Emerging Research

Poultry, Apples, and New Immigrants in the Rural Communities of the Shenandoah Valley: An Ethnographic Case Study[1]

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INTRODUCTION

The Shenandoah Valley in western Virginia is comprised of six counties that encompass the bulk of farm productivity in a state that ranks in the top ten nationally in both poultry and apple production. Despite a stagnant market, the apple industry remains vital to this region. The poultry industry in the Shenandoah Valley is representative of the rapid transformation in the American economy since the end of World War II in what it produces and how and where it produces (Stull et al., 1992). The purchase of local poultry processing plants in the Shenandoah Valley by industry giants such as Carghill, Pilgrim's Pride, and Perdue over the last decade indicates that food processing is increasingly characterized by oligopoly resulting from corporate mergers.

The relocation and consolidation of the poultry industry has been paralleled – both nationwide and in the Shenandoah Valley – by a new settlement pattern of immigrants in the rural areas where the processing plants are located. Processing companies, having relocated in small, rural communities with little local labour force, often actively recruit immigrant workers from traditional gateway states, as well as directly from Mexico and Central America. However, the case

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of the Shenandoah Valley is different. The area has already had a long history of seasonal agricultural migration connected with the local apple industry. Initially, the seasonal agricultural workers were an all-Caucasian labour force from Florida but have since evolved to include Haitian and, most recently, Hispanic and to lesser extent Jamaican workers. Starting in the late 1990s, the emergence of year-round employment opportunities in the poultry processing industry has provided an incentive for many members of the migrant community to end their transient existence and settle permanently in the Shenandoah Valley. The foreign-born population in the Shenandoah Valley has grown considerably in the last decade. Harrisonburg, Winchester, and Galax all developed large Hispanic populations. According to the 2000 Census, the size of the Hispanic population in Winchester grew approximately 600 per cent between 1990 and 2000, from 219 to 1,527. In Harrisonburg the growth neared 650 per cent, jumping from 481 in 1990 to 3,580 in 2000. Galax grew from 46 foreign-born residents to almost 600, representing one-tenth of its total population.

Under a current grant from the United States Department of Agriculture, the Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM) at Georgetown University is studying the processes of industrial restructuring and rural industrialization in the Shenandoah Valley and the ways in which company policies, driven by market forces, can set in motion processes that go beyond the plant gates and orchards to recast the configuration of whole communities. The study began in September 2003 and will continue through August 2006. It builds upon a recently completed ISIM project funded by the Smith Richardson Foundation that has studied the long-homogeneous cities of Winchester and Harrisonburg in the Shenandoah Valley. It is part of a national project analysing "best practices" implemented by new settlement communities in response to the challenges facing host communities and infrastructures (schools, housing, law enforcement, and social services) as a result of rapid population changes. The study incorporated other rural communities, including Rogers, Arkansas and Faribault, Minnesota, and provided the research team with a comparative perspective on the impacts of immigrants on rural communities.

NEW IMMIGRANTS IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY: A REFLECTION OF A NATIONAL TREND

Researchers began to notice that in the later part of the 1980s a growing number of immigrants were migrating to states and small localities with no recent history of immigrant settlement. To be sure, immigrants today remain highly concentrated: at the end of the last decade, 69 per cent of immigrants lived in just six states. Thirty per cent lived in California alone. Yet, while the number of

immigrants in these six core states grew 60 per cent in the 1970s, further growth slowed to only 28 per cent in the 1990s.

In contrast, "new settlement" areas in places other than these six core states grew by 45 per cent in the 1980s and by an astonishing 94 per cent in the 1990s (Passel and Zimmerman, 2000; Durand and Massey, 2000). As a leading demographer notes, "some minorities are migrating to parts of the country where most residents have never heard Spanish or Chinese being spoken, primarily suburbs, smaller metropolitan areas, and rural towns" (Frey, 1998). These "geographic pioneers" in rural America tend to be Latino.

Typically, theorists have expected that immigrants would continue to concentrate in the central cities of the six major states and a few additional metropolitan areas. After all, immigrants' location choices are predicated not simply on wages but on the advantageous concentration of prior immigrant support networks (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Research supports the notion that wages are less important to location choices than is the existence of prior immigrant communities (Bartel, 1987). Of course, something must start the process and history teaches us that employers often directly recruit foreign workers, sometimes with government assistance. Idiosyncratic factors can play a role when certain pioneers chance upon employment and become the founder of an employment/migrant network.

The roots of today's new settlement patterns are complex. In some cases, businesses have actively recruited immigrants into new communities. During the 1980s, corporate oligopolies emerged in the processing of beef, pork, chicken, and fish. Industries began to relocate from the North-Central states to the South and South-Central states to be closer to the feedlots and to employ non-union, lower-wage labour (Broadway and Ward, 1990; Stull et al., 1995). Located in small, rural communities with little local labour, processing companies have recruited immigrant workers from California and Texas, as well as directly from Mexico and Central America. The poultry industry in the Shenandoah Valley has been able to draw upon an established stream of migrant farm workers as an important labour base. Thus, communities such as Harrisonburg and Winchester, Virginia; Rogers, Arkansas; or Georgetown, Delaware now have sizeable immigrant populations. Today, active recruitment is often not needed because immigrant networks draw newcomers, often encouraged by hiring bonuses for friends and relatives.

Outside of food processing and manufacturing, new settlement areas are found in agriculture, particularly in specialized niches. Again, the forces that have driven this process are complex, occurring as growers in labour intensive crops have

cast a broader net to find workers, as well as a heretofore unprecedented "settling out" of new immigrants in diverse places. The "Latinization" of agriculture has occurred in the apple groves of Washington State, the mushroom sheds of New England, the grape and row crops of southern California, and the orange groves of southern Florida (Taylor et al., 1997). Amnesty in 1986 for nearly 3 million formerly unauthorized workers revealed several settlement zones with distinct demographic and employment patterns (Lowell, 1992). The job stability (if not income security) created by legal status, often for the employed head of household, has permitted families to reunite and deepen the settling out process.

Social science offers a variety of theoretical orientations on integration and community relations. Economists tell us that human capital, e.g. education, experience, and English ability, are key to integration, especially earnings. And certainly human capital is key, thus most observers quickly note the need to improve school systems and to train adults. Sociologists and anthropologists dig deeper and note that modalities of incorporation differ, that is to say that conditions in host communities shape integration (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Key contexts of reception include government policies on recruitment and integration, the nature of employment and local labour markets, and the strength of existing immigrant communities. Where factors such as these are underdeveloped, we can anticipate unique challenges to immigrant integration.

At the end of the 1980s, the Changing Relations Project, a pioneering study funded by the Ford Foundation, studied six sites, primarily suburbs of major cities. It focused not so much on new settlement areas as on communities affected by an extreme diversity of recent immigrants (Bach, 1993). It found that the increased diversity of newcomers resulted in collective change, group separation, tension, and conflict. However, in terms of the focus of the proposed project, it sponsored a small number of studies that established Garden City, Kansas as a model new settlement area (Stull, 1990).

Two meatpacking plants opened in Garden City over the course of the 1980s. The town of 18,256 grew 33 per cent with 31 per cent minority representation being mostly immigrants from Mexico, Viet Nam, and Laos. South-East Asian refugees were the first wave of labourers, followed by Mexican immigrants who had little in common with established Mexican Americans. School enrolments soared 45 per cent with one-third turnover during the year and dropout rates. The schools were quickly over burdened with large classes and too few bilingual or English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers. Low household earnings translated into high child poverty rates and dropouts were often found working beside their parents in the plants. Teenage pregnancy soared, as did petty crime. New housing projects could not handle demand and mobile home

parks in "Little Mexico" became overcrowded with fires taking several lives. The Mexican-American Ministries, local grass roots service networks, in many cases the sole provider of healthcare for the indigent, saw its caseload double. These stresses continued into the late 1990s and still exist today (Stull, 1997).

The cases of Winchester and Harrisonburg, Virginia demonstrate similar stresses as a longstanding seasonal agricultural migrant community comprised predominantly of Hispanics began to settle permanently. According to the 2000 Census, the size of the Hispanic population in Winchester grew approximately 600 per cent between 1990 and 2000, from 219 to 1,527. In Harrisonburg the growth neared 650 per cent, jumping from 481 in 1990 to 3,580 in 2000. Evidence from ISIM's fieldwork carried out in the course of the Smith Richardson Project indicates that most of that growth occurred during the final years of the decade and has continued to grow since. As in Garden City, the new population challenged the existing infrastructure as demands for housing, education, medical care, and community safety increased.

Local actors have scrambled to meet pressing needs in the new settlement areas. In some cases, meatpacking plants negotiated with a town before they set up shop and anticipatory steps were taken to meet the influx. For example, in Garden City, a Social Impact Statement helped the community prepare the educational, housing, and service infrastructure (Gouveia and Stull, 1995). In the case of Lexington, Nebraska, a Community Impact Study Team travelled to other towns that had hosted new meatpacking plants to learn what it could do in advance. Private social and religious groups often play a key role. Church volunteers who provided temporary shelter and hot meals started the Emmaus House in Garden City. In Storm Lake, Iowa, a mixed-ethnicity soccer team was created for quarrelling grade school factions, and a Diversity Task Force brings Anglos, Latinos, and Laotian adults together (Hedges et al., 1996). In Winchester and Harrisonburg, no such anticipatory steps were taken as permanent newcomer residents emerged from the pre-existing fruit industry to work in a restructured poultry industry. Community organizations, such as the Latino Connection in Winchester and the Hispanic Services Council in Harrisonburg have been established to address particular issues causing hardship among newcomer populations and continue with that work today.

There have been a number of efforts to identify and spread such best practices, although the focus has generally been on traditional receiving areas, i.e. urban areas. For example, special offices of immigrant affairs have been established in several states. However, their mandate has often been short lived or restricted to only one group of newcomers, generally refugees (Morse and Dunlap, 1994). The Changing Relations Project concluded that sharing tasks in building the

community helped bring about accommodation (Bach, 1993). Local organizations, strong leadership, and an understanding of diversity are key elements in the integration of newcomers. That project made ten recommendations to foster "positive interaction" between the groups, ranging from avoiding worsening relations, to expanding national amnesty provisions, to permitting immigrants to vote locally, and for organizational innovation to reach out and foster cooperation.

More specific recommendations within the overall Changing Relations Project were presented only from the study of Garden City, Kansas (Stull et al., 1990). Those recommendations focused on improved language training in the schools, improvements in housing codes, public support for non-governmental service providers, creation of a central service office and multilingual media, institution of day care, and the creation of a county health clinic. The greater specificity in Garden City recommendations reflects its tighter focus and evaluation of best practices in a new settlement setting, as contrasted to the larger project that focused on the tensions caused by diversity nationwide.

The Immigrant Policy Project of National Conference of State Legislators has also issued recommendations to cope with increasing ethnic diversity (Morse and Dunlap, 1994). Those recommendations likewise noted the value of participation and cooperation in smoothing inter-group relations. An intermediary organization that linked day labourers with employers resolved tensions in "shape ups" or street hiring queues. The report went on to call for encouraging immigrants to become naturalized citizens and identified language as the main cause of division between groups and called for opportunities and resources for English language training. It recommended that the media go beyond the sensational stories of conflict, following them through to their resolution.

Current research on rural new settlement areas funded by the US Department of Agriculture focuses largely on the macro-level and to a lesser degree on the micro-level. Edward Taylor, for example, is currently engaged in research analysing the supply of migrant farm labour for US agriculture in Mexico, providing much needed representative data from households in rural Mexico. Donato, Tolbert, and Nucci are examining the determinants of the foreign-born presence in US non-metropolitan areas since 1990 using confidential Census data. Both David Griffith's research in the New Pluralism Project and Georgetown University's New Settlement Areas research under a grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation have studied the impacts of immigrants on rural communities and made attempts to inform community efforts focused on newcomer integration using examples of best practices and "tool kits" derived from research.

Neither the New Settlement Areas project nor the New Pluralism Project have made an attempt to complete a longitudinal ethnographic study comprised of discussions with key informants, poultry and fruit industry representatives, local trade union and community leaders, and in-depth ethnographic interviews with immigrant workers and established residents. By linking macro-level data and analysis with micro-level ethnography, the proposed study will present, for the first time, a detailed account of the poultry and fruit industry and the interrelations of the two as well as its effects on community relations.

As indicated above, the proposed study will build upon the ISIM project funded by the Smith Richardson Foundation that analysed the long-homogeneous cities of Winchester and Harrisonburg in the Shenandoah Valley, as part of a national effort to identify "best practices" aimed at facilitating integration of newcomers in five different communities, including Winchester and Harrisonburg, Virginia; Triad, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Twin Cities and Faribault, Minnesota; and Salt Lake and Park City, Utah. The proposed study will extend the scope of the Smith Richardson project and the New Pluralism Project by incorporating the emic (or insiders') perspectives and experiences of immigrant workers, their children and other family members, and representatives of the poultry and fruit industries to enhance the understanding of the interrelationship between the poultry and fruit industry, how these industries shape the newcomer experiences, how these experiences affect community relations, and facilitate or impede newcomers' integration into rural communities.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to elucidate the interlocking connections between economic forces and their consequences both for the immigrant workers and for the host communities in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the Shenandoah study includes a combination of *action research*, comprised of discussions with key informants representing the poultry and fruit industries, housing authorities, law enforcement, local policy makers, and politicians; ethnographic interviews with immigrant workers, their family members, established residents, and ethnic community leaders; and an extensive review of literature and pertinent legal documents, policies, and regulations affecting the poultry and fruit industries and the immigrant workers and communities.

Action research

The action research serves three purposes: (1) it informs the ethnographic cross-cultural description of the nature, types, and manifestations of economic re-

structuring and its effects on community relations; (2) it enhances the understanding of causes and consequences contributing to the permanent settlement of different immigrant groups in the Shenandoah Valley; and (3) it informs the development of interventions to mitigate the effects of the rapid influx of immigrants into the homogenous rural communities of the Shenandoah Valley and prevent and/or alleviate potential community tensions that have arisen as a result of the settlement of newcomers. Moreover, conceptualizing this project as "action research" provides for a simultaneous data gathering and engagement in action anthropology by affecting key stakeholders, raising awareness of the challenges that immigration and newcomers pose on communities, and mitigating the effects of potential misunderstandings.

The action research phase of the proposed project includes the following steps and activities:

Step 1: Review of the following materials to provide the context for the study:

Literature: focus on new settlement communities, the poultry and fruit industries, host community response to increased ethnic diversity, immigration and labour markets, and newcomer integration.

Legal instruments: focus on review of existing immigration and poultry/fruit industry related laws (national and state level) that affect the labour force participation, employment, and work experiences of newly settled immigrants.

Policies, regulations, and ordinances: same focus as legal instruments above, but at the level of policies and actual regulatory mechanisms applicable at the community level and service delivery points (schools, police precincts, social services, financial institutions, and health facilities) that affect quality of life of the newcomers and enhance or impede community relations.

Step 2: Ethnographic fieldwork and data collection

The study is *qualitative* in nature and uses *ethnographic methodologies* to collect data. It focuses on a limited number of in-depth ethnographic interviews – using open-ended questions – with heads of migrant worker households, their spouses and children (*emic* or insiders' perspective), rather than on large-scale surveys, including questions pre-defined ahead of time by a group of researchers (*etic* or outsiders' perspective). We will interview 80 households in Year 1 and increase the number of interviewed households to 95 in Year 2 and 110 in Year 3. Additional qualitative methods involve *group discussions* with key informants to elaborate current and new variables of interest among newcomers,

business leaders, and established residents clarifying the relationship between the poultry and fruit industry, company policies, and community relations.

The study is *longitudinal* in that it attempts to follow the same migrant households (including nuclear and extended families as well as unrelated singles and families living in the same household) and industry leaders over the course of the three-year study to understand changes in industry practices, immigrant goals and expectations, and community relations.

ISIM has been actively involved in the Shenandoah Valley investigating the "best practices" that have emerged to address challenges put forth by new settlement and the areas of need. However, ultimately the success of community initiatives to address the needs of newcomers, industry, and established residents will depend on informing this process with an in-depth understanding of the different perspectives and needs of these different parts of the community. In addition, and at each phase of ethnographic interview process, the study will also be *comparative* (cross-cultural) to indicate how the experiences of different minority groups such as Mexicans, El Salvadorans, Jamaicans, Haitians, and Hondurans may differ or coincide. Qualitative data play a key role in such comparisons as they clarify the nature of relationships between the migrant agricultural work and permanent settlement for work in the poultry industry, as well as current employment status and long-term goals. The study will attempt to further clarify the differences that exist among newcomer children and adolescents with regard to the relationship between current life situations and long-term expectations. Furthermore, it will shed light on how the aspirations of newcomer workers and children affect the goals of the established community residents and their children and vice versa.

Ethnographic interviews

The best information related to how the interconnected experiences of migrant agricultural work and work in the poultry industry can set in motion processes that go beyond the processing lines and orchards to recast the configuration of whole communities is obtained from the migrants and established community members themselves.

The project includes ethnographic interviews with a selected group of migrant worker households. We are conducting interviews with heads of households as well as selected members of the household, including women and children, to gain a comprehensive and gendered understanding of the experiences of permanently settled migrant workers from the poultry industry and their families. We are carrying out the interviews over the course of three years during the picking

season for migrant agricultural workers and their children, immediately following the picking season to understand motivations and goals for permanent settlement, year round for newcomer workers in the poultry industry, established community members, and representatives of the poultry and fruit industry.

Access to the members of the migrant community as well as permanent newcomer residents has been gained through the Georgetown University's relationship with two community-based organizations, the Latino Connection and the Hispanic Services Council, that work directly with newcomer populations. The Latino Connection is an advocacy group working on issues in the Latino community in Winchester and Frederick County while the Hispanic Services Council is a partner organization working in Harrisonburg and the counties of Rockingham and Page. These organizations provide a forum that gathers and disseminates accurate meaningful information between the Spanish speaking and English speaking communities. Their members have significant experience with both the migrant agricultural worker community and the permanent resident Hispanic community. Many members of the Latino Connection are also members of the Hispanic Community.

In addition, these groups have been instrumental in improving adult basic education and after school programmes for children. These areas provide one of the spaces in which interviews may take place. The Latino Connection and Hispanic Services Council also have conducted needs assessment surveys in communities with a high concentration of newcomer residents. These inroads are available to the Georgetown team for ethnographic interviews and participant observation. The Latino Connection has put forth three bilingual candidates, to aid in the interview and subsequent transcription process. They have been trained in the process of ethnographic interviewing.

We anticipate that the sample of newcomer residents interviewed in Year 1 will include approximately 80 households or 600 persons. Approximately 100 will be school-aged children. The remaining number will be a combination of migrant agricultural workers, poultry workers, and members of the community engaged in other professions. The same households will be interviewed in subsequent years in order to gain a longitudinal perspective. However, the sample will increase in subsequent years and include an additional ten to15 households each year in order to examine population changes. These estimates are calculated on the basis of data provided by the Latino Connection and the Hispanic Services Council, their past experience in conducting surveys in these communities, and English as a Second Language Data from Winchester and Harrisonburg Schools Ethnographic techniques are being used to elicit taxonomies of newcomer experiences, understand current aspirations, elucidate changes in goals over

time, and assess the effects of the poultry and fruit industries on community relations. Interviews with the newcomer residents cover all stages of their experience, i.e. their experiences in their country or state of origin, their migration experience, labour market participation, relationships on the job (both with employers and fellow workers), current perspective on community relations in the Shenandoah Valley, and their perceptions and goals for the future. Subjects and variables to be explored in the course of these interviews include, but are not being limited to the following:

- Socio-demographic characteristics (age, sex, education, profession, etc.)
- Country of origin
- Entry into the migration process
- Former areas of employment
- Method of recruitment used for current employment
- Experiences and living conditions while working in agriculture or poultry industry: Have they ever experienced disputes with landlords? Do they plan to buy a house?
- Self-reported health status and experiences with the health care system: Do their jobs provide health care insurance? Where do they go for health care?
- Experiences with other services in the area: Have they ever availed themselves of any services in Shenandoah Valley? What kind? What kind of services do their children utilize? What are the service gaps?
- Goals for the future: Are they intending to stay in the area permanently or do they treat it as a stepping stone?
- Reaction of family and friends: What do they know about the work the person has been doing? What do they think?
- Perceptions on community relations
- Differences in experiences and goals among ethnic groups/nationalities
- Goals for children
- Their children's aspirations and future plans

The ethnographic approach proposed under this set of data offer many advantages in conducting this type of research. Ethnography is defined as a qualitative research process and product whose aim is cultural interpretation (Spradley, 1979). The ethnographer goes beyond reporting events and details of experience and works to explain how these represent the webs of meaning in which we live. Ethnographic research techniques are designed around the ideal of seeing the phenomenon under study from an *emic* perspective, often described as the "insider's point of view". This *emic* understanding is developed through close exploration of different sources of data, including participant observation and in-depth, open-ended interviews. Ethnographers have a long history of studying

phenomena such as migration and community relations (Lamphere, 1992; Lamphere et al., 1994).

Ethnographic interviews with different members of the migrant households, growers, employers in the poultry industry, community leaders, and service providers are likely to provide insights unknown to or unanticipated by all other "experts". By using open-ended questions, representatives of the newcomer communities and employers may actually lead the research team to the most appropriate questions and themes. They can narrate their own experiences in their own words, highlighting issues that "experts" would not conceive of as standout issues. Such insights into what is important to newcomers, their employers, and the host community will enable the research team to formulate better policy and programmatic recommendations.

Group discussions and interviews with key informants

Existing research suggests that individuals in certain sectors are more likely to come into contact with migrant agricultural workers and newcomer residents. This project includes group discussions and, when warranted, individual interviews with selected service providers, including administrators of poultry plants, representatives of the fruit industry, law enforcement, health care personnel, community leaders, and school officials.

Group discussions and interviews with key informants will explore, but will not be limited to the following issues:

- Their knowledge about the needs migration history of newcomer residents
- Their experiences with and perceptions of newcomer residents they were in contact with
- What might the needs of the newcomer residents be, how can these needs best be met, and by whom?
- What health services are available for newcomer residents given low wages? What health services *should be* available, in their view?
- What kind of initiatives do growers and poultry plants put forward to enhance newcomer integration into the workplace?
- Do employers offer English language training?
- What are the possibilities for upward mobility for immigrant workers?
- How have company policies changed to accommodate immigrant workers and/or alleviate their impact on the current workforce?
- Other variables and subjects (including cross-referencing with some of the points included above for interviews with newcomer residents)

The group discussions with key informants will be used to further the understanding of the relationship between migration for agricultural farm work and employment in the poultry industry. The actions and attitudes towards newcomers expressed by different service providers and segments of the society through various forms of covert and overt discrimination and prejudice will be analysed.

Step 3: Analysis of collected data

In keeping with the methodological principles of ethnography, analysis will commence within a short period after the first set of interviews is conducted. Ethnography differs from most social science research in that, instead of discrete stages, ethnographic research requires constant feedback from one stage to another. And although it is possible to identify five tasks in the research sequence – (1) selecting a problem; (2) collecting data; (3) analysing data; (4) formulating ethnographic hypotheses; and (5) writing the ethnography – they must all be performed simultaneously. Four kinds of ethnographic analysis will be performed in the course of the proposed study, including: (1) domain analysis; (2) taxonomic analysis; (3) componential analysis; and (4) theme analysis (Spradley, 1979). All these types of ethnographic analyses will lead to further understanding of the relationship between the fruit and poultry industries, the experiences of migrant agricultural workers and newcomer residents within these industries, and the overall implications that these interlocking forces have on community dynamics.

Project deliverables

The proposed project will have two interim deliverables and two final products: (1) two *progress reports* submitted to the US Department of Agriculture at the end of Year 1 and Year 2. These reports will present interim findings and preliminary recommendations; (2) an *ethnographic* case study of the Shenandoah Valley new immigrant communities; and (3) a handbook of best practices focusing on the poultry and fruit industries' initiatives to recruit and integrate the new labour force.

CONCLUSION

Recognizing that immigration presents serious challenges to the United States, the US Commission on Immigration Reform (generally referred to as the Jordan Commission after its chair, the late Barbara Jordan) urged federal support for policies and programmes to orient both newcomers and receiving communities,

educate newcomers in English language skills and core civic values, and encourage naturalization and civic participation. Despite this recommendation, immigration continues to create serious challenges to the new settlement areas, in everything from education to infrastructure. With few resources and little expertise, many of these communities have struggled to respond to the presence of newcomers. The policy and programme models long used in traditional gateway cities may or may not be appropriate in the smaller, rural and suburban settings now facing considerable influx of immigrants.

With this project, ISIM is working to address the need for effective integration strategies in new settlement areas by capturing both the immigrant and industry perspective of the impact of immigration on community relations in rural areas. Ideally, this project will better inform the identification of best practices in social, economic, and civic integration, and, ultimately, help policy makers assess the need for such initiatives and, to the degree they are needed, determine best models for implementing them.

NOTE

1. The authors welcome feedback from readers, particularly those with knowledge of immigrant integration, new settlement areas, and rural industrialization. Please e-mail Elzbieta M. Gozdziak at emg27@georgetown.edu or Micah N. Bump at bumpm@georgetown.edu

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