímidas, muy retraídas, eh, mas o menos que todo lo hicieran por ellos y personas que de alguna manera que hablen por ellos, que pensaran por ellos, como, como muy ganaditos, no? Muy de ganado. [Arriving here, I also had culture shock upon working with so many Mexican, and it was, they were very different from my experience of people, right?... totally different, very timid, very reserved, more or less everything had to be done for them and someone had to in some way speak for them, think for them, very like cattle, right?] (Interview, September 20, 2010)

Oscar goes on to explicate his theological position, which in his case espouses a strong commitment to advocacy – although his rendering here comes across as more of a "speaking for," or paternalistic approach, than grassroots solidarity-building: "Entra a jugar un papel muy fuerte, la teología de la liberación…que por supuesto se preocupa del pobre, del más necesitado, de ser voz de los que no tienen voz, eh, hay toda una corriente filosófica, no? [Liberation theology comes in to play a very strong role… which of course is concerned with the poor, the most needy, with being the voice of the voiceless, eh, there's a whole philosophical current, right?"] (interview, September 20, 2010). Honestly, it confused me to hear Oscar use this kind of de-humanizing language ("very like cattle") to describe the local NLD community, given his formation in and decades-long commitment to liberation theology. As a young man, he had studied liberation theology in Peru and applied its principles to youth street protest theater against the authoritarian regime in his country of origin. In my observations of his work with FUTUROS, I saw his commitment to moving the community forward with initiatives created by Latinos for Latinos; yet there appear to be limitations to his sense of solidarity.

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While advocacy work is often described as being "the voice of the voiceless," and is a position and approach often espoused by the HSC and HSC members, the counter-argument comes from a more critical perspective, which claims that everyone has a voice; and, rather than speaking for them, the task of advocates and activists should be to remove the structural obstacles to that voice being used and heard. But this is far from how Oscar describes the majority-Mexican NLD community in the area, who need someone not only to speak but also to think for them. This is also far from how anthropologists Gonzalez Huerta (2006) and Rodriguez Perez (2006) describe the transnational Mixtec communities living in Rocktown-Pine; rather than helpless or cattle, they describe people who are resourceful, flexible, interconnected and networked for managing their own educational and labor needs within the structures that certainly confine them, but do not render them completely passive recipients of help at every turn.

My only conjecture is that the positionality of service providers continually reinscribed their relationships as purveyors of assistance to the majority-Mexican NLD communities in paternalistic terms. Because of historical factors that shape in-group perceptions with Latin America, including perceptions of racialized indigenous and Afro-descended communities, and perhaps because these racializations are not fully articulated or problematized within the NLD communities, they persist as hegemonic forces that structure attitudes towards even the in-group "Other."

ESL And the Significant Other

Perhaps the most frequent theme in the NLD youth discourses I heard was that of the "significant other" (Stanton-Salazar 1997), the adult teacher or older mentor who

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coached and guided them as they navigated the school system and life in the United

States. Across the board, youth expressed immense appreciation for this kind of help –

whether it came through the support of a specific teacher, a tutor, a friend, or a family

member:

> **Paloma**: My parents have always been very supportive. I won't say Guidance [the department or office], I won't say the principals. Mr. Penner – he got me into Spanish. He was also the advisor for the Spanish club, where I really learned leadership skills – I understood that people were counting on me for things I wasn't really aware of – like people would come to me for advice about all kinds of things.

> **Lourdes**: I started going to middle school, and I hated it. I hated it. The main thing that I remember is when I was granted a locker, I didn't know what a locker was, I was trying to open it, I couldn't open it, I was there crying, because I couldn't open it, and I couldn't ask for help either. Then I met two Cuban friends which was so awesome, 'cause they spoke Spanish, they could help me, they'd been here about a year, so we got really close, because I believe we were the only three girls in the whole school, that we knew of, who spoke Spanish. And I started ESL classes, and my teacher spoke a lot of Spanish, so that was very, very helpful.

> **Cassandra**: Yeah, I remember my first grade teacher, she spoke some Spanish, so I think that helped my sister and I a lot, and Miss L. was there, our ESL teacher, you know her? She's such a wonderful person.

> **Elena** (a mother of three): Entonces me metí a estudiar, una por necesidad, para superarme, dos dije bueno, voy a ver lo que me pasa, no? A él, todavía le venían unos muchachos a ayudarle, y para qué, a él y a mis otros dos hijos, les ayudaron bastante. Y después necesité ayuda yo! [risa] Porque el año, ya son casi dos, en junio dos años… hice la clase de CPA, de nurse assistant, pues sabía poco inglés, no sabía mucho, y necesitaba por las terminologías médicas. [So I went in to study, one out of necessity, to better myself, and two I said well, I'll see how it goes, right? For [my son] there are still some guys who come to help him, and what am I saying, for him and for my other two children, they helped them a lot. And then I myself needed help! [laughs]. Because last year, almost two years ago, in June two years…I took a CPA class, for nurse assistant, and I knew a little English, I didn't know much, and I needed the medical terminology.] (Interview, August 7, 2010)

> **César**: Pero en high school, se me hace que el Mr. Penner, él me guiaba, me decía debes ir al colegio, debes hacer esto, así así… El siempre nos decía, dice, quieren trabajar en la Rocco, en la Cargill todo el tiempo… no decía que era algo malo,

pero decía que… podíamos superarnos y hacer algo con nuestras vidas. Y después Oscar también, cada rato, porque íbamos a la iglesia todos los domingos, y venía y me decía, huevón, tienes que hacer algo por tu vida [risa]. También, él también me empujó un poco. [But in high school, it seems to me like it was Mr. Penner who guided me, who said you should go to college, you should do this and that… he always said to us, saying you want to work at Rocco, at Cargill forever… he didn't say it was a bad thing, but he said that… we could better ourselves and do something with our lives. And then Oscar also, every minute, because we went to church almost every Sunday, and he would come and say, huevón (fool), you have to do something with your life (laughs). Also, he also pushed me a little.] (Interview, February 2, 2010.)

In addition to teachers and adult mentors, the influence of older peers can be seen in

Cassandra's stories about a good friend:

I would always call her and ask her to help me with my papers, like I feel like I've never been the greatest writer, so I would tell her, what should I do? I don't know what to do. Even in college, I would call her, you know, like 'I have this big paper, and I don't know how to do it, and I'm tired and I'm frustrated' and I would cry. And then when I'd get my paper back I would – I usually got an A and stuff, and I would call her and be like 'guess what I got on my paper!' And she's like, 'An A.' And she's like, 'I'm so tired of you Cassandra, you're always calling and complaining, and then you always get As, you don't even need my help, you can do it, you're just [unintelligible] and you can do it,' [laughs] But yeah, it's – since my brother didn't go to college, or my sister, like I'm a first generation college student, so… I always went to her house and I saw that she was always doing her homework. (Interview, October 8, 2009)

Conversely, she found her high school guidance counselor completely unhelpful:

Like, I went to go speak to that counselor? and he didn't know how to help me, like what to do, you know, cause he'd never worked with someone in my situation. And like now that I think about it, and I see Carlos and stuff, I feel like, at [my high school] we need somebody like Carlos and Blanca to be there and to guide someone and help us and I just feel like 'Sorry, I don't know what to do' and that's it, you know. So I think that that was something that was not too helpful. (Interview, October 8, 2009)

Whether inside or outside of institutional structures, practical support and encouragement for ongoing education was greatly appreciated by NLD youth; when this kind of help was not available institutionally, it was a great source of frustration. ESL instruction was not in and of itself a source of support, as Paloma recounts:

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I hated ESL – everything about it. Is it a cultural thing? At age twelve I was conscious that I was going to struggle adapting. I expected to suffer and not to understand. My expectations were harsher. And then I got placed in a classroom where everyone speaks Spanish and the teacher is like singing to you. En la escuela, me tomé muy en serio porque así crecí. En el middle school sentía que estaba en jardinera. Todo era colores, dibujos, juegos. Lo que hacíamos en matemática lo habíamos hecho en el tercer grado en mi país. [At school, I took myself very seriously because that's how I was raised. At the middle school I felt like I was in kindergarden. Everything was colors, drawings, games. What we did in math class I had done in third grade in my country.] (Interview, November 3, 2009)

Paloma also advocated for herself in high school, when she wanted the challenge of being placed in the mainstream English class: "I was in 10th grade and I was fighting to get into a regular English classroom until 11th grade. They would just come back with 'but your reading level – your reading level' – it just seemed unfair that your reading level was based on a test of twenty questions." ESL classes and the systems set in place for monitoring, evaluating, and tracking students could be frustrating and infantilizing, even while particular teachers might be significant allies – all those who gave students encouragement and showed them care (cf. Valenzuela 1999) were remembered as highly significant.

In this context, the FUTUROS group was formed in order to raise money for local NLD scholarships, and to support and coach NLD youth through the often bewildering process of college and financial aid applications. In time, the DREAM Activists also developed their role in doing this kind of advising: "Organizamos un evento para alcanzar a la juventud de Rocktown, sobretodo a los estudiantes de high school, y el evento lo hicimos para ayudarlos a ellos en el proceso de la transición de high school a college [We organized an event to reach the youth of Rocktown, above all high school students, and we did the event to help them in the transition from high school to college]"

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(David, interview, August 2, 2010). These kinds of interventions are designed to share information and knowledge which people are then free to implement and act on in their own way and their own time, not to effect the kinds of changes in values, attitudes, or even identities that seem to be suggested in discourses promoting civic education or progressive gender relations, for example.

In-Group Ethnic Solidarity

In addition to recognizing and acknowledging their own needs in terms of guidance and information, NLD youth talked about the more generalized need for in-group solidarity. They were not seeking rescue, especially not from the dominant majority; they were looking for ways to promote NLD community support for itself.

Raquel, for example, was impressed when she lived in Chicago by "progressive movements" working in the areas of activism, citizenship, drug abuse, education and so forth "to improve the lives of immigrants" – often run largely by Latinos and other Diaspora groups themselves. In addition, she appreciated the existence of transnational organizations that did fundraising and other activities specifically in order to maintain their links to their communities of origin. While she noted that this process exists in Rocktown, it was not as well developed or organized as what she saw in Chicago – a city with a very long and constant history of receiving newcomers. She expressed hope that her brother, if he were to be elected to the city council, might be able to promote these kinds of ethnic solidarity organizations in Rocktown (interview, August 19, 2010).

Ethnic solidarity groups that did exist in Rocktown included FUTUROS, and the Spanish clubs at the local high schools – although in the latter case ethnic solidarity was

not the *raison d'etre*, the ways in which these clubs functioned was *de facto* for ethnic

solidarity. Membership was almost 100% NLD youth, so priority was placed on activities

and inputs directed specifically for them:

> **Paloma**: The Spanish Club when I was involved was [about] spreading education and the message to 'go to college, go to college, go to college, go to college, go to college.' We even had a scholarship fund. We invited Latino college students to come and talk to the group.

> **EEP**: Why was this such a big emphasis?

> **Paloma**: Because Latinos don't go to college. It's a low percentage.

> **EEP**: Where did this impulse, this push come from?

> **Paloma**: It started when [my sister] was president. There's such a disconnection between home and school.

Along the same lines, the FUTUROS group was designed and created to support

NLD youth going to college. Specifically, FUTUROS offered scholarships, coaching on

college admissions processes and financial aid. Lourdes and Tony were both on the

FUTUROS board during my field research period, having been recruited by Oscar to this

role. César was participating sporadically and somewhat ambivalently. Mennonite Gavin

Janssen was on the board as well, thanks to his starring role in the local Latino soccer

leagues and work in the admissions office at SAU. Lourdes described the group's origins

in this way: "I started with the group, we were meeting about once a week… we went to

West Virginia to the lake, we kind of, you know, convivimos con ellos [we shared life

with them], we talked about their worries of being in high school, their motivations, what

they were going do, and all of that, it was more mentoring at that point than help"

(interview, January 28, 2010). At that point they were acting as significant others for

these high school students: providing information, knowledge, connections, and so forth.

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Later, the organization dropped the mentoring aspect of their work, although Oscar always intended to resume the practice of weekend retreats with groups of youth (interview, September 20, 2010).

As a discourse of need, however, this focus on ethnic solidarity has nothing to do with positioning NLD communities and youth as *intrinsically* needy. They happen to be in a momentary, temporary position of need for certain kinds of information and support, but their needs are not racialized as being an essential part of their identity because they are Latino or Latina. At the same time, they do build on in-group solidarity bonds and identification as being an identifiable group in order to help one another network and meet those needs.

Discourses of Resource

In contrast to the ways in which NLD youth express a discourse of need (largely in private, and with prompting from an interviewer), the discourse of resource may be deployed in public forums either hostile or sympathetic to NLD presence. At a panel discussion organized in Rocktown by the Herndon (PA) Minute Men, Nick Samuels – representing ConnectingPeople Immigrant Resource Center, and after invoking the Biblical injunction to "welcome the stranger" – sought to dispel several "myths about immigration" which generally tended to revolve around economic concerns: e.g., immigrants take jobs away from Americans; immigrants don't pay taxes; immigrants are a drain on the economy. In order to counter these concerns, Samuels cited studies showing that tens of billions of dollars are paid into the Social Security system by undocumented immigrants, a system from which they themselves cannot draw assistance,

and calculations of the net economic benefits to particular states rendered by immigrant labor and tax-paying (field notes, March 31, 2008).

While statistical studies of this nature seek to dispel actual erroneous beliefs, they seem largely ineffective in terms of shifting nativist discourses in a more inclusive direction; at least, during the Minute Men meeting described above, Samuels' array of data had no impact in shifting the anti-immigrant sentiment in the room. Regardless, the economic frame still came to the fore in DREAM Activism. In February 2010, at an ordinary meeting of the Rocktown City Council a resolution was passed in favor of supporting the DREAM Act; speaking in support of the resolution, right-wing attorney Elmer Judd had this to say:

> The only thing I want to add about Cassandra, is that she did a very good job, she's going back to the high school to work with other young girls… to achieve the kind of accomplishments that she did… we need more people like her. She's not the only one, there are many more people like her. She's the perfect example of the kinds of resources that are in our community, that members of the city council can come together and address, and *enrich* our community….
>
> If you want to take the broad view of things, and view these individuals as economic units, which I do, this city has made a serious financial commitment and investment through educating a lot of undocumented students. And it does so generally because it has to, the Supreme Court said so. But under the current state of the law, the city cannot reap the benefits of that serious investment, and once they graduate our public schools, that education generally goes to waste. They can't work legally, they can't continue studying, and we have invested an opportunity. The DREAM Act would allow these folks to enrich their skills and to contribute those skills, through work in our community, and paying taxes, and through doing a lot of the volunteer-type work that Cassandra has referred to.

Judd's characterization of NLD youth as simply "economic units" serving to "enrich our community" is certainly an instrumentalist way of viewing human beings, and certainly not the way that NLD youth view themselves. And yet this characterization is used constantly as an argument for passing the DREAM Act, unfortunately reinscribing the

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notion of NLD youth as "good immigrants" existing to serve the state, the dominant society, and the status quo.

Just a few months earlier, at a different informational session on the DREAM Act (Intercultural/Interfaith Summit, October 22, 2009) a number of people contributed to expand the conversation on NLD youth as resource to include forms of social citizenship (e.g. volunteering) and the multicultural or diversity dimension as a form of social capital brought into the community:

> "They work hard in school, some mastering not only two languages, but three, adjust to a new culture, participate in sports and clubs, and volunteer to help out in their community and through their churches." (Mandy, city high school teacher)

> "It's a terrible human, social, and everything else kind of waste. Cassandra is one of the finest students I've had, and to think of her fighting for her education after she and we have invested so much time and energy into her – we *need* her to foster this intercultural society that we have. She needs to be one of the leaders. And if she can't even get a job, how is she to assume her position in the world? It's a waste of Cassandra, a waste of our money, what are we doing?" (Ruth, county high school teacher)

> "Not only is it a justice issue, it's the right thing to do, it's an issue for us to think about in terms of – it's human capital that's being wasted. Kids who grew up here and whose parents are from another culture are *the* most employable, and they're the *best* resource that we have, and we're wasting it, because they can move easily between cultures. So it's also an economic issue. As well as a human rights issue." (Lydia Shenk, NLD advocate)

Is it dehumanizing to frame human beings and the work of human beings as "return on an investment"? Is it all about economics? The women cited above were speaking to a sympathetic audience, but using the economic frame – "it's a waste of our money" – as though rehearsing arguments against hostile nativists who decry the economic burden represented by NLD youth. This attempt to re-frame NLD youth as economic benefit is

precisely calibrated to counter that argument, but in doing so allows the opposition to

frame the terms of the debate.

If NLD youth see themselves as a resource, it is primarily for their own

minoritized and racialized communities, and for themselves, more so than for the

dominant majority. Raul, for example, spoke with me at length about how he saw his

biculturalism playing into his bid for city councilman, both in order to serve the "groups

who you feel like you represent," but also in order to build his own personal and

professional advancement:

> Politics came into effect about a year ago, when somebody came to me and said
> you know? we need more people like you in the city who can be an example to
> the population that we have, somebody who can actually understand both worlds,
> who can feel part of both, you know what I mean? 'Cause I can easily sit down
> and have a hamburger with you and talk about American culture, and I feel like
> I'm a part of that, but I can easily go to El Charro [restaurant] and eat some hot
> food and talk about soccer – you know what I mean? I can certainly feel like I can
> fit either side. And I can see that as a big advantage in having somebody in
> government. So, someone came to me and said, we need somebody to step up and
> start advocating not only for the Hispanics, but also for other groups who you feel
> like you represent. And just have somebody out there who understands their
> needs. So I thought about it, and I said I don't know much about politics. And
> they said All you need to do is to be available to people, and to look out for the
> best of the city. So, I thought about it for a couple of months, and I decided you
> know, why not? At the very least this is going to get my name out there as
> somebody who is willing to make this community better. So my family is not very
> thrilled about it, especially my wife, cause it's very time-consuming. But I feel
> great about it. Every time I do something little. I feel really excited about it.
>
> [I had to] be willing to learn everything that I needed to learn, and understand
> everything I needed to understand in order to be able to fit, so just having that
> willingness, and not being moderate in my pride. Because that's a very difficult
> thing to say, I want to Americanize myself as much as I can, that's just not the
> way it works, because your pride is always there, but I knew that I wanted to
> make a difference, and to *really* develop professionally, personally too, you
> know? Cause we're here, we have to accommodate and adjust to the lifestyle. So I
> knew where I was heading, and I knew that that's what I needed, personally and
> professionally.
> (Personal communication, August 17, 2010)

Even as much as Raul wants to "make a difference" and "start advocating… for the Hispanics," there is also a clear interest in his own self-advancement. In this sense, he is clearly playing the role of the "good ethnic" who seeks, however reluctantly, to "Americanize," accommodate, and adjust to the receiving context. Raul plays his hand conservatively; by easing his way into the system, he can access roles of greater power, and use that to the advantage of his own ethnoracial group. This may not be a radical or revolutionary approach, and it reinforces the status quo in several ways, primarily by playing into "bootstrap" narratives of immigrant success and a form of racist deniability.

Similarly Cassandra speaks of her volunteering on behalf of the NLD communities in Rocktown-Pine, as well as her long-time role as translator and interpreter in many different spaces. By her own account, she moves into these spaces in order to support younger Latinas with whom she identifies as part of the same in-group, or in search of remunerated work – turning her linguistic capital into financial capital – which turned out to be a highly frustrating endeavor due to her documentation status. When I asked about her volunteerism, Cassandra said, "I just like anything dealing with… people, I like that. I mean I remember it was Blanca, right? She invited us, and Natalie, and Paloma, but I mean, I never had those kind[s?] of groups in high school. Like it would be nice, if I didn't have that, to help others. 'Cause it would have been nice to have a group like that" (interview, October 8 2009). Like Raul, Cassandra has since her teens been considered a role model for her ethnoracial group, "representing" her peers in the best light possible.

As for her bilingualism, an often-vaunted example of linguistic capital that NLD youth bring to serve the receiving community, Cassandra considers it a great asset and

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something she is proud of: "It's very important. Especially now where most places they prefer someone to be bilingual. To speak Spanish and English, that's the language most needed… I take pride in myself that my Spanish is not too bad, and I can read it and write it" (interview, October 8 2009). Unfortunately, getting paid for her interpreting work has been frustratingly difficult due to her immigration status:

> When I was in [the mobile home park], sometimes the police or the sheriffs would go there, and they didn't have someone to interpret, so one day I interpreted for the officer, and like just playfully I told him, 'I'm going to have to charge you for my interpreting services' [laughs], and he said 'actually, you know, you can get on our list, and when they need somebody they'll call you, and they pay like $25 an hour,' and so I called, and told them that I could interpret, and the first time they were like, "Ok, well, here's this sheet you have to fill out, and take it to the court from 9-5 or whatever, and they'll pay you." But then me pidieron mi número de seguro social [they asked me for my social security number]. So I have some [time sheets] – well, I have a few [sarcastically]. And they would call at like three in the morning, or two, or whatever, and even though I knew that I wouldn't get paid for it, I would still go, and then after awhile I was like, I'm not going to do it anymore! I don't know if they expire or something, but hopefully maybe someday I'm going to get paid.
> And like Debbie, she… when she knew that there was something that I could help with, she would tell me, and they had this – what was this for? For the Head Start program? We had to perform the different tests for the kids, you know, to see where they were at. And it was an all-day thing, and then at the end again, the lady's like, "Oh, thank you for coming, fill this out." And it was this W-something, I don't even know what it was,
> **EEP**: W-2, or W-4,
> **Cassandra**: -four, or something. And I told her well, I don't have my social security number *yet*, and she says well, let me ask and see what happens, and so the next day she called and she said, "I'm sorry, we can't pay you." So.
> (Interview, October 8, 2009.)

In these vignettes, Cassandra is less frustrated about not being able to contribute to the community than she is about not getting paid – and rightly so. As Delgado says, in his critique of affirmative action and the "role model" trope, "it makes us a means to another's end" (2000:399). And yet, that instrumental approach is precisely what mobilizes the resource-based discourse, especially as articulated by Elmer Judd above.

As Cassandra's former teacher, Ruth, said, "after she and we have invested so much time and energy into her – we *need* her to foster this intercultural society that we have." This is exactly the trope that Liam Peabody protests: "I get more bothered by recently-arrived liberals and have heard more horrible things said – treating immigrants as if they're just economic actors, they provide all these resources, that's a reduction of who and what they are" (interview, April 5, 2008). And while Cassandra and Raul are ready and willing to step into leadership roles and do the work of intercultural bridging, it is as much for their own personal advancement as it is for the good of NLD communities, and much farther down the priority list for the benefit of the receiving, dominant community.

On Being and Not Being an NLD Role Model

Cesar, a college graduate now in a professional career, was recruited by Oscar to the board of FUTURO. A bright, charismatic young man with a clean-cut look and perpetual smile, Cesar was the obvious choice to serve first as a mentor to young Latino men thinking about a college education and then as part of the board of directors for the FUTURO fund. So it caught my attention when I asked Cesar about his self-perception as a mentor or role model, and he essentially shrugged his shoulders (with a smile): it does not interest him in the slightest.

> **EEP**: Have you imagined that you would ever work in a program like that for youth, but you would be doing like the outreach, or teaching, or something like that?
>
> **César**: Um, sí pudiera, pero no me veo haciéndolo [yes I could, but I don't see myself doing it] like all the time or full time, yeah. De vez en cuando, tal vez, sí. Con FUTURO ahorita, todavía no hacemos el outreach, que yo sepa pues, pero no sé [Occasionally, maybe, yes. With FUTURE right now, we still aren't doing the outreach, that I know of, but I don't know].

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EEP: Eso es la parte que a ti te interesa más? Porque yo creo que cuando empezaron primerito tú estabas ahí como mentor, no? [Is that the part that interests you most? Because I think that when you started in the very beginning you were there as a mentor, right?]

César: Sí, sí. Cuando era freshman, eso hacíamos… pero, eh, no sé si es mi cosa favorita, sí. La advertisement es lo que mas me gusta… pero ahí estoy, y no me molesta, pero, yeah. [Yes, yes. When I was a freshman, that's what we did… but, uh, I don't know if it's my favorite thing, right. Advertisement is what I like the best… but I'm there, and it doesn't bother me, but yeah]. … hicimos uno o dos eventos con high school students, pero ahorita la verdad me siento bien retirado de los high school students, porque no conozco nadie ni nada… [We did one or two events with high school students, but right now the truth is I feel very removed from the high school students, because I don't know anybody or anything…] …mi e-mail de SAU ya no sirve… tengo del [lugar de trabajo] pero no me acuerdo, y tampoco los otrs e-mails no checo [sic]. Usamos no mas puro text message. Ni Facebook, tampoco… compré un laptop pero estoy renovándolo… para la música… [my college e-mail isn't good anymore… I have my work one but I don't remember, neither the other e-mails I don't check them. We only use just text message. Not Facebook either… I bought a laptop but I'm refurbishing it… for music…] (Interview, February 3, 2010)

In reflecting on this interview long after the fact, I noticed my own assumptions about César's interests and priorities embedded in the questions I asked: "Is that [mentoring] the part that interested you most?" Even though he had just finished telling me that he wasn't interested enough in a mentoring or teaching role to take it on full-time, it took me a few more beats before I actually assimilated what he was telling me – that mentoring and being a role model to Latino youth was simply not something he was interested in pursuing. He went on then to tell me that he felt disconnected from high school students, was effectively absent from FUTURO's work and initiatives, and did not engage with the young NLD networks via social media either. Having been aware long before I began my research of César's role in FUTURO as a mentor, and having engaged with him in college classrooms, I had quickly and firmly placed him in the "role model" box and never questioned whether this was a role or identification that he had chosen or

embraced himself. As much as advocates and allies in the social service networks desired that César play that role and take leadership in that way, he did not share in this desire. From a Critical Race Theory perspective, César's ambivalence about mentoring makes perfect sense:

> Like the larger program of which it is a part [affirmative action], the role model argument is instrumental and forward-looking. It makes us a means to another's end. A white-dominated institution hires you not because you are entitled to or deserve the job. Nor is the institution seeking to set things straight because your ancestors and others of your heritage were systematically excluded from such jobs. Not at all. You're hired (if you speak politely, have a neat haircut, and, above all, can be trusted) not because of your accomplishments, but because of what others think you will do for them. (Delgado 2000:399)

César's being and belonging find an anchor in his music, in the band that his father and uncles started when he was a small child, falling asleep while holding a cowbell in the living room of their mobile home as the men practiced late into the night. Born and raised in the Valley, he nonetheless identifies strongly with his Mexican roots through participation in the band, which plays mostly *norteño* music to mostly Mexican-American crowds. The band has been successful enough that his father quit poultry work to pursue the music business full-time. César speaks with a slight Mexicano accent, because, he says, all the guys in the band are Mexicanos, and he has also picked up their slang. The music connects him to this heritage more strongly than to his mother's Nicaraguan roots; although he has visited Nicaragua, he identifies much less strongly with the family and hometown there than he does with his father's birthplace. When asked, he tells "gringos" or "Americanos" that he was born and raised in Rocktown, but that his family is from Mexico and Nicaragua; he tells Latinos that he's from Mexico, "pero no soy chilango" [I'm not someone from Mexico City] (interview, February 3, 2010).

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César now works in the same Rocktown hospital in which he was born; he does not have to worry about documentation, deportation, nor even how he will pay the bills. And yet his "assimilation" is complicated, non-linear, transnational. In opting out of the expected task of mentor and role model, César chose to forge his own alloyed identity on his own terms, rather than to "Americanize" on nativist terms (Valenzuela 1999). As I examine in the following chapter, while the DREAMers may have begun laying the groundwork for their own legal inclusion by playing the "good ethnic" role and capitulating to nativist interests, when they began to see clearly that the remorseless racializations which allowed for their continuing exclusion and exploitation were not relenting, they too began to turn away from that simplistic stance and began to embody a more complicated character collapsing civil disobedience into their quest for legalization. The irony there is that the DREAMers began by positioning themselves as the quintessential "good ethnic" role models, but due to the circumstances of their documentation status are excluded from the option of exercising this role. As Delgado argues, the role model trope "encourages us to cultivate non-threatening behavior in our own people" by persuading minoritized kids to work hard, stay out of trouble, and leave the status quo unchallenged. "Good role models" teach children of color "to ask few questions, pay their taxes, and accept social obligations, even if imposed by persons who look different from them and who committed documented injustices on their ancestors" (2000:401).

Perhaps the prime example in Rocktown of role model discourse comes about in its own complicated embodiment through a one-man program created by local advocate Carlos R., called "Men of Character." Around 2001, Carlos had begun mentoring several

middle school-aged Latino boys at the request of his wife, Clara, who then worked for the

Migrant Education Program and perceived a need for these boys in her case load to have

a strong adult male role model. In 2002, Carlos received a small grant from the United

Way as well as some Weed and Seed money which helped fund activities and prizes for

the participating boys as they completed certain goals (e.g., school attendance or good

grades). This was the only year that the program had funding, and in 2009 Carlos began a

promotional push with a web site and blog to try to leverage more funding, since for nine

years the program had continued solely through his own efforts and commitment alone.

Carlos describes the program in his own words on the program web site,

countering the deficit and Latino gang threat narratives, which he acknowledges drive

much of the discourse about NLD youth, in terms that closely mirror the discourses of

NLD youth described in this chapter. Primarily, Carlos laments the racializing and

ethnicizing discourses which sequester NLD youth identities, and positions himself as

the "significant other" who can help NLD youth "navigate the system here":

> There was no one really there poised to work with the ever-growing, ever-increasing challenge population, which is Latino young men. You know, we hear a lot of people talk about Latino young men in a negative sense, in law enforcement, and school officials talking about the discipline issues, and gang involvement, and crime involvement, and their attitudes, and a lot of it had to do with cultural differences, I believe, but also a lot of it had to do with these kids didn't really have a voice, didn't have an avenue, didn't have a place where there was someone who came from their background, who understood their perspective… but could also sort of help them be a bridge, help them navigate this system here. I just really felt it very strongly, there's no one else out there really addressing the specific needs and learning capacity and learning styles of this population.
> So it's been like, kind of a juxtaposition of different ways of expressing your Latino culture and heritage. You know, a lot of kids really feel there's only two ways to express yourself as a Latino male, either being a gang member or being a soccer player. Or the Latin lover, from Hollywood…. And so we had those kids who had those self-identities, or who had those identifiers placed on them by other people, and they're kind of hanging out together. Some of these

kids were honor roll kids, one of the young men is a Centennial scholar, who came through my program, was a soccer player, here at HHS too, and so he himself was a good role model to some of those other kids who were involved in things they probably shouldn't be involved with.

Children, young people, teenagers, thrive on, grow from, yearn for positive adult role models. A positive adult present in their lives. The simple fact that I am here, that I show up, is why they keep coming. (Castaneda 2009)

Even though Carlos refers to the young "Men of Character" as a "challenge population," he also tries to recognize and base his approach in their "learning capacity" and interests:

I wanted to be able to interact with kids in their sort of environment, in their terms and on their turf, as opposed to mine, you know?… what I wanted to do was …[to] be able to respond to their spontaneity, and their energy, and use that to connect with them, as opposed to having to stifle it, and shut it down, in order so that I can teach them this information. I wanted to teach them what they really wanted to hear and know, and… the only standard I have is, where the kids are coming from, and what they want to do, and what they want to know about. (Castaneda 2009)

Carlos based his approach in assertiveness training and principles of the men's movement as articulated by Robert Bly – a Jungian-infused model of masculinity that for Carlos served as a preferable alternative to the abusive masculinity modeled for him during his growing up years. Carlos' stated goal was to empower teen boys to "set goals and choose a path for themselves," which might include college or sexual abstinence, but might not; the idea was not to force a particular goal or path on the boys, but to "give them the ability to see a positive outcome for themselves" (field notes, September 10, 2009).

By Carlos' own account his approach had mixed success (defining success in the standard normative ways) – while some of the boys went on to earn scholarships for college, others found themselves in juvenile detention centers. In any case, what is most relevant to my research project is to notice how the discourses around the program both participated in and subverted the dominant narratives around NLD youth.

Central to my argument in this dissertation is the notion that the "role model" trope constrains and sequesters NLD youth just as much as the Latino gang threat narrative and the Latina suicide crisis narrative do. These are the options laid out for NLD youth engaged in processes of incorporation in the Shenandoah Valley: either a troubled teen in need of rescue from inadequate parenting, a "backwards" culture of origin, and a tendency to trouble "as the sparks fly upwards" (Job 5:7); or a squeaky-clean, high-performing model of straight-line assimilation and ethnicization. The complex path of the DREAM Activists seeks a "third way" that is neither of these. Instead, DREAMers are asking for an opportunity to seek cultural, social, and economic incorporation on their own terms; or at the very least, to be able to negotiate those terms with a louder voice at the table than they have had in the past.

Conclusion

While frames of need and resource dominated the discourses of advocates and their allies in reference to NLD presence in the Valley, conversations with the youth themselves – even when I introduced these frames during interviews – did not. When I asked them about programs or groups that had served them during their acculturation and adaptation processes, they mentioned the Catholic church, and several "significant others" among whom ESL teachers and older peers predominated. While the youths I spoke with were very clear in relating painful experiences of racially-based discrimination and hate speech, they did not by and large internalize these racializations or extend them to their communities. They did not ask for pity, or wait passively for paternalistic rescue; they looked for opportunities to better themselves through education.

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Nor did the youths consider themselves as primarily existing to serve the needs of the dominant majority, whether that be by providing multicultural diversity, translation and interpretation services, or net economic benefit to the Valley through their labor. It was not that they opposed economic growth and the well-being of their neighbors; it was more that they were willing to serve these interests when they aligned with their own interests in personal development and career success.

Around the time of my field research, Liam Peabody and other local activists were hard at work organizing a local center for popular education. As I have watched this group develop from afar, I have noticed a lot of activity in support of immigration reform as well as a strong and continuing anti-racism movement based in the center. It may be that these initiatives are the most closely aligned with the primary interests of NLD youth themselves. At the very least, it is important to consider how the conversation can be re-framed to avoid the racialized paternalisms that sequester youth into spaces and roles that primarily exist to serve the dominant majority, even with the best of intentions.

CHAPTER 6: DREAM Activism in Rocktown

"I think at this point I'm willing to do anything for the DREAM Act." (Cassandra, August 2, 2010)

If NLD youth in Rocktown are inclusively sequestered into particular social spaces, and particular "ways of being and belonging" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004) then local expressions of DREAM Activism can be argued to have capitalized on the *inclusion* in order to disrupt *sequestration*. In this chapter, I review the organization of the local DREAM Activist Virginia chapter, primarily through the work of Cassandra Ibarra, demonstrating how she and others leveraged the social capital they gained through institutionalized processes of inclusion towards their own goals – in this case, national-level advocacy for passage of the DREAM Act – and against the political and legal sequestration they still continue to experience.

To reiterate briefly, the DREAM Act was a proposed piece of legislation (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) first introduced in Congress in 2001, revised and resubmitted various times over the years, and defeated by a six-vote margin in December of 2010. The DREAM Act would have provided a path to legal residency and possible eventual citizenship for undocumented young people fulfilling certain criteria: 1) they arrived in the United States prior to age 16, 2) they lived in the United States for a minimum of five years, 3) they demonstrate having good moral character (by having no criminal record), and 4) they have or will soon have completed at least two years of higher education or military service (Nicholls 2013, field notes April 8, 2010). Those who would stand to benefit from passage of the bill are known as DREAMers.

Building on Nicholls (2013), my analysis centers on the DREAM Activists' deployment of discourse as a primary means for instigating social action and social change locally. I am most interested in how the national-level discourses are echoed at the local level, both replicated and subverted. The primary frames Nicholls finds in the discourses deployed in promotion of the DREAM Act are national symbols, exceptionalism, and innocence. Symbols like the US flag and even catch-phrases like "hard-working" evoke US identity to promote the idea of DREAMers as loyal Americans; presenting DREAMers as exceptionally meritorious argues for their exemption from penalty for immigration infractions, as does emphasis on their innocence as minors brought to the United States without agency in the decision. All of these elements of the "master frame" for DREAMer discourse align with hegemonic nativist discourses, which accounts to a great extent for the bipartisan appeal of the DREAM Act. Even though activism for the passage of the DREAM Act can be seen as grassroots organizing at its finest, public DREAM Act discourse itself is not necessarily revolutionary, as in many ways it capitulates to dominant narratives of individual achievement. Yet DREAM Act discourses avoid the deficit narrative, and what stands out to me in the case of the Rocktown DREAMers is the agility with which they adapt the master frame to local particularities, most notably incorporating varied forms of carefully tailored religious discourse.

The Ascendancy of DREAM Activist Virginia

Cassandra Ibarra's narrative is textbook DREAMer material (Gonzalez 2011) . Brought to the US at the age of six, she did not know she was undocumented until she

started looking for work and internship opportunities during high school. The implications of her status hit home when her peers began to apply to colleges. Although Cassandra was a straight-A student with perfect attendance, who kept a portfolio of all her awards and certificates beginning in elementary school, she hit a brick wall at that point: "I went to speak with a counselor, and he didn't know how to help me…because he'd never worked with someone in my situation… I qualified for a lot of scholarships, I just couldn't get them" (interview October 8, 2009). Nonetheless, she was accepted at SAU, which assisted her with private scholarships (although these only covered about half her costs, and she was forced to use all her savings and other resources to cover the rest) from where she graduated in 3.5 years with a social work degree, as a first-generation college graduate.

When Cassandra learned about the DREAM Act, she immediately knew that the passage of this bill could change her entire future. In the fall of 2009 she founded the DREAM Activist Virginia chapter, and for the past five years has taken an active leadership role in working for passage of the DREAM Act, liaising with organizers at the national level (interview, August 2, 2010).

As Cassandra described her approach to organizing and developing strategies to foment change, I noticed the role of social networks in her process – especially networks she linked to in college. Her first step after learning about the DREAM Act was to contact Mohammed Abdullahi, one of the early leaders of the student movement. She recounts:

> Mo told me, "you need to organize," and I was like, "I don't know what to do," and he was like, "Look, send out an e-mail to all the people you think are supportive of this, and set up a time and a place, and say "we're going to have this meeting." And so that's what I did… and so those first people who came there

have actually just kept coming…and the actual first people that came to the meeting have spread the word, and so that's how it started, by an e-mail…for those who really care and have the time, they just kept coming (interview, August 2, 2010).

The people she named from that original e-mail list included sympathetic representatives of a number of institutions that she had connected with since her teens – high school teachers; university professors; and activists from ConnectingPeople Immigrant Resource Center, where she had completed her undergraduate practicum for social work. Others were her peers – young adult Latina and Latino students and workers who were either in similar situations, or had been undocumented at one time and so remained sympathetic to DREAM-eligible youth since they saw how narrowly (and seemingly randomly) they had escaped the same fate.

What interests me about Cassandra's strategy was the role that certain institutions had played both in facilitating the emergence of these networks, as well as enabling Cassandra to connect to them – a process that had the potential to contribute towards broader structural changes through legislative advocacy. When SAU created their Local Latino Scholarship Fund in the early 2000s, they institutionalized a process for inclusion based in deeply held theological – not political – beliefs, offering half-tuition to a limited number of undocumented students every year. According to one admissions staff person (Gavin Janssen, personal communication April 18, 2011), additional steps have been implemented at SAU in order to facilitate inclusion of NLD youth; primarily, this involves hiring a bilingual admissions counselor specifically designated to relate to local NLD youth. This admissions staff-person carries out a "specialized" marketing strategy for recruiting NLD youth that includes building relationships with ESL teachers and liaisons at local high schools, organizing and attending events geared specifically towards

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local NLD students (e.g. financial aid night for NLD high school students, field trips to SAU for native speakers of Spanish, other visits to local high schools). Janssen acknowledges the limitations or difficulties inherent in overcoming significant financial hurdles in particular for undocumented students, as well as the challenges for forging strong connections with the larger campus community for students who primarily commute; however, he perceives a palpable impact on the campus in terms of the number of NLD students now attending, and in the connection of the campus community to their local context.

Considering Janssen's positionality as admissions counselor at SAU, his portrayal of NLD inclusion on campus bears some unpacking. Simply increasing the numbers of NLD students does not guarantee their social incorporation in the student body. As Raquel Sandoval said of the local community college, "we go there, but we're not a part of it" (interview, August 19, 2010). The targeted recruitment of NLD students does not necessarily undo oppressive systems and structures that sequester them. At the same time, SAU's proactive approach to NLD recruitment and scholarship support did open social spaces to NLD youth that they might not have otherwise accessed. And Cassandra was able to draw on precisely these connections – to faculty, staff, other graduates, and to current students – in mobilizing the Virginia DREAM Activist organization.

It is also worth expounding a bit on the role of ConnectingPeople Immigrant Resource Center as a nexus for support of NLD families and youth. Founded in 2000, ConnectingPeople was formed by several Mennonite churches in Rocktown, with some additional funding from the Virginia Mennonite mission board. Given a very broad mandate – to support new immigrants in whatever ways possible – ConnectingPeople

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organized several different areas of support, which eventually included paralegal help with applications to regularize immigration status. Apart from the Diocese of Richmond, this was the *only* non-profit offering paralegal help for NLD families in the Valley, at no cost. In addition, several ConnectingPeople policies further institutionalized processes of inclusion: board membership had to include a majority of newcomers; and the executive director created volunteer, practicum, and internship opportunities specifically for NLD college students. Cassandra Ibarra, now a board member, completed her social work degree practicum requirements at ConnectingPeople, where she was able to connect further with immigrant-advocacy networks in the area.

While ConnectingPeople is the only faith-based organization specifically working with and for refugees and immigrants in the Rocktown-Pine area, there is a long tradition in the United States of faith-based advocacy work and solidarity with marginalized people, such as the sanctuary movement of the 1980s wherein churches from a variety of denominations sheltered Central American refugees (Chinchilla et al 2009). Given the frequency in which the Bible is referenced on the opinion pages of the local paper, it is fair to say that Rocktown is a fairly religious and predominantly Christian community. However, there is no easy way to generalize about the local communities of faith beyond this statement. Whereas the progressive Unitarian Universalists strongly supported DREAM Activist Virginia's organizing, many locals spoke publicly from a religious point of view to oppose immigration reform and the presence of undocumented immigrants by staunchly proclaiming that "a law is a law…the Bible says to obey the law" (Mitchell 2007). On the other hand, Mennonites frequently quoted the biblical injunction to welcome the stranger, or the foreigner in our midst (Deuteronomy 10:19) as

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is more closely examined further on in this chapter. Across the ideological spectrum, religious discourse is prevalent in the Valley, albeit deployed in multivocal and sometimes contradictory ways.

As Nicholls points out (2013:164) , in NLD reception areas there are generally few pre-existing or well-established advocacy networks or organizations, especially in comparison to other parts of the country with long histories of Diaspora community-based work, and the support of faith-based organizations certainly helped the Rocktown DREAMers. The proximity of Rocktown to Washington DC did create opportunities for young people from the Valley to travel fairly easily to important events in the capital, including marches, protests, and DREAM Act voting. In addition, the Rocktown DREAMers benefitted from the support of the advocacy network that developed during the Hispanic Services Council years, even though the HSC was in decline at the time when the DREAMers began organizing. But the role of institutions that created and funded processes of inclusion for NLD youth is significant, particularly in the sense that they did so without prescription. As far as I can tell, nobody at SAU advocated for a Local Latino scholarship fund *so that* NLD youths would organize their own lobbying action for immigration reform; but in creating that fund, space was opened for Cassandra and others like her to earn a university education, which eventually led to NLD SAU graduates and their allies working together to advocate for precisely that end. What this might suggest for advocates, activists, and allies in other areas is that creating spaces (without prescription) for NLD youth to participate fully, actualize their potential, and organize, is an effective way to catalyze social change.

DREAMer Discourses

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In the summer of 2010, Cassandra stood in front of Virginia Governor Tom MacDonnell at a Town Hall meeting wearing her dark blue graduation cap, stated her achievements, and then dropped her verbal bomb that "I am undocumented." His response to her (after a moment of stunned silence) was to say, "you are exceptional" (field notes, August 26, 2010). Implied in this statement was not acceptance that her exceptionalism merited exemption from current immigration law and policies, but that as an exception to the "rule" of undeserving and essentially criminal "illegal" immigrants, she could safely be dismissed. Policies, in other words, should not be created or shaped based on the exceptions. Yet the logic of much DREAM Act discourse, especially early in the movement, is precisely that *as a group* DREAMers are exceptional (in the sense of being high-achieving, the "deserving poor"), and therefore as a group should be exempted from the penalties prescribed by law for them and others sharing their legal immigration status. In its own way, however, this whole argument validates much of the US nationalist rhetoric, invoking the self-made "good ethnic" who, through hard work and determination, pulls himself up by his proverbial bootstraps. As discussed in Chapter 1, this achievement-oriented narrative plays into "culture of poverty," modernization, and deficit explanations for socio-economic stratifications – and yet it is also precisely why DREAM Act discourse is so powerful, and has such bipartisal appeal.

Nicholls' 2013 study reviews how the DREAM Activist movement shifted in tactics and rhetoric, outlining some of the internal debates and conflicting opinions within the group as they developed over time. Nicholls argues that DREAMers have positioned themselves within broader national debates on immigration by exploiting a "niche opening" for students, based on a logic of merit and exceptionalism. Yet, as he delineates,

this very logic of merit for some creates ruptures for others: "the rhetoric of the 'deserving immigrant' is enacted in real legal categories, resulting in the unequal distribution of rights and privileges" (16) and access to legal status.

In this section, I review Nicholl's main argument, and provide instances of local DREAM Activist rhetoric that both support and complicate or nuance his argument. Nicholls identifies the essential elements of the "Master Frame" on which DREAM Activist discourse is typically constructed: national symbols, exceptionalism, and innocence. The most often deployed national symbols of the United States include the US flag (or some configuration of the Stars and Stripes), the American Eagle, the Lady Liberty, or the Capitol building, along with the ever ubiquitous graduation cap and gown symbolizing the educational aspirations of the DREAMers. Buzzwords that tap into a specific and ideological rhetoric of American identity often include fairness, hard work, and self-determination (51) as almost mythological values evoking a specific sense or profile of American-ness. National-level organizers explicitly discourage DREAMers from displaying any symbols evoking their nations of origin, even the presumably safe symbols of multiculturalism such as cuisine, dance, or native dress.

The graduation cap and gown in particular stand out as the premier symbols of the DREAMer project, interpretable as promoting a kind of conformity to nationalist ideals, yet also appropriated specifically by undocumented youth to highlight the injustice of their exclusion from the nation and the nation's higher education system. At the same time, however, their argument for inclusion is predicated again on the "good ethnic" framework, which sidelines those who for one reason or another might not fit the "ideal type."

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The second essential element in the master frame is exceptionalism: DREAMers are posited as "the brightest and best," as potential engineers, doctors, lawyers – aspirational careers, far from the occupations of so many of their parents (agriculture, construction, hospitality). When the plight of undocumented Rocktown High School student Maria Martinez spurred a campaign for deferred action on her behalf, even a mostly a-political social service worker and friend of mine was moved by Maria's long list of achievements to say "that's exactly the kind of person we should *want* to have in our community, not deport her!" And yet, the very argument from exceptionalism that poises DREAMers to occupy the niche of "deserving" undocumented is problematic on many levels, not least because it avoids addressing any fundamental flaws in the immigration system as a whole. These ruptures and disjunctures have been to some extent recognized, problematized, debated, and adjusted in DREAM Act discourse more recently.

The third element, innocence, is intimately tied to DREAMers' status as minors at the time of the original immigration infraction. Maria's deportation proceedings were triggered by her 18th birthday; as a legal adult, she was no longer eligible to be included in her mother's application for temporary protected status. In contrast, the close association of childhood and innocence is supported by legal structures such as Plyler vs. Doe, based on the premise that children should not be penalized for decisions they did not make and for which they cannot be held legally responsible. In sum, DREAMers:

> must demonstrate that they are not free riders, unassimilated, culpable for their illegality, or irreducibly foreign. It also helps to be able to demonstrate… conformity to national values… hard work ethic, love of family, and civic engagement build on core national values and reinvigorate the moral and economic life of the nation… they are not a threat to the nation but an exceptional group that deserves an exemption from exclusionary immigration rules. (2013:12)

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Nicholls argues that the importance of consistently maintaining perfect pitch in this framing, especially in public discourse, meant that "leading associations also developed an infrastructure to train and discipline undocumented youth activists to stay on message in the public arena" (2013:49); in order to maintain momentum for the movement, it became imperative to shape the DREAMer into a very particular subject – nationalistic, exceptional, and innocent. These three characteristics are deployed consistently throughout the public discourse covered in my field work, whether orally during public events or in print media, even though not all those deploying this framework were schooled by larger advocacy organizations; apart from Cassandra Ibarra and her friend Brianna Nicholas, none of the other local activists ever attended a DREAM Activist training. And yet the messaging is incredibly consistent, testifying to the hegemonic power of the ideological underpinnings behind it. Local DREAMers did not need to be intensively trained by activists in larger umbrella organizations; they had already been schooled throughout their years in the US education system in nationalist symbols and frameworks, and seemed to instinctively or intuitively know how to deploy them in arguing for their own inclusion in the nation.

In an example from a DREAM Activist ally, an "open forum" op-ed piece in the local paper on February 6, 2010, by a local teacher and historian opens with an invocation of Thomas Jefferson, followed by a quote from the book of Ephesians in the Bible (one local twist on DREAM Activist discourse is the ubiquity of religious rhetoric, on both sides of the aisle). The article continues by describing DREAM-eligible youths as "potential citizens" and "children of immigrants." The writer then hits all the key DREAM Act talking points:

They were brought here years ago as children by their parents [*innocence*], allowed to stay and go to school until they graduated. Having been raised as Americans, they want to become citizens [*nationalism*], continue their education or enter the military, work and live ordinary lives [*nationalist values*].

Yet they suddenly face barriers to higher education or jobs and often live in fear of immigration authorities returning them to a country they scarcely remember [*nationalist values*]. Once there, they are denied entry to the U.S. for 10 years – heavy punishment for the decisions of their parents years earlier [*innocence*].

[At the point the writer goes on to cite local immigration statistics, citing "promising immigrant students… a vital asset" to the community.] Those students have lived here most of their lives and consider themselves part of this nation. They want to become legal citizens, extend their education and become productive members of society [*nationalism*].

But our current immigration law has no mechanism to consider the special circumstances [*exceptionalism*] of such students although they dream of a better life that they're willing to work for [*nationalist values*]. (Jones 2006)

The writer goes on to describe the specific provisions of the DREAM Act, and calls her readership to support the bill by contacting their senators and representatives, repeating Thomas Jefferson's famous words about "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (again evoking nationalism). It seems that the reason these evocations are used is because of an unarticulated sense of their power for the un-persuaded audience; in other words, the nationalist frame is consistently deployed for hegemonic reasons.

Another teacher, in a speech to the City Council asking them to publicly endorse the DREAM Act (largely a symbolic gesture), evoked the canonical linear assimilation model while maintaining the master frame:

…as a concerned private citizen… these students have opened my eyes and my heart to understand that justice must meet compassion. It's a lesson my faith teaches me as well. What has strained my heart to the breaking point and has prompted me to work for the passage of the DREAM Act is that I see students losing hope. They work hard in school, some mastering not only two languages, but three, adjust to a new culture, participate in sports and clubs, and volunteer to help out in the community and through their churches. Teachers begin to affirm their academic potential, and talk to them about going to college – the first one in their family, typically, to have that opportunity. They begin to dream about opportunities they never thought possible. They dream of a better life; one that

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their parents never had, but sacrificed to give them. Then the reality of their situation… settles in. The spark begins to die, the dream begins to fade. I know what happens when young people lose hope… That is one of the many reasons that I support the DREAM Act: to give these hard-working students, with good moral character, a chance to achieve their dreams. (Field notes, February 23, 2010)

The key words that stand out in this speech are: work, master, adjust, participate, volunteer, affirm, dream, sacrifice, give, and achieve; these all echo the same tropes outlined above. It should come as no surprise that the "best and brightest" among these teachers' pupils were handily able to re-appropriate these tropes in promoting the DREAM Act.

In this vein, Cassandra Ibarra's speech and testimony at the same event offered the following excerpts:

> "we have been gaining support for the DREAM Act, which is a proposed Federal bill that would create a pathway to earned citizenship for hardworking and talented immigrant youth who were brought to the U.S. as children and in many cases as babies. This would enable them to pursue higher education or serve in the military and contribute fully to our society."

> "My parents always instilled in me to value education and to become someone in life. They did not want me to have the same life that they did, working hard-working hours at a poultry plant."

> "I don't lose faith that the laws will soon change… that I would be able to do what I most desire: to use my degree to contribute back to my community, a community that has given me so much."

> "Rocktown is home to me. I have all my friends here. My family, my memories, and my dream. And I won't lose hope that my dreams will become a reality." [At this point, her voice shaking, Cassandra was near tears.]

There are no real surprises in these excerpts – which is precisely what I want to draw attention to: how cleanly this speech adheres to the top DREAM Activist talking points. This perfect adherence stands as testimony to the hegemonic nature of the primary tropes underlying DREAM Act discourse, especially early iterations of it. Two details stand out:

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at this point in time, early in 2010, the guilty/innocent binary that in some way implicated

parents as the guilty parties in breaking immigration law had not yet been broadly

reconfigured by the DREAMers at a national level; and the evocation (however slight) of

faith. This second dimension stands out more strongly in the second teacher's speech, and

is an important element of DREAM Act and NLD advocacy in the Valley in particular.

Nicholls identifies several sociological factors that may perhaps have contributed

to this intuitive sense for what would "sell" the DREAM Act to a

nationalistic/xenophobic and at best skeptical audience: primarily, their education.

Having been educated in US public schools, these students were inculcated with the

nationalistic messages of "fairness, hard work, and self-determination," thus determining

the framing for DREAM Activism (47). Furthermore, Nicholls argues, leaders in the

movement, many of them college graduates unable to use their degrees to build a career

(and/or facing deportation proceedings):

> were able to tap cultural codes and express them easily through their speech, acts,
> and performances... they made direct use of this education to analyze political
> opportunities, develop strategies, craft messages, and forge legal tactics. Their
> advanced analytical skills enabled them to quickly learn the discursive and
> symbolic rules underlying the field of immigration politics. They understood the
> importance of cultural rules, skills, and tricks and became talented players in this
> field. Their university training also transmitted 'middle-class' cultural attributes to
> many students raised in working class families and neighborhoods. (102)

Although Nicholls does not specify what these "'middle-class' cultural attributes" might

be (speech? dress? food preferences?), it stands to reason that a certain amount of

acculturation would only serve the ability of DREAMers to pitch their message to a

perhaps skeptical audience (what Grey and Woodrick refer to as the ambivalent middle

zone of a 20-60-20 distribution of attitudes towards immigrants [2005:140-141]). The

way in which Nicholls characterizes this process of acculturation to the middle class fits

neatly with Bourdieu and Passeron's analysis of social capital and habitus (1977), which should make us cognizant of some of the limitations of the education system to challenge the governing status quo.

One shift in the discourse that Nicholls discusses at length is the change that came around 2010 with the introduction of the "undocumented and unafraid" slogan. Whereas earlier DREAMer discourse fell into the "good immigrant" half of a binary characterization (see Coutin and Chock 1995, Fennelley 2008, Hamann and Reeves 2012), the new slogan coupled with deliberate and strategically thought out acts of civil disobedience "complicated past depictions of the good immigrant, which stressed total conformity… the aim of dissident DREAMers was to collapse the boundary between the two" (Nicholls 2013:125). It was precisely in the middle of my field research that Cassandra was arrested for an act of civil disobedience, in Washington, DC during a sit-in pressuring senators and congressmen to support the DREAM Act. While waiting for a FUTUROS meeting to start one evening, Oscar A. and I saw her on Univisión talking to a reporter while marching towards the Capitol in another DREAM Act rally. Civil disobedience and dissidence became the watchword: "We're escalating," said David (interview, August 2, 2010). Whereas previously "the backstage complications and identities of real immigrant youths, their complicated national loyalties, sexualities, conduct, and so on could not be allowed to seep onto the public stage" (Nicholls 1013:54), the intersectionalities of DREAMers' identities began to come to the fore, at times even taking center stage as DREAMers escalated their tactics for change in a concerted effort to bring the bill before Congress and push for its passage.

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Along with the "undocumented and unafraid" slogan, DREAMers began to deploy the metaphor of "coming out" as undocumented, deliberately echoing the language of LGBTQ communities to describe the process of making a stigmatized identity known or public. To build on (and perhaps slightly to complicate) Nicholl's argument, the notion of a "closeted" identity has strong resonance for undocumented immigrants, and might be considered a form of sequestration. Other metaphors take up evocations of hiding: Leo Chavez' 1998 case study of the lives of undocumented immigrants is titled "Shadowed Lives." A Virginia public television documentary produced in 2007 exploring the topic of undocumented immigration is titled "The Latino Underground" (Finnegan 2007). Closets, shadows, and the underground – all are metaphors of concealment and fear. Nicholls claims that "standard sociological expectations" would not suggest that vulnerable DREAMers would ever take the stage for social change because of the powerful threats posed by nationalist and xenophobic detractors (2013:7). However, and deliberately, the "undocumented and unafraid" slogan introduces a counter-narrative – to some, it is about strength in numbers; to others, safety through implied innocence – not only are DREAMers not to blame for their status, but they are also innocent because their cause is righteous and just. Whatever the case, by "coming out" they seek to end their social, legal, and political sequestration.

The inner/outer sphere bifurcation of discourse (Urciuoli 1996) was acknowledged to me in interviews with Cassandra Ibarra, who publicly emphasized her "American" (US) identity over and over again in order to cement her sense of belonging and argue for her social citizenship in the United States as a logical basis for legalization of her immigration status, even as she described herself adamantly in private as Mexican:

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Some people have been here for a long time but weren't born here, and they feel like they're Mexican-American, and I'm never going to say that. I'm always Mexican. [I tell] my little brother and my nephew… "you're Mexican," and they're like "no I'm not, I was born here," and I'm like "if you were born in China, and your parents are Mexican, then you're not Chinese, right?" And he's like "no," so… maybe I shouldn't be telling them that? (Interview, October 8, 2009)

Interestingly, in this anecdote Cassandra conflates nation-of-origin and ethnoracial identities: clearly, an ethnically Hispanic individual born in China is not ethnically Chinese; but since ethnicity and nationality are both denoted by the same word, an ambiguity is introduced as to whether one can claim Chinese nationality without claiming Chinese ethnoracial identity. The implication in Cassandra's argument to her little brother is that Hispanic ethnoracial identity must be denoted with nation-of-origin language, unsullied by a polluting hyphen. Even in public discourse, Cassandra never identifies herself as Mexican-American, but only as American or Virginian. The ability to articulate multiple facets of identity in different contexts and for different purposes is akin to shifting code or register in speech; like a form of communicative practice, transitioning from inner to outer sphere speech and back again demonstrates agility in constructing identity.

Finally, an important observation Nicholls makes relates to a dynamic that troubled me from my first exposure to the movement – the way in which characterizing undocumented minors as "innocent" of the choices their parents made cast their parents in the role of guilty transgressors by way of contrast. Around the same time as "undocumented and unafraid" emerged as a new slogan (sometimes with "unapologetic" included as well), the "no fault of their own" trope was recast as well - because the "fault" for their undocumented status is laid at the feet of the parents. Instead, a new

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strategy emerged of characterizing parents as courageous and self-sacrificing, instead of guilty and law-breaking. DREAMers began consistently to express deep gratitude to their parents – and not disingenuously – for bringing them to the US at terrible cost to themselves, in order to give their children a better life (another recognizably American dominant discursive formation and national value). As Cassandra Ibarra recounted, she directly challenged aides in Senator Warner's office, "wouldn't you do anything, sacrifice everything, to make a better life for your child?" to the point where the aides were moved to tears, putting themselves in the shoes of Cassandra's parents as they made the difficult choice to enter the United States illegally for work.

DREAMing with Mennonites

A layer of complexity on the "Master Frame" for DREAMer discourse comes into play within the Anabaptist/Mennonite circles, where nationalism takes on a very different form and expression due to Anabaptist theological positions with regard to state power. One radical and visible expression of this theology takes shape among Old Order communities, who reject participation in social, legal, and political structures pertaining to "the world" in order to build their vision for the Kingdom of God on earth within their own communities. However, even more assimilated Mennonites such as the majority of the faculty, administration, and student body at Eastern Mennonite University approach political engagements through a theological lens that places commitment to faith and God far above citizenship in any given nation. The flag of the United States is never flown on campus, and the national anthem is never sung at official events such as sports events or

graduations. Even voting in local, state, or national elections has only recently become acceptable among the more liberal or progressive Mennonites.

For NLD youth in the Valley, this stance presents an interesting contrast to the halls of local high schools where the Confederate flag evokes more enthusiastic expressions of loyalty and identification even than the Stars and Stripes, and demands from them a certain agility in knowing how to tailor their message to a different audience. At the same time, SAU as an institution officially promotes and seeks to incorporate an ethos of multiculturalism in curricula across different departments, which as a discourse would be at least familiar to NLD youths. The extent to which this ethos is carried out in practice is another topic, touched on briefly in Chapter 1; my analysis is that there are certain limitations at SAU which do sequester students, faculty, and staff of color in particular ways – in part a corollary of the strong German-ethnic heritage of Mennonites historically, intensified by their separatist practices at certain points in time – even as the institution simultaneously strives to be inclusive and to incorporate diverse representation throughout. But regardless of the successes and failures of these institutional moves, what I am interested in parsing out at this point is the ways in which theological discourses of separateness, discourses of multiculturalism, and DREAMer discourses do and do not intersect at SAU, how (and how effectively) DREAMers appropriate the spaces SAU opens to them, and what the material effects of these intersecting discourses might be.

Predominantly, DREAMers and allies at SAU deployed a discourse of humanism, while also reiterating the framing elements of innocence and social citizenship. Through personal narratives of suffering, trauma, and hardship, DREAMers at SAU played on the humanist and Christian compassion of their audience in order to elicit more informed

support from the students, faculty, and staff in that community. In April 2010, I observed

and participated in two public events organized on the SAU campus by the Latino

Student Union, several of whose members were also actively involved in Cassandra's

DREAM Activist Virginia organization, despite having legal residency in the United

States themselves. The first event was a chapel session on "welcoming the stranger," and

the second a coffeehouse open forum specifically about the DREAM Act. Following I

briefly describe both events, noting how DREAMers and their allies specifically tailored

their discourse for the Anabaptist community.

Chapel is held three times a week at SAU, a half-hour of spiritual reflection,

music, teaching, or hearing from other students about their spiritual journeys. Attendance

is voluntary; on a campus of just under a thousand undergraduate students, perhaps 10%

attend regularly. The DREAM Act chapel session was organized by SAU students and

alumni who were also members of Cassandra's DREAM Activist Virginia group, and

included music, testimonies from DREAMers, a short theological reflection by a Bible

professor – all oriented around the thematic topic of "Pilgrims" (field notes, April 7,

2010). Flyers handed out at the beginning and an announcement at the end extended an

invitation to the DREAM Act open forum coffeehouse that Thursday. It is worth noting

several elements in the chapel that gesture towards SAU's ethos of Christian

multiculturalism: quilted patchwork banners (evoking ethnic Mennonite heritage) hang

on either side of the stage, with SAU's mission and vision statement stitched on in black

letters:

> SAU envisions a learning community marked by academic excellence, creative
> process, professional competence, and passionate Christian faith, **offering
> healing and hope in our diverse world**. To this end, we commit ourselves to **do
> justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God**.

Our Christian community challenges students to pursue their life calling through scholarly inquiry, artistic creation, guided practice, and **life-changing cross-cultural encounter**. We invite each person to follow Christ's call to
> bear witness to faith,
> **serve with compassion**, and
> **walk boldly in the way of nonviolence and peace**.

(Emphases my own)

Embedded in the mission and vision are commitments to diversity, social justice, compassion, nonviolence, and inter-cultural learning. The music chosen for this particular chapel session reflected these priorities – opening with a popular South African hymn sung in Zulu and English (*Siyahamba*, or We Are Walking) by an all-white choir, and at the end a traditional hymn titled "Strangers No More" which includes the chorus:

For we are strangers no more, but members of one family;
strangers no more, but part of one humanity;
strangers no more, we're neighbors to each other now;
strangers no more, we're sisters and we're brothers now.

While the first hymn gestured towards an ethos of multiculturalism, it was interesting to note the lack of diversity in the choir; at the same time, the ending hymn further emphasized at least an espoused-theory (Argyris & Schöen 1974) commitment to compassionate humanism rooted in Christian faith.

The homily from Bible and Theology professor Nancy Heisey, who is widely recognized and respected in Mennonite circles, articulated similar ideological commitments, focusing on "the idea that God's people are foreigners, and the idea that God's people are called to open themselves to foreigners" by showing hospitality to strangers. After careful and concise analysis of an Old Testament story about Abraham welcoming strangers, Heisey connects the theme to the present through this invocation of humanism:

…it is central to being fully human to welcome the stranger. Hospitality is at the heart of humanity. It is central to our welfare as a human race, it is central to our survival. If we do not welcome strangers, we are doomed.

There are a lot of hard questions that we can't discuss here, and you know what they are, they come from the realm of politics and from the realm of economics, but we're not talking about those here; we're talking about our call to follow Jesus. Those of us who claim that Jesus is Lord of our lives must accept this command to welcome strangers. We need to keep talking about how that happens, here at SAU, in our churches, and in our nation. We need to talk about how we speak to those in power on behalf of the pilgrims and strangers.

I want to thank you for sharing your stories with us. And I hope that in the process of hearing those stories we are energized and ready to learn from them, and to learn from Scriptures about our call to hospitality in this time, and in this place. Thank you.

The stories Heisey mentions here were the testimonies given by a current Latina SAU student as well as by Maria Martinez, the high school student mentioned above who had been able to obtain a deferred action on her deportation proceedings thanks to a groundswell of local activism on her behalf (note that this was in 2010, prior to the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals [DACA] decree in 2012). Maria talked about how her faith sustained her during the deportation proceedings, and the other student talked about her experiences of marginalization in the local community. She urged the student body, "as followers of Christ, we need to be aware of injustices in our communities. We need to be aware of how people are hurting, and what things for them prevent them from living a full life in Christ and as children of God."

Given this backdrop of a deeply religious campus community, it was interesting to see in the more loosely-structured DREAM Act coffeehouse/open forum how the discourses and narratives played out in a more overtly political way, yet always dialogically engaged with this Anabaptist orientation. The predominant theme was compassionate humanism, such as when Cassandra engaged in a litany of difficulties

experienced by undocumented immigrants living in the United States and seeking

integration through social citizenship:

> I wanted to volunteer for the Boys and Girls Club, I wanted to be a Big Sister, and even for that I needed to have a social security number… even to go to Wal-Mart and exchange something you need a US government ID… and a lot of people live in fear. People have to drive, and go to work, go to school, go to the grocery store, and you know a lot of people do not have a driver's license, and it's hard, just to get pulled over from not having a light or something, and you know families are being broken apart because of this. So something has to really happen, and that's why we're here fighting for the DREAM Act and hopefully comprehensive immigration reform.

Even the man who came into the coffeehouse with a George W. Bush pin on his

camouflage hat – a Latino graduate of SAU who often flaunted his self-described "right-

wing" positionality on campus – only spoke of the hardships diasporic Latinos and

Latinas experience, without a single nationalistic statement (other than his hat). Others,

then-students David and Julia, spoke of the hardships and traumas they experienced while

crossing the US-Mexico border without documents. The only gestures towards nationalist

discourses were embedded in the explanation of the technical aspects of the DREAM Act

requirements, including the fact that military service can be an alternative to two years of

higher education (Mennonites are theologically pacifists). During this explanation,

Cassandra also emphasized the difficulties or hardships involved in earning DREAM-

eligibility, which could be read as furthering the line of argument for compassionate

humanism, or as the "hard working immigrant" trope – or, more likely, both at the same

time.

Disturbing the Master Frame

I documented a further twist or nuancing of the DREAMer "Master Frame" of

nationalism, exceptionalism, and innocence during a DREAM University event held prior

to Governor MacDonnell's Town Hall meeting cited at the beginning of this chapter. Although the event took place in a public and very visible location (on the campus lawn outside the building where the Town Hall meeting was scheduled to take place), only one person joined in who was not already part of the DREAM Activist network. The other nine people attending included three members of DREAM Activist Virginia, a member of the Virginia Organizing Project, a retired high school teacher and her sister, a JMU social work practicum student, and myself. In other words, this was a fairly ideologically homogenous group of people, engaging primarily in "inner-sphere" discourse (Urciuoli 1996) to the extent that when a tenth person – a young white male college student on a bicycle – stopped by and decided to stay for the discussion, the retired teacher congratulated him for his "bravery."

Considering the generally shared sympathy in the group towards DREAMers, the conversation took a few twists and turns that appeared to subvert or disrupt the dominant narrative of this particular circle. However, under scrutiny these apparent disruptions can be seen actually to serve the nationalist aspect of the DREAM Act "master frame." Whereas the in-group master narrative emphasizes the innocence of DREAMers against the injustice of current immigration legal frameworks and the discriminatory nature of enforcement policies and practices, the publicly performed "master frame" balances the element of innocence with a strongly nationalistic evocation of fairness, hard work, and self-determination – which would also include a strong notion of being "law-abiding" as a core national value (an apparent contradiction within DREAMer discourse, that is resolved through the evocations of innocence). In this conversation, one participant demonstrated strong feelings in support of the in-group framework (innocent

DREAMers, unjust law enforcement policies and practices) while one participant – David – re-inscribed the nationalistic master frame in a way that, in that moment and in that social circle, came across as disruptive and counter-active towards the activist and advocacy goals of the group.

During a discussion on the implementation of 287(g) and racial profiling, a young Latino college student I call Felix related an incident that happened to his cousin. Lindsey, a young white woman working for a local advocacy organization, responded in a way that fit the in-group ethos, while David, another Latino college student active in support of the DREAM Act, responded in a way that seemed to disrupt the in-group frame while reinforcing the nationalistic DREAM Act frame. Following are two excerpts from the conversation:

> **Felix**: My cousin just got stopped, like for no reason, and his girlfriend was next to him, and the cop was saying can I see your license and registration, and his girlfriend said oh no, I'm teaching him how to drive. And he's like, ok, so can I see *your* license, and she's like sure, and she pulls out her license, and she pulls out her registration… and the officer was about to arrest them, so he said naw, I'm just learning how to drive, I just got my learner's, and uh, all right, well, keep in mind, cause you were swerving – he was just making something up, just like warning them. That was it. They just got off like that.

> **Lindsey**: Why was he going to arrest them?

> **Felix**: I don't know! He just like stopped them for no reason… and also, [my cousin]'s also undocumented. He's very responsible. He graduated, and he's also one of the students that can benefit from the DREAM Act.

> **Lindsey**: It's just ridiculous.

> **Felix**: He's a good kid though.

> **Lindsey**: So there *are* instances of racial profiling.

> **Felix**: This happened like, three days ago.

> **Lindsey**: These things. Make me so frustrated.

David: I guess that, uh, we could get in trouble for not having a license.

The conversation continued to cover several other instances of racial profiling, and discussion about how deportation seems to be a punishment out of proportion to offenses like littering, driving with a broken headlight, or other minor offenses for which a US citizen would be fined or let off with a warning. Then David had this to say:

> Personally, I do believe that people that are disrupting the system… whether they're immigrant or citizen… I'm talking about stuff like living off the government, claiming children that they shouldn't claim, doing stuff like that, and those folks should abide by the law. They cannot be rewarded, either illegal immigrants or citizens, because these are the same folks, first of all the immigrants, that are making the rest of the immigrants look bad and that are giving the opposition – are feeding the opposition counterarguments. And personally, man, immigrants that are harmful to the country, I think they should be kicked out, I mean, I mean I don't know, or do some rehab treatment with them. Don't put 'em in jail just like that, but.

That tell-tale "but" reveals a great deal about David's position; a Bible and Theology major at a denominational school that upholds a theology of pacifism and non-violence as a central tenet, he found himself backtracking away from the idea of retributive justice: "I think they should be kicked out, I mean… or do some rehab treatment with them." However, "but," he still felt compelled to espouse a position or a notion of justice and fairness that did not absolve all undocumented immigrants of responsibility for complying with the much-vaunted "laws of the nation." Within the overall discourse that predominated in this conversation, which framed DREAMers in particular as the quintessential "good immigrants" claiming social citizenship on the basis of their responsible behavior, it felt monumentally disruptive in that moment to bring in the idea that there could be undocumented DREAM-eligible individuals transgressing the legal code in other ways. It was as if admitting that DREAMers might not be "purely" innocent also allowed for the possibility that anything less than pure innocence might actually be

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deportable – a very real possibility under 287(g). However, by arguing for the importance of "abiding by the law," David's rhetoric reinforced the nationalistic dimension of the DREAMer master frame. This disruptive moment further illustrates the tensions pressuring DREAMers through the basic paradox they find themselves in, that in order to protest their subjugation by an oppressive system that marginalizes and excludes them through racializing discourses, they must capitulate to the hegemonic nationalistic discourses of that very system.

Conclusion

DREAM Act discourses generally fall under a finely-crafted master frame of nationalism, exceptionalism, and innocence, although in practice the master frame is at times transgressed or disrupted in locally specific ways. Sometimes these discrepancies occur in dialogic response to a particular set of interlocutors (such as non-nationalistic Mennonites), whereas at other times the disjunctures come about as expressions of the basic contradictions inherent in the DREAM Act project itself – contradictions produced by the neoliberal capitalist system enfolding it. These discourses thus become dynamic expressions of the multivocalities of the communities in which they are uttered, and may also be expressions of the inherent tensions NLD youth and DREAMers experience between inclusion and social sequestration. By and large, the Rocktown DREAMers showed acute agility in navigating all these discursive contradictions in support of the movement.

Nicholl's observation on DREAMers' utilization of their own social capital reflects the strategies of institutionalized inclusion that provided them with effective tools for social change:

> The DREAMers have learned how to construct effective messages, transmit these messages to the media and other important publics, and use language and symbols in highly effective ways. In a very short period of time, these inexperienced youths acquired the cultural and symbolic capital to make them highly skilled and professionalized activists in their own right. (2013:72)

I had the privilege of watching Cassandra grow into her role as a leader in the DREAM Activist movement from some of her first ventures into public forums to where she is today, nationally recognized and honored for her activism – in 2011, she was granted an honorary doctorate from the University of San Francisco for her leadership in the movement. Although the DREAM Act failed to pass in 2010, Cassandra and DREAM Activist Virginia (now closely allied with the Virginia Organizing Project) have not stopped working for immigration reform. The reprieve that came with DACA gave them breathing space, but did not do away with racism, nativism, or anti-NLD prejudice. That is much longer and harder road, but is inextricably linked to efforts for comprehensive immigration reform.

CHAPTER 7: Conclusion: Racializations and Sequestered Inclusion in Rocktown, Virginia

> "If you have come to help me, you are wasting your time; but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together." (Lilla Watson, Aboriginal activist. Used as the Rocktown-Pine MEP slogan from 1999-2011.)

Research Digest

New Latino Diaspora youth growing up in Rocktown, Virginia, encounter a complex and layered sociality with elements that welcome and try to understand them, others that forcefully reject them, and some that tolerate them – as long as they keep their heads down and find a way to contribute to maintaining the status quo. In this detailed ethnographic study of a new receiving destination for immigrant and migrant Latino families, I have focused on the ways in which sympathetic advocates, activists, and allies institutionalized processes of incorporation for NLD youth in ways that at times shifted structures of power, but often stopped short of adequately addressing embedded racializations – thus creating a situation of what I call sequestered inclusion. In Rocktown, spaces were opened and created for NLD youth to participate, but their ability to participate was all too often predicated on their performance of narrowly defined identities, especially as the "good ethnic." Even the DREAM Activists, undocumented and unafraid of revealing their lack of legal status in the United States as they organized and mobilized to end their own sequestration all too often played into the dominant assimilationist narratives that proscribed their participation in the nation, through their discourses of nationalism, exceptionalism, and innocence.

There is a danger in succumbing to the temptation to fixate on countering overtly racializing and nativist discourses like those of the Herndon Minute Men; they are an obvious enemy and in some ways an easy target through size and visibility. It is harder to identify and tempting to ignore the subtler ways in which advocates, activists, and allies themselves (ourselves) capitulate to the dominant and hegemonic narratives of deficit, modernization, "culture of poverty," and benevolent racism. However, as this dissertation has demonstrated, those capitulations contribute to the sequestration of marginalized people by continually positioning them as needy, lacking, and in other ways "less than" the dominant majority. Precisely because multiculturalist discourse positions itself against xenophobic nationalism, it appears or pretends to rise above racializations, which makes them all the more difficult to detect.

In Rocktown, advocates, activists, and allies were motivated by the sense of emerging crisis in the 1990s through the arrival of unprecedented numbers Latinos in the Valley. Because of the differences of language and culture between the new arrivals and the receiving community, there was an immediately palpable need for interpretation, translation, and social and cultural bridging, and the allies responded. When the intensity of the needs abated, then so did organizing energy. Like emergency personnel, advocates and allies were quick to arrive on the scene, implement technologies of rescue with precision, and as the situation seemed to stabilize, to settle for a "good enough" set of interventions. Returning to Penny Kidd's description of the Hispanic Services Council – the coalition that formed in response to the "emergency" in support of NLD arrivals – "it [was] the energy engine for a lot of things that then went on to become programs. Its role is not to become anything or do anything… I see it as a portal, a channel, not an entity.

We were channeling the goodness of the universe" (interview, March 12, 2008). As "the goodness of the universe" became incarnate in the form of specific programs for supporting newcomers, this "energy" took shape based in narratives of need, tapping into a discourse of deficit that was only exacerbated by the requirements of funding agencies on institutions to demonstrate their effectiveness in measurable ways.

Like many site-specific studies (Alonso 1994, Beck and Allexsaht-Snider 2002, Wortham et al 2002, Zúñiga and Hernéndez-León 2006, Fennelley 2008, Hamann & Reeves 2012), this project illuminates the realm of possibility through the particular variations that developed in Rocktown such as the productive alliance of Mennonites and DREAMers interacting together. The work of the DREAMers in Rocktown is consonant with Aparicio's observation that: "individually and collectively, individuals develop new strategies through which they creatively manipulate or alter state-imposed regulations. These transformations from the margins (of discourse and politics) can serve as vehicles for resistance as well as accommodation" (2006:165). It is important to recognize both the ways in which DREAMer and other discourses in Rocktown accommodated the dominant ideological frames (e.g. nationalism) as well as resisted them; strategically deployed, both approaches can serve the interests of the marginalized in working for more substantive inclusion.

Limitations and Directions For Further Study

Two thematic areas that I touched on in this project, but to which I was not able to give the full analytical treatment they deserve, are Mennonites and gender. From an anthropology of religion perspective, Mennonite ecclesiology (ways of "doing church")

and theology play out in a range of unique and often highly localized ways. Zarrugh (2008) argues that the Mennonite tradition of alternative service to participation in the military, and a long history of community development work overseas (nearly a century) have contributed to and shaped Mennonite ways of relating to Diaspora communities from all over the globe moving to North America; but what exactly is that impact or contribution? In what ways are Mennonite progressive in relation to NLD communities, and in what ways hegemonic? What are the differences between Russian Mennonites and Swiss-German Mennonites with regard to modernization paradigms? Are these patterns the same across the United States and Canada? As an ethnic-religious group, Mennonites across North America are experiencing fairly dramatic changes in the present generation – becoming less ethnically distinctive as more non-Germanic people join the church by conviction, while at the same time German-ethnic Mennonites drift away from their Anabaptist roots of separatism and non-violence. How does that shift impact Mennonite relationships to NLD communities? Has the incorporation of "racial-ethnic" Mennonites in their midst grown over the past few decades? These are questions that are ethnographically and anthropologically worth consideration, but did not fit the scope of this project.

Gender also emerges as a topic that could use a great deal more explication and unpacking in this analysis. I am aware that there are extensive literatures interrogating gender constructions and intersectionality; again, because of the constraints of time and space I was not able to incorporate very much of this into the project other than to acknowledge the places where I saw discourses of gender emerge most prominently, such

as the Latino gangs and Latina suicide crisis narratives. Much more could be done on this subject.

One limitation derives from my positionality in the social service network in Rocktown. Although my previous relationships with advocates and activists in the area positioned me deeply within those circles, and gave me easy access to interviews and inner-sphere discourse within the network of professionals (many of whom were one another's friends as well as my friends), I had far fewer vertical avenues of access. "Above" me, institutional gatekeepers with whom I did not have prior relationships limited my ability to carry out the classroom ethnography I had originally imagined I would do, bringing up issues of confidentiality and voluntary consent of minors to participate in my research project. "Below" me (at least in terms of socioeconomic class) I had limited inroads into the NLD communities' inner sphere relationships networks, as I had not previously socialized in those spaces, but related to people as a professional social service worker myself. As a researcher, I was not affiliated with a recognizable institution, nor did I have a palpable benefit to offer for participation in the study. At the same time, awareness of the power dynamics implicit in my previous role as service provider made me hesitant to pursue or capitalize on the recognition factor that might allow me access into people's lives and homes; perhaps I was overly sensitive to the potential for an element of coercion in recruiting potential research collaborators among NLD families, but this awareness did impact my decision to focus research on public and institutional discourses.

Conclusion: Racialization and Incorporation

Returning to the assessment of new receiving destinations put forth by Zúñiga and Hernández-León (2005), I echo their interest in seeing newcomers become stronger "agents in their own incorporation and integration," although I still would like to consider critically the factors they consider favorable for making this a real possibility: "The visibility of newcomers, a less intolerant normative context, and especially the social capital accumulated by migrants invite them to be agents rather than victims of their fate" (2005:xxvii). As we have seen in this study, NLD visibility was not always a factor in their favor, as nativist fears became stimulated to the point that a local man invited the Herndon Minute Men to come to Rocktown and advise locals on how to "save the Valley" from illegal immigrants (field notes, March 31, 2007). These same fears spurred and contributed to the Latino gang threat narrative as well as frequent complaints in the local paper about "illegals" encroaching upon the land. Far from showing itself to be a "less intolerant normative context," the receiving community in the Valley demonstrated a mix of multiculturalist sentiment and strongly nativist prescriptions for assimilation – or expulsion.

If NLD communities are indeed going to be the primary "agents in their own incorporation and integration," there will have to be an end to deficit narratives. I am not arguing that the needs of newcomers are unreal or immaterial, but that there have to be ways to address them without racializing, without paternalism, but rather with respect and dignity. There is no doubt that newcomers can benefit from welcome and orientation; there has to be a way to systematize and institutionalize this kind of welcome, to invest resources and thought into it, but directed and owned by NLD communities rather than white social service workers.

Ironically, it was police officer Reba who commented that the Hispanic Services council seemed to consist of "a lot of white girls" and some people of Latino heritage, but, she asked, "who is knocking on doors and really talking to people? As a professional what I've found works best is eyeball to eyeball, face to face, question and answer. Tell me what I need to know" (interview, August 24, 2010). Saul said something similar about the circle of advocates and activists working with NLD communities in Rocktown:

> I noticed that with the circle of people that are active in Rocktown, and that try to make positive changes for the Hispanic community, a lot of times in my opinion they attempt to impress values upon a community that aren't necessarily intrinsic values, and I understand that it's okay to share an opinion with a different group of people, and hope that they're convinced by your argument – they're grown people, you know, they're people with mental faculties that can choose to think, and shouldn't be protected by any means from different ideas, but yeah… It is presumptuous, and I just wish people would *listen* a lot more, and spend a *lot* more time listening before they actually start talking. (Interview, February 12, 2010)

I recognize that organizations like ConnectingPeople work tirelessly to be responsive and to maintain a posture of listening, especially in creating programs like their "Immigrant Academies" where all those practical questions about US systems are addressed; I recognize that Rocktown City Schools have approached the growing number of newcomer students with a willingness to innovate and try different approaches, even under stringent criticism; I recognize that the IIHHS and the Migrant Education Program have long been advocates especially for undocumented people. At the same time, what my research has shown is that narratives of deficit and need are intractably persistent. Advocates can spend a lifetime trying to weed out paternalisms from their programs and discourses only to have them resurface like crab grass or kudzu vines in different and often surprising guises. And these are the discourses that continue to sequester NLD youth into limited roles and spaces.

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