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**Faraway Intimate Development:
Global Restructuring of Social Reproduction:**

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Abstract

This multi sited global ethnography concerns the intimate and unequal relationships that connect revitalization of a Midwestern packing town to development processes in immigrant workers' communities of origin in Togo and Mexico. It brings to light how immigrants' families, friends and home institutions subsidize reproduction of people and place in immigrants' communities of destination— complex processes and practices I call global restructuring of social reproduction. Revealing the immigration-based nature of local development not only in Mexico and Togo but also in the US, the study makes visible the global interconnections in processes of dispossession and development.

The two and a half hour journey from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign campus to Beardstown, Illinois, covers a typical Midwest landscape — long stretches of corn fields punctuated by road signs in defense of the right to bear arms and a number of small, sleepy towns. Some look abandoned - with boarded up shops and fading walls advertising bargains from decades past. The few retail stores still operating predominantly find their clientele among those left behind by younger generations who have departed in search of jobs, excitement, and a promise of a better life in a big city. Whites predominate in this part of the country, a region where many towns once had ordinances that kept blacks out by sunset. A few white elders even recall a childhood trip with their parents to nearby towns to watch the hangings of black men (interview #47 Beardstown, 2008).

But Beardstown, with an approximate population of 6,213, is different (U.S. Census, 2010). The downtown area has no boarded up shops; no fading advertisements for long dead businesses. A few shiny new ads, albeit in Spanish, grace a number of storefronts. Remodeled and improved houses add spark to the neighborhoods. On a nice summer weekend, garage sale signs appear in three languages: English, Spanish and French. Although Beardstown shares a similar racist history with its neighboring towns, on its sidewalks French-speaking West Africans in their colorful traditional attire mingle with fellow residents from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba and Central America as well as with native-born English speakers of European origin. Family-owned restaurants offer Mexican, Dominican and Cuban fare. Local grocers' stock ranges from tortillas to cassava.

Arriving in Beardstown almost feels like crossing a border to a new land, far away from the rural Midwest. A further dimension to this surprising demography is that unlike in large U.S. cities, here there is no Latino, Anglo, or African neighborhood, no rich or poor neighborhood.¹ The two and three story houses, of the affluent sit unashamedly next to newly remodeled smaller homes occupied by immigrants. Trailer homes complete the mix, providing accommodation for a cross section of the low income sector of the population. In the town's integrated elementary school, the curriculum is delivered through the Dual Language Program — meaning all students including children living in English-speaking families receive half of their curriculum in Spanish.

The catalyst behind the diversification and vitality of Beardstown is a meatpacking plant that over the last three decades has recruited a workforce from among minorities and immigrants. The vast body of

literature on the global restructuring of the meat industry has long established the logic of capital in this process (Broadway 1995; Warren 2007). By relocation to rural areas, industry moves away from urban strong holds of unions and draws closer to raw materials (in this case hog farms). It also is better able to vertically integrate (production of animals and their feed, slaughtering of animals, processing and packing of meat) and take advantage of economically distressed rural municipalities offering tax abatements along with lax labor and environmental regulations. In the last two decades the recruitment of an immigrant and minority labor force to plants in small towns has further enhanced a rural industrialization strategy by creating a segmented labor market, pitting one group of workers against the other. Such processes and dynamics are much documented and discussed in a broad body of labor literature (Bonacich 1972; Farley 2005 [1982]; Edwards 1973).

While an analytical focus on global restructuring of production helps explain some aspects of the rapid social and demographic transformation of this town, parts of this complex process remain unclarified. It may offer insights into the logic of capital in relocating production sites and wooing an immigrant labor force but it falls short in explaining why immigrants take these jobs and what kind of processes and practices make such jobs a 'viable' option for them.

To obtain a fuller picture of developments in Beardstown, I eschew an "impact model of globalization," as Gillian Hart (2006) calls it, whereby localities are mere sites in the global restructuring of capital. Instead, I adopt what Burawoy (2000, 2001) labels global ethnography, an approach that seeks to reveal that "[w]hat we understand to be 'global' is itself constituted within the local; it emanates from very specific agencies, institutions and organizations whose processes can be observed first-hand" (Burawoy 2001:150). Like Burawoy, Hart employs a Lefebvrian conception of place that stresses the relational constitution of a specific place in the production of global processes. According to Hart, this constitutes a critical ethnography capable of unearthing local production of global processes that are not "a bounded enclosure," but rather "nodal point[s] of connection in wider networks of socially-produced space. Places are always formed through relations with wider arenas and other places; boundaries are always socially constructed and contested; and the specificity of a place – however defined – arises from the particularity of interrelations with what lies beyond it, that come into conjuncture in specific ways" (2006: 994-5). Critical ethnography, Hart argues, builds "directly on this conception of the production of space and place" (ibid.).

In this vein, I adopted a multi-sited ethnographic inquiry (Marcus 1995). I expanded the physical sites of my ethnographic study beyond the territorial constraint of Beardstown to other locations across the globe intimately connected with this town. But unlike Marcus' methodological intervention I did not follow and stay with the movements of a particular group of initial subjects. I started with relatives of Beardstown immigrants in communities of origin but moved beyond the specific practices connecting these transnational families and networks of support to include those who have not immigrated or have returned after migration as well as the broader processes and relationships that shape power structures connecting these three sites. In the spirit of global ethnography I studied historical, political economic and cultural forces, as well as immigrants' everyday practices and imaginations that connect these local communities to each other to construct the global. I combined several years of field work in Beardstown (beginning in 2004) with visits to Tejaro, Michoacán, Mexico in 2008 (followed up by my research assistant in 2010); and to Lomé, capital city of Togo, in 2010. In Beardstown I interviewed residents including the native born and new immigrants, authorities, and members of non-profit groups and civic associations.² In Mexico and Togo I interviewed the relatives of Beardstown immigrants,³ returned immigrants, immigrants to be and other key informants.

Using a multi-sited ethnographic approach unveils the inter-related global realities that shape Beardstown's processes of social and spatial transformation. These transnational processes are not merely a global restructuring of production. They are also restructurings that occur in the sphere of social reproduction and through simultaneous place-based and trans-local strategies. The countervailing processes rely on local communities, neighbors and households and yet draw on trans-local and

transnational networks of families, friends and remittances I call a “*global restructuring of social reproduction*.” Thus, the processes of local development in Beardstown need to be understood in conjunction with processes taking place in other global locations. I will substantiate this argument by introducing my conceptual framework regarding social reproduction and then sketching the recent dynamics of development in each of the three research sites: Beardstown, Tejaro and Lomé.

Frame of Reference: Crisis of Social Reproduction

The literature contains varying definitions of social reproduction. Marxists focus on the resources and processes needed to bio-physically re-generate the labor force and to ideologically socialize laborers to social relations that sustain or perpetuate capitalist production. The former concerns laborers and their families’ cost of living, housing, food, shelter; and the latter concerns the role played by the education system through schools and curriculum (Bowles and Gintis 1977; Willis 1982). A more inclusive interpretation incorporates resources needed for social reproduction that are consumed collectively as families, communities, neighborhoods — what Castells (1983) called items of collective consumption and what his feminist critics refer to as items of collective social reproduction.

Feminist scholarship has made important inroads in social reproduction debates. They have helped to identify how the confluence of two related processes since the 1980s — structural adjustment policies and neo-liberal reforms — has prompted a crisis in social reproduction (Lawson and Klak 1990; Smith 2002; Katz 2001). With the state withdrawal or redefinition of its role in provisioning of social care, city and state support for social reproduction has diminished and precipitated a crisis of social reproduction that by and large weighs most heavily on women (see contributions in Benería and Feldman 1992; Miraftab 2010; Chant 2010). Capitalism, feminists argue, seeks to resolve the crisis by re-privatizing social reproduction into the domestic realm of unpaid women’s activities (Bakker and Gill 2003; Katz 2001). It is the free labor of care women provide to their families in the domestic realm and to their neighborhoods and towns in the public realm (referred to as municipal housekeeping) that makes social reproduction of low income populations possible (Miraftab 2004; Mitchell, Sallie and Katz 2004). Feminist sociologists have further articulated the transnational dimension of such a re-organization of social reproduction whereby a hierarchically structured global chain displaces care from less affluent families and countries to those in more affluent families and countries (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Parreñas 2003; Benería 2008). This transnational provisioning of care, they argue, is rooted in an old and dirty system of care by enslaved and domesticized women and wet nannies who, deprived of their own offspring and families, cared for and raised the children of colonizers and slave masters (Hontagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Hontagneu-Sotelo 2001; Arat-Koc 2006).

In this international order, immigration offers new opportunities to governments and people in the Global South for coping with their own crises of social reproduction. For governments, “exporting workers” and capturing remittances present a means to address problems of unemployment, foreign debt, and provision of collective consumption items (Fudge 2010). For people, immigration constitutes an opportunity for effective social reproduction by reorganizing families and familial care. The Mexican case is the best documented. While Mexican citizens have increasingly turned to formation of transnational families, the government has shifted to a remittance-based model of development, the so-called Three for One program,⁴ as a key strategy for provision of public works such as roads, schools, clinics, sport fields and infrastructure (Kunz 2010). Reproduction of identities through cultural performances and ceremonial rituals also are increasingly reliant on transnational resources mobilized through organizations like immigrants’ Home Town Associations in the Global North (e.g. Mercer, Page and Evans 2008; Mohan 2006).

Existing literature, however, predominantly explores the social reproduction-immigration nexus in terms of the role immigration plays in the development of *immigrants’ communities of origin*, and not the other way around. Exceptions include the work of Klooster (2005) on how Mexican families subsidize the cheap reproduction of laborers in cities and commercial agriculture in both Mexico and the

US. This literature delineates how immigrants' communities of origin in the Global South concretely benefit through local development whereas the benefit captured by the Global North is represented in abstract terms as "accumulation of capital." In essence, the global is abstract and the local is concrete, i.e., globalization is produced in abstraction but experienced on a concrete local basis. Here I would further note that such a binary construction maintains that the North produces globalization and the South experiences it; that the experiences of the North are generalizable but those of the South are case studies; and, more specific to the present essay, the gains of the North are abstract but those in the South are concretized in communities' infrastructure, schools, housing, and livelihoods. In the meta narratives of globalization, Mahler (1998:64) argues that the North is conceptualized as center, the place from which power radiates to the periphery; the South is simply recipient and benefactor in this relationship.

In the present research I employ an inclusive definition of social reproduction based on the notion that immigrants decide to migrate not simply to reproduce their bodies and sell their labor power for a wage. Immigrants' "internationalization strategies" also take into account the promises of migration in social and cultural terms — non-material factors, such as identity formation and imagination of a promised future (Fudge 2010:5). Construction of immigrants' identity, dignity, and honor, plus their possibilities in fulfilling their social and cultural obligations, and their hope for a better future, all contribute to the 'viability' of their options to go to work in places like Beardstown. Moreover, using critical ethnographic, multi-sited research I recognize the power structures connecting these three sites and seek to surpass the uni-directional analysis that dominates the development literature. My approach will reveal the concrete ways in which the communities of destination in the Global North, such as Beardstown, benefit and owe their revitalization to immigrants' influx.

Beardstown, Illinois, USA

While most of the neighboring towns lost between five and eighteen percent of their population between 1990 and 2010, Beardstown grew by nearly eighteen percent (U.S. Census, 1990, and 2010).⁵ Beardstown's striking difference from other towns in Cass County also resonates in terms of ethno-racial diversity. In 1990, less than one percent of Cass County residents identified as either Hispanic, Latino or Black. By 2010, the number of Hispanic, Latino or Black residents of the County swelled to nearly 20 percent (U.S. Census, 1990 and 2010). Beardstown is the main contributor to this demographic shift in the county. The 2010 population census, for example, indicates that 32 percent of Beardstown residents (1,994 individuals) identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino and 5.8 percent as Black (360 individuals), while nearby towns like Arensville, Ashland, Chandlerville, and Virginia remained predominantly white, non-Hispanic, with less than three percent of residents self identifying as Hispanic, Latino or Black.⁶ For Beardstown this is a sharp increase from the 1990 census when only 32 people identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino (or 0.6 % of the total population) and only 1 person identified as black (or about 0.02% of the population).

But the transformation extends much deeper than mere census statistics. Life is qualitatively different from fifteen or twenty years ago.

Perhaps the transformation in schools has been most dramatic. In 1990, Beardstown School District had a total enrollment of 1,717, with 25 students, or 1.45%, identified as Hispanic and none identified as Black (US Census, School District Tabulation, 1990). By 2000, 84% of the students were White, with 14% of students within the district identified as Hispanic and 0.7% of students identified as Black. By 2009, nearly 35% of the student body was comprised of Hispanic students, while the Black population increased to over 2%. Over 5% of students were identified as multi-racial (Illinois State Board of Education, 2009). With an enrollment increase within the district of almost 23% from 2000 to 2009 these new students also have prompted the allocation of greater resources to the district, including the building of a new elementary school and the expansion of curriculum. Most importantly the diverse student body of the school is recognized and supported by district's adoption of a Dual Language

Program — a bold program that delivers the curriculum to all students independent of their home language in Spanish and in English (50-50).⁷

Moreover, Beardstown has a relative healthy housing market with racially integrated neighborhoods. While at the point of publishing this paper the appropriate 2010 census data tabulations were not available, between 1990 and 2000 residential vacancies in Beardstown decreased by more than 7%, at the same time as the number of new dwelling units increased by 2% (U.S. Census, 2000). My 2009 housing survey in Beardstown conducted with the Illinois Institute of Rural Affairs and the University of Illinois Extension Office, indicated 88 percent homeownership among native born residents and 40 percent homeownership among Spanish-speaking immigrants.⁸ The residential neighborhoods in Beardstown today are not ethnically or racially segregated. Landlords renting across white–non-white and Latino–African lines are common and all blocks are relatively mixed in terms of racial, ethnic and linguistic groups. Calculating from 2000 census data, for example, McConell and Miraftab (2009) found that White-Hispanic Index of dissimilarity for Beardstown is lower than that for major metropolitan areas like New York, Los Angeles-Long Beach or Chicago.⁹

Immigrants also have instituted several cultural identity celebrations and sports events in Beardstown that bring numerous visitors and business to town on these occasions. In addition to the twelve multi racial soccer leagues that Hispanics spear head, ethnically diverse new residents of Beardstown have celebrations that mark diverse identities of the new residents and bring business to Beardstown. These include: Mexican Independence day (September 16th), Africa Day, and most recently joint celebration of May 5th (*Cinco de Mayo*) by Africans and Latin Americans. Such occasions attract visitors from nearby towns to sample food at stalls around the main plaza where music, dance, entertainment and festive activities are held by diverse residents of Beardstown.¹⁰

Such demographic changes and revitalization are in part due to Beardstown's connection to the global restructuring of the meat industry. This point is documented in other Midwestern towns as well (Grey and Woodrick 2005; Stull 1990). In 1967 Oscar Mayer opened a meatpacking plant in Beardstown. The company viewed Beardstown as a site with an ideal location: at the intersection of the Illinois River and the railroad as well as in proximity to farms raising hogs and producing animal feed. Following a fierce and long collective bargaining process in the 1980s, Oscar Mayer shut down the Beardstown plant. This decision not only outraged its unionized workforce but also deprived Beardstown of its largest employer, causing widespread consternation among the local population.¹¹ Taking advantage of this anxiety, Cargill purchased the old Oscar Mayer plant and began operating in 1987. The enticement package from local authorities included a 20-year, "Enterprise Zone" tax-abatement and a state wage subsidy to the tune of \$125,000 for re-training the displaced local labor force. The re-opened plant shed an experienced, predominantly white and unionized labor for less experienced workers who earned \$6.50 an hour instead of the \$8.75 previously paid. The reduced wages, along with the increased work speed and injuries that came with industrial restructuring, made these jobs less attractive for most white skilled workers. By the early 1990s, the turnover rate at the Beardstown plant had risen to almost 80 percent.¹²

To address its serious labor turnover problem, Cargill shifted to trans-local and trans-national labor recruitment. The company sent a team of mobile recruiters to towns on both sides of the Mexican border. This brought the first wave of Mexican workers. Since that time, recruitment of Mexican workers has continued through workers' social networks and a bonus system rewarding employees who mobilize a new hire. A similar mechanism ensued among French-speaking Africans. The first group was recruited via a few African workers who found their way to Beardstown from another meat processing plant in the Quad Cities.¹³ The flow continued via the bonus system¹⁴ noted above, a strategy documented also in other meatpacking towns (Grey 1995). In 2007, after an Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raid apprehended a number of undocumented Latinos, Cargill shifted its strategy to searching for legal minorities. As a result, the company sent mobile recruitment teams to San Jose, Puerto Rico, and to little Havana, Florida, to lure Cuban and Puerto Rican workers (interviews # 27 Beardstown, 2008 and #37

Beardstown, 2009). All told, this trans-local recruitment among minorities and a more vulnerable labor force contributed to lowering Cargill's labor turnover rate from close to 77% in 1990 to 52% in 2008.¹⁵

For the original white residents, this recent process of change is effectively *immigration in situ*. Without having moved an inch, they feel they have moved across borders to a different place: their neighbors on each side are now people of cultural, racial and linguistic origins different from their own. Their children come home with homework in a language they do not know (Spanish); their grocery stores carry previously unheard of food items; and at least two or three times a year they see their entire downtown plaza and surrounding streets taken over by Mexican parades bearing a flag other than the only two that ever waved in their town: the Stars and Stripes and the Confederate cross.

As I discuss elsewhere (Miraftab 2009), this has not prompted simply a white backlash. Rather, the original white residents' reaction to this process of transformation is complex, contested, contradictory and volatile. In reaction to the new immigrants' arrival some locals burned a cross and participated in a KKK march in 1996. Others took a different track, mobilizing in support of immigrant newcomers and welcoming the diversity and new dimensions of economic livelihood. This more open approach led to the formation of Beardstown United, a group that included members of the clergy and Chamber of Commerce.

Perhaps the position of the town's mayor best captures this complex relationship. As of this writing, Bob Walter, a former union organizer and Oscar Mayer worker, is in his fourth term as mayor. While an outspoken opponent of U.S. immigration policy and immigrants' arrival in Beardstown, he is also a broker of deals for Cargill to keep the company in town. These include agreement to Cargill's proposal to make payment in lieu of tax when the company disputed its 2007 taxable asset value. This settlement not only handed Cargill almost a million dollars in tax cuts, but also allowed Cargill to use the payment as leverage for creation of patronage within local institutions.

Tejaro, Michoacán, Mexico

Of the 2000 or more Latino immigrants who live in Beardstown, a large number come from Tejaro, a rural town of 3,716 in the highlands of Michoacán, the Mexican state with the highest export of immigrant labor to the U.S. and the highest level of remittances received.¹⁶ In Tejaro, as one resident declared, there is no house or land not purchased with money earned in El Norte — that is, the US.

My first journey to Tejaro revealed the outcomes of this process. After travelling on a twisting and turning dirt road that took us through villages notorious for their drug activities, we arrived in a quiet town almost seemed abandoned. While unemployment and absentee home ownership were rife, an astonishing set of public works projects were in place or in progress: nicely paved roads, and newly installed sewage and water lines. Recently built or improved houses lined residential streets. Most of these were built by and /or for immigrants abroad and stand vacant. As one of the residents said "I feel strange because I have houses next to me but I don't have neighbors. I have no one to ask for a cup of sugar or for a helping hand or to converse with. They are all gone." (Interview# 13 Tejaro, 2008). In some cases, immigrants invite friends or relatives to occupy their houses as guest residents simply to avoid vandalization.

I learned from the public works project labor force that remittances from places like Beardstown funded much of the infrastructure improvement. Typically, the municipality pays half and residents pay the other half. Each homeowner pays for the infrastructure costs in front of their lot. The share of those who cannot pay is picked up by others in the street. Effectively this means immigrants abroad pay not only for their own share of infrastructure costs but also subsidize neighbors of less economic means.

In Tejaro, like the rest of the state, immigration to the U.S. is not a new phenomenon. The earliest wave was at the turn of the twentieth century to build the railroad, pick sugar beets, or work at auto factories in Detroit or meatpacking plants in Chicago (García 2003). The second wave was facilitated by the *bracero* program, an agreement between the governments of the U.S. and Mexico,

which facilitated shipment of more than four million young and healthy Mexican men of working age to the U.S. to save the agricultural production during World War II.

NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement) fueled the most recent wave of emigration from Tejaro, particularly the section of the agreement that allowed subsidized farmers in the US Midwest to compete in a free market with Mexican farmers whose subsidies had been cut or diminished as part of the same agreement. Señor Fernández, a local *ejidator*¹⁷ and father of one of the Beardstown immigrants, remembered the effects of the 1994 NAFTA agreement on production of milk and dairies. “In Tejaro we used to have a huge production of milk, lots of milk! I had cows that would give me up to 30 liters a day. . . . When Salinas was the president the price of milk went down, because the brother of the President, was bringing in dried milk which sold much cheaper. . . . We wanted to sell the cows’ milk at 2 pesos when the powdered milk was at 1.20 pesos. Everybody started buying that kind of milk. We drove around in our pickup trucks, [but] no one would buy anything. What was left for us to do?” (Interview #10, Tejaro 2008). So, Mr. Fernández explains, he had to send two of his sons North — to Beardstown. Similarly, he and other Tejaro residents talked about the diminishing agricultural production in an area no longer able to compete with imported items. Mr. Fernández noted that seven pyramid-looking silos used to store corn in earlier years were empty. “There is a proposal to use them for an art project and use them for murals. I say that is good,” Mr. Fernández added. “At least that would put them into some use!” (ibid.)

One Beardstown immigrant captured this economic devastation in referring to Tejaro: “*allí te mueres de hambre! No hay nada!*” (“There you die of hunger! There is nothing!”) Another Tejaro resident described a local high school as a border crossing training ground. He spoke of how in this school the youth learned which *coyotes*¹⁸ to use and which to avoid.

A local youth who served as a waiter in a nearby three-star hotel exclaimed, “We’ll take the risk to cross. It is simple, I earn one dollar an hour, that is eight dollars a day. If I cross the border I’ll get that for every hour. So I’ll take the risk and if I make it, I work dangerous and difficult jobs. I don’t care, I know I’ll come back and will be set for the rest of my life” (interview #14 Numarán, Mexico, 2008). The fact that youth like this waiter imagine a bright future following immigration North does not mean that this is necessarily what they will get. This imagination has a power of its own that fuels their internationalization strategies.

Magnolia, for example, after five years of work at Cargill in the de-boning section of the plant, came back not with a fortune but with a US\$10,000 settlement for an on the job shoulder injury. She spoke to me about her injury and the price tag that the corporation attaches to each injured body part. She explained the dark irony of how a shoulder that required laser surgery was the point of “envy” for her Mexican co-workers who thought she was set for life with her settlement. After the settlement she moved back home to Mexico, expecting to be able to make a convenient living with that amount of settlement. She laughed at the envy of her co-workers, explaining how she used the settlement money to help finance buying a truck, which was stolen a month after she arrived in town. She also shared costs with her father in-law to set up a hair salon where she now worked. But business was slow and she was thinking of emigrating again.

Not all returned workers were like Magnolia, however. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Garcia were among the first families to move to Beardstown. After 12 years of work at the Cargill plant they were ready to quit work and enjoy the fruits of their labor. They had built their house, and contributed to the paving of the road that passed in front. Each of their children also had managed to buy a piece of land close to them. But with their children and grandchildren in Beardstown, they were ambivalent about staying in Tejaro. Plus, at last they were about to receive their Green Cards. They were thinking of going back to the U.S. and letting relatives look after the house.

One day I met a group of ten men in the town plaza. They looked to be in their 50s and 60s. I asked them if they’d worked in the U.S. All except one responded affirmatively. Others made fun of the

one odd case joking “that it’s because he is a *cacique*” (affluent, often politically corrupt land owners). These men had spent their most productive years in places like San Diego, Chicago, Nevada, Los Angeles, and Arizona. Two or three said they needed medical care and so came back. The others said they ran out of work. Their discussion echoed the thoughts of the cohort of high school boys who had envisioned their trip North in the school courtyard.

Lomé, Maritime, Togo

Of the roughly 350 West and Central Africans living in Beardstown and its adjacent town Rushville (henceforth called the “Beardstown area”), the majority come from Togo, a former French colony. Togo is a long stretch of land bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, Burkina Faso, Benin and Ghana.

Getting off the airplane at Lomé International Airport on an evening flight is like walking into a sauna. The thick air stands still, no breeze, smothering humidity. The city is completely dark; public street lighting is a luxury saved for a few strategic spots in the city. The lights from vehicles and the fast moving *zamiyans* (motorbike taxis) that move passengers around the town are the only illumination offered to the streetscapes. In the 2010 fiscal year the annual budget for all of Lomé came to US\$ 850,000 (Interview with senior planner, City Municipality of Lomé, 2010) — an amount considerably less than the annual earnings of the football coach at my university. This meager budget translates into no public health care, close to non-existent public education and rare instances of paved roads or ongoing infrastructure projects.

Some of Togo’s recent decline has historical roots. During the Cold War era, many West African countries favored or flirted with the Soviet Union. By contrast, Togo was chosen by the non-socialist countries as a base. Former dictator General Gnassingbe Eyedema regularly hosted meetings of Western capitalist states for the region. By the early 1990s with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the geopolitical importance of Togo diminished. The dictator’s once-ignored political abuses were no longer overlooked. The aid flows to Togo from the U.S. and European Union diminished as Western embassies increasingly supported multi party movements that had spread rapidly in the continent.¹⁹ In this New World Order the dictator survived but “the Togolese state nevertheless became a shadow of its former self” (Piot 2010:3).

A combination of political and economic changes at the global and national levels brought the country to an astonishing state of austerity with little hope for job-seeking adults. In 2010, Togo ranked 17th lowest in per capita income of the world’s 218 nations.²⁰ Once a place where Ghanaians used to come for passing a good time, today the situation has reversed. The Ghanaian capital, Accra, now marks the good life beyond Togo’s borders. When asked what motivated Togolese to travel to the U.S. one interviewee in Lomé told me: “I have been to Accra and I have seen what good life and a nice city could be like!” (interview #1 Lomé, 2010).

The Togolese immigrants find their way to the US through a range of legal and semi legal visa acquisition strategies. In Beardstown they almost all arrive through legal residency and work permission acquired by Diversity, or in popular reference *lotto or lottery, Visa*. The Togolese acquisition of Diversity Visas involves a labyrinth of trans-local practices and networks that the work of the anthropologist Charles Piot in Lomé (2010) and mine in Beardstown document. This is a quota system established by the U.S. State Department in 1991 and implemented in 1995 to grant US residency to the underrepresented populations. Between 1999 and 2008 alone about 185,900 Africans migrated to the U.S. through this visa category; that is an average annual number of 18,594²¹ (Lombela 2008).

Through lottery visas many highly educated young men and women leave Togo for manual jobs in the US which they view as a stepping stone to a better life for themselves and their children. To afford this emigration, many lottery visa winners leave part of their immediate family behind, typically the youngest of their children. Such a decision is not hard to understand. Costs for travel by an entire family are prohibitive. A public school teacher in Lomé earns US\$ 25 per month; staff of a foreign funded NGO, who are better off than private sector employees, earn US\$ 250 per month. The application process

plus the air ticket requires a minimum of US\$ 4,000 per person. Such costs explain why at least one third of West Africans we surveyed in Beardstown had left some of their children back home.²² Lottery visa winners, after successful completion of their interviews at the US embassy, have six months to process their paperwork that must indicate a destination and include a support letter from a resident in the U.S. Destinations like Beardstown with a guaranteed year-round employment hold a special attraction. While the hope is that accumulated earnings in the U.S. will fund the emigration of the rest of the family, upon arrival these immigrants often become tied to Cargill. With typically limited English and massive debts from the original journey, saving money quickly becomes a distant dream.

The lottery visa requires either a high school education or skills in specific fields listed on the US Labor Dept job list, but in practice it is often the educated with minimum of high school diploma (the baccalaureate) who succeeds in this process. This trend is beyond the lottery visa recipients. Over all, in 2009, 36% of international emigrants leaving Togo came from the highest education group, many with tertiary education.²³ In our survey of West Africans in Beardstown, 54 percent of respondents had college or higher education, among them were engineers, sociology professors, a human rights lawyer, and a veterinarian (Miraftab 2011).

Many of these immigrants did not know what to expect of Beardstown. In a focus group I held in the Beardstown area in 2008 for example, a recent African arrival stated: “I thought here is the *El Dorado*” (focus group 2, Beardstown 2008). Another interviewee said: “When I arrived it was dark and I woke up in the morning, looked out the window and thought my friend has brought me to a wrong place. This could not be America. I don’t know what I thought. I just knew this can’t be it. There must be a mistake.” (interview #56 Beardstown, 2008).

To make matters more difficult, many of the Togolese had never done manual work. In a 2008 community forum in Rushville a male immigrant who had left his wife and young child behind in Lomé described his first day of work at Cargill as an encounter with the “beast.” Entering the big space, fast moving machines, the sounds, the smell, the drop in room temperature, he remarked, “I prayed and asked my God to help me. To help me be strong, be strong enough to make it through this work for my wife and my child. I must do this! God give me the strength to do it!” (testimonial at the African Community Forum in Rushville, April 2008).

Despite the difficulties with working in Beardstown, a complex set of relationships keeps the Togolese workers in the Cargill plant. Kossi, for example, who has a Masters degree, confided that he regretted having left his professional position in Lomé to come to the U.S. and if he could have he would have gone back. Prompted to explain, he detailed how upon his return he would be ridiculed by all — “by the same ones who flash me and flash²⁴ me and always ask me for contributions for this and for that, the same ones will make fun of me if I go back without enough money” (interview #70 Beardstown, 2010). “Enough money” is what it takes to buy a piece of land or a home in Lomé and fund feasts and other cultural rituals in the ancestral village. While he might not be expected to afford such expenditures if he was still in Lomé, his mere presence in the U.S. meant people thought he was showered with money. If he doesn’t carry out his responsibilities back home, he will bring shame to his family.

In an odd way, to be a good Togolese Ewe, the ethnic group to which Mr. Kossi belongs, he has to be in Beardstown. His uncle on the other side of the oceans whom I talked to in Lomé, like many educated Togolese relatives, did not know what kind of jobs their family members were doing in the U.S. In Kossi’s case, the uncle thought he was involved with the human resources office of a meat packing factory. The uncle confirmed Kossi’s assertion about the shame that would result for the family if the immigrant was to come back without enough money to perform the acts of a “homecoming king.” Relatives and friends who chipped in and emptied their small jars of savings to help a Lottery visa winner go overseas, weave fabrics of obligations and expectations that tie the immigrant to returning the favor.

The complexities of these ties are further evident in what Mr. Kofie explains as people’s policy for social safety. True, he explains, that for the community at large immigration of his nephew through

lottery visas to Beardstown has been a loss (brain drain) and for him personally it has been a rupture to the chain of mentorship.²⁵ Nevertheless, deep inside he was glad because this loss was his ticket for social security. Having a relative in the U.S. or Europe, explained Mr. Kofi, is like having an insurance card, a system of social security, and an education assistance program. He noted his nephew in Beardstown covered school fees for several relatives, but that is not all. Having an immigrant in the family moves “one’s social rank up.” The extended networks of the immigrant share the promise, the potential, the possibility of the insurance and a real or imagined assurance that one day if all roads are closed, if all hell has broken loose, “I have someone to help and you do not!” (interview #12 Lomé, 2010).

This is the social security system that the post-Cold War Togo enjoys through transnational, trans-local practices that not only connect the daily bread of Beardstown to Togo but also the public education, health care, and social security. If for Mexican residents of Tejaro the most effective strategy for gaining access to housing and basic service provision is the export of young men and women, rather than corn, in Togo the most effective guarantee for access to education, health care and old age social security is not state public policy but sending a family member out of the country. Here emigration is the *public’s policy*.

Global Restructuring of Production and Social Reproduction

The globalization literature has comprehensively documented instances where firms outsource part or all of their production offshore in order to reduce costs. For the meat industry, however, this process has involved border-crossing by labor- bringing workers to the workplace. While the industry did not move offshore or across borders, its laborers crossed national borders to production sites within the U.S. This transnational relocation of labor ultimately involved *global restructuring of social reproduction* processes by socially, temporally and spatially re-organizing the bio-physical, social and cultural reproduction responsibilities, and by creating new sources of expectation and obligation for the provision of collective social reproduction. Let me explain.

The development processes of Beardstown, Tejaro and Lomé form intricate parts of the conditions Marxian analysts articulate as a necessary condition for the global accumulation of capital. Following Neil Smith’s (1984[2008]) and Harvey’s (2006) discussion of uneven development and Hart’s (2006) notion of relational comparison, here we see how the vitality of Beardstown, its sustained population growth, healthy housing market, and flourishing school system with expanding student enrolments benefit from supply of a cheap labor force that diminishing agricultural livelihoods in Mexico and rising unemployment and political instability in Togo offer. Harvey’s articulation of accumulation by dispossession (2005) helps explain how the meat industry’s crisis of accumulation in the 1970s and 80s benefited from a series of dispossessions around the world resulting from political and economic adjustment policies. Immigrant workers’ border crossings constitute a byproduct of neoliberal policies in Mexico such as NAFTA and the post-Cold War reorientation in Togo. The privatization of *ejido* land, and the subsequent agreement to North American free trade facilitated dispossession of the limited resources of Mexican farmers like Mr. Fernández, who had formerly been involved in domestic milk production or his friends who were producers of corn. Similarly, post- Cold War geopolitical shifts dropped the position of Togo within the hierarchy of priorities of global institutions and catalyzed a series of adjustment policies. These, in turn, facilitated the transformation of educated Togolese into surplus labor for the Global North. This Togolese brain drain, accelerated through the US policy of lottery visas, involved processes of dispossession: dispossession of knowledge, dispossession of a nation of its educated citizens, dispossession of youth of their mentors. Here the global care chain that makes possible immigrants’ internationalization strategy (by allowing them to leave their children or parents behind to be cared for by others) also facilitated a series of dispossessions: dispossessing children left behind of their parental care, grandparents of old age care by their children, and migrant daughters and sons of the love and attention by those they left behind.

In this light the 1990s prosperity of Beardstown, its ability to reproduce itself as a place with a healthy housing market and school system, is understood as part of larger global processes of accumulation. The stories chronicled above reveal a complex set of practices, connections and imaginations that connect immigrant workers to communities of origin and underlie the social and spatial development of Beardstown. An army of people, with women at the center, contribute to the social reproduction processes of the Beardstown immigrant worker. These processes range from family members nursing children and caring for family and elderly immigrants left behind, to neighbors caring for the property immigrants leave behind; to remittances that pay for daily bread, to road pavement and infrastructure development to health and education insurance; from the hope that motivates immigrants to embark on risky journeys and perform hazardous jobs to the sense of obligation, honor and pride that drive immigrants to tolerate the disillusionment and meet cultural expectations. All of these factors keep immigrant workers in jobs that otherwise would not be viable. These complex transnational processes and practices temporally and spatially re-organize social reproduction activities and constitute the global restructuring of social reproduction.

In the Mexican case, the immigrant workforce relies on the outsourcing of segments of the life cycle to their village of origin. It is the Mexican state, as dysfunctional, corrupt and autocratic as it might be, that takes care of child birth, plus the limited health care or education before the Fernández children reach an age to journey away to sell their labor to U.S. employers at the most productive moments of their life cycle, then return to Mexico when no longer able to work. These workers have no access to social security or health care in the U.S.²⁶ In other words, for many Beardstown Mexican workers the beginning and the end of the life cycle rely on practice and processes that take place in Michoacán. Similarly, family members who take care of the Togolese workers' children back home need to be recognized as subsidizers of the Cargill plant in Beardstown. Women are at the center of this transnational social reproduction work, taking care of the children and family members immigrants leave behind (Parreñas 2001; Hochschild 2000). These women include not only female spouses of male immigrants but aunts, grandmothers, sisters and daughters of male and female immigrants as protagonists of transnational families that subsidize immigrants' social reproduction. For Mexican or Togolese workers to remain in these high-risk, low-paid jobs, parts of processes we know as social reproduction are out-sourced to extended families, to mal- or dis-functioning schools, governments, churches, NGOs²⁷ and a whole industry of so called "development programs" back home. These smooth the accumulation of capital and insure the supply of workers 'willing' and able to sell their labor power to do hazardous work at low cost.

Bio-physical reproduction of immigrant workers and the free work that their transnational families invest in the care of their children or their injured, old or tired bodies is only one part of the cheap labor force social reproduction. The performance of cultural rituals that offer a person a sense of dignity and honor needs to be recognized as well. The obligations that might be seen as draining immigrants' resources in Beardstown, also offer a sense of humaneness and wholeness. Activities such as the numerous *quincenarios*, the rights of passage to daughters that are celebrated in Mexico through immigrant earnings in Beardstown or the construction of a village home and providing feasts to honor ancestors in Togo create pressures that keep immigrant workers in their jobs while also ensuring possibilities to maintain their dignity and honor. In a strange way Togolese ritual and cultural performances are performed better by those who leave rather than those who stay within the national territory of Togo.

Moreover, the promise of a place in their home country to which they will return with their savings and be secure for life is an important force in this story. The account of Magnolia, for example, and the 'envy' of other Mexican workers, need to be pondered. Note that workers imagined the injury settlement as a way out in a manner that a worker without an imagination of an 'elsewhere' would not. The imagination of an 'elsewhere' where a person would 'be set for life' has a material power and exchange value that needs to be taken into account. This imagination has the material power to make a wage unviable for one worker but viable for another. Imagination and/ or reproduction of an alternative

place, a place for retreat or ultimately, retirement, is an important aspect of this process. 'Home' here as a 'physical and social infrastructure' to go back to hence becomes an important asset for the immigrant worker. Imagined or real, home community as an alternative place that workers create or dream to create becomes an asset that distinguishes the viability of wages across workers groups. The social reproduction of immigrant workers in Beardstown therefore involves the transnational practices that allow provisioning of infrastructure and public services such as roads, houses and schools in their communities of origin. Both in Tejaro and Lomé we note the significant role that immigrants play in provision of collective consumption items. In Mexico it involved the construction of homes, the paving of roads, and the provision of sewage services; while in Togo immigrant workers paid for school fees, health care and old age maintenance. Such items were the main absorbents of immigrants' remittances.²⁸ Here while the remittance immigrants send pave roads and provide infrastructure in their communities of origin, keeping alive the dream of a home in their native land also requires a wide range of free work performed by their neighbors, friends and family members.

Understanding this complexity, as Hart (2006) eloquently articulates, avoids a mechanical interpretation of relationships between communities of immigrants origin and destination as push and pull. It does not reduce everything to 'willing buyer' and 'willing seller,' but rather posits a series of complex processes and practices that produce globalization locally. Stories of Tejaro and Lomé shed light on transnational processes and practices that weave together to make the story of Beardstown a story of globalization.

Conclusion

In light of the global ethnographic study of Beardstown, the social vitality of Beardstown, unlike its neighboring small towns, may seem less like the anomaly that we viewed in the opening of this paper. Beardstown's revitalization as a community and its reproduction as a place, unlike many ghost towns of the rustbelt, cannot be captured by a focus on territorially-bounded processes or on restructuring of production through plant relocation, managerial and technological innovations alone. The stories presented here reveal processes that restructure social reproduction in a broad sense (biophysical, cultural and infrastructural) in multiple places across the globe contributing to Cargill's accumulation of capital in the heartland.

Elsewhere, I discuss in detail the everyday strategies immigrants use through informal politics to create homes in Beardstown and how they socially reproduce physical space in their community of destination (Miraftab, forthcoming). Beardstown immigrants, while contributing to the livelihood of their families and networks of support back home in Mexico or in Togo, also contribute to revitalization of Beardstown through various means. They purchase its otherwise boarded up and abandoned houses, fix those up and live in them or rent them out; they have brought up the registered number of students in the school system to the highest in the county and hence maintained and expanded their local schools; they have created soccer leagues and soccer fields, and multicultural festivals that bring visitors and business to town; and most importantly they have maintained the population of the town with a young population despite a drop in the number of its native born residents. If it were not for the immigrant workers and their transnational families and support networks Beardstown might have looked much like the other shrinking towns in the Illinois heartland.

In this essay, however, my focal concern has moved beyond immigrants' day-to-day transnational and translocal practices in Beardstown to include a series of connected processes that occur across time and place. Revitalization of this heartland community needs to be understood in relation to the dispossessions taking place in rural Mexico with respect to land and agricultural livelihoods and in urban Togo in the context of brain drain. Global ethnographic examination of this community's revitalization brings to light the complex web of transnational processes that allows Beardstown residents, native and foreign born, to cope with the global crisis of social reproduction. It reveals the temporal and spatial reorganization of familial and community care whereby care is provisioned by different members of one's

social network at different times and places. In doing so it helps us see the transnational processes and networks that connect Beardstown to multiple global locations. The story of Beardstown reveals the ways in which items of collective social reproduction that produce the place are provided through transnational processes both in communities of origin *and* communities of immigrants' destination. This insight ultimately enables us to see the intimate ways in which faraway locations are intimately connected through series of transnational strategies for social reproduction and deployment of labor power in places like Beardstown.

This has important implications for immigration policies and planning. Understanding local issues in a global context informed by notions of social reproduction would help advocates of immigrants to emphasize that the development of both Mexican immigrants' communities of origin and that of immigrant receiving communities like Beardstown are immigration-based. Such an understanding might prompt policy makers to re-think the implications of border tightening and anti-immigrant policies. Removing immigrant populations from local jurisdictions is not synonymous with delivering greater resources and opportunities to local communities. The notion that the revitalization of towns like Beardstown is an immigration-based development process can play a forceful role in formulation of immigration policies that are more effective and responsive to the needs of communities inside and outside of the US.

The closer study of processes that connect people in Beardstown, Mexico and Togo are also instructive for planning scholars, educators and practitioners whose ultimate concern is with place making and reproduction of places and people within them. This lens expands planners' perspective on local development in heartland communities like Beardstown beyond territorially-bound plans. It reveals the transnational actors whose decisions and practices are tied to each other not only through flow of economic resources but also through imaginations, cultural rituals and aspirations for a future. Lastly, by making visible the intimate and unequal relationships that connect communities across the globe this study reduces the seeming distance between global subjects: an insight that has much to offer globally minded planning education and scholarship with a deep commitment to social justice.

In closing let me invoke the prose of the Caribbean born literary scholar Stuart Hall: "I am the sugar in your tea" was his comment to remind the British of his enslaved ancestry's work in the sugar plantations. A development and planning scholarship with a hardened commitment to global justice exposes the intimate connections Hall's metaphor implies. Similarly, my research intends to make visible how the enduring hard work of the dispossessed peasants in Tejaro and the pain of parents who left their child behind in Lomé are integral to the bacon and ham on my breakfast table and the revitalization of my Midwest community. A planning scholarship that promotes global justice must remain cognizant of these connections, between faraway yet intimately related communities which lie at the core of the process of social reproduction.

BIO

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Endnotes:

¹ Diaz McConnell and Miraftab (2009), calculating an index of dissimilarity for Beardstown based on the 2000 census, found that immigrants comprised between seven and twenty-seven percent of each of seven block groups over three census tracts within the community's boundaries. This was lower than the index of dissimilarity found for New York, Los Angeles or Chicago.

² The Beardstown information was obtained through more than 70 semi-structured and in-depth interviews with local established residents as well as Spanish- and French-speaking immigrants; three focus group sessions through ESL classes with mixed groups of Hispanic and African students; mail-in surveys on housing and households conducted in collaboration with the Illinois Institute of Rural Affairs and the University of Illinois Extension Office, complemented by door-to-door follow-up surveys among Spanish- and French-speaking residents (400 English; 69 Spanish; 65 French); observation of community meetings and celebrations; review of archival and contemporary newspaper articles from Beardstown and from nearby metropolitan areas; and analysis of census data. The 2006 field work for this project was conducted in collaboration with Eileen Diaz McConnell as reflected in our joint publications 2008 and 2009.

³ In both Togo and in Mexico I conducted 13 semi-structured in-depth interviews each. I spoke with relatives of immigrants in Beardstown and a number of semi-structured and open ended interviews with key informants. For field work in Mexico and in Togo I am indebted to research assistance by two incredible individuals, one from Mexico and the other from Togo, who are both related to immigrant workers at Cargill's Beardstown plant. For work in Togo I am indebted to extraordinary assistance by Akofa Assiobo-Tipoh. I am also grateful to Madam Ayawa Degboe-tipoh, Macklann and Rose Basse. To assure no harm is caused by association with my interpretations and writing, my Mexican field assistant has requested anonymity.

⁴ Three for One program (*tres por uno*) is an initiative of the Mexican state that formally links resources of immigrants through their voluntary associations (e.g. Home Town Associations) with the resources of the state to deliver on public works projects. For every dollar offered by an immigrant association toward public work projects, the local, the state and the federal governments each match 1 additional dollar.

⁵ Between 1990 and 2010, Arenzville lost 5.8% of its population, Ashland gained 5.4%, Beardstown gained 17.9%, Chandlerville lost 18.8%, and Virginia lost 8.7%. Although Ashland gained 5.8 percent population between 1990 and 2000, this increase took place between 1990 and 2000. In the last decade the town actually lost 2.1 percent of its population, following a similar trend of population loss as Beardstown other neighboring towns.

⁶ The undocumented status of many Beardstown immigrants can only mean that census is indicating the minimum numbers and percentages of populations identifying as Hispanic, Latino, Black or African.

⁷ Beardstown is the only rural school in Illinois with a Dual Language (DL) program. As of November 2008, 18 schools in Illinois and 335 schools nationwide had DL programs (Paciotto and Delany-Barmann 2011).

⁸ West African residents constituting in relative terms a newer wave of immigrants in the area had a much lower percentage of homeownership at the time of surveys (5 percent or one out of 20 respondents) compared to Hispanic residents 18 out of 45 respondents; or English speaking residents 88 % (413 out of 468 respondents).

⁹ Immigrants comprised between seven and twenty-seven percent of each of seven block groups over three census tracts within the community's boundaries. Block groups are statistical aggregations of a lower geographic unit categorized by the Census Bureau, the census block. Nearly 400 census blocks cover Beardstown's place boundaries in 2000 (this calculation is cited from Diaz McConnell and Miraftab 2009).

¹⁰ The success of public space appropriations by ethnically diverse groups in this former sundown town has not come easy. They are gains of almost two decades of persistent claims made to public space and public institutions by immigrants and their native born local allies. While the process by which immigrants gain a public presence in a former sundown town is important, its discussion is not the focus of this essay. For that readers can refer to Miraftab forthcoming.

¹¹ An editorial that the mayor at the time, Mr. Walter, published in the local deal the city and state had made with Cargill Corporation to purchase the plant and run it as a hog slaughtering, packing and processing operation (Excel Meat Solutions).

¹² Data constructed from Local employment Dynamics in Census Bureau, <http://lehd.did.census.gov/led/datatools/qwiapp.html>

¹³ This includes Moline and Rock Island in Illinois, Davenport and Bettendorf in Iowa.

¹⁴ The amount of bonus paid to workers for newspaper is particularly revealing. A few weeks after the news of the Oscar Mayer shut-down, in response to his constituents' concern with replacement of OM with a new employer and industry, the mayor declared "I'd negotiate with the devil if I thought it would help" (*Illinois Star Daily* May 14, 1985). It was not much later that the mayor gladly announced the successful recruitment varies by the marketplace laws of supply and demand. The plant has different price tags for different workers and different times depending on its rate of labor turnover. Recruitment of a Mexican worker for example can be as low as \$50 or as high as \$150. The recruitment of an African worker, holding secure work permit and immigration papers, is in the range of \$300 to \$350.

¹⁵ Data constructed from Local employment Dynamics in Census Bureau, <http://lehd.did.census.gov/led/datatools/qwiapp.html>

¹⁶ Data collected from 1995 to 2008 persistently place Michoacán at the top of all Mexican states in their share of remittances received at national level. For 2008, this was 9.8% (Banco de México, indicadores economicos, diversos anos; pagina web, www.banxico.org.mx).

¹⁷ *Ejidator* is a member of an *ejido*, which is an Aztecs system of communal landownership reintroduced and institutionalized as a component of the Mexican land reform programs of the revolutionary governments 1911-1934. *Ejidors* were by in large dismantled by the neoliberal privatization policies of President Salinas in 1990s that amended the constitutional Article 27 in ways to allow privatization of communally owned *ejidos*.

¹⁸ *Coyotes* are agents who bring people across the border for a fee.

¹⁹ USAID, which had funded multi-million dollar development projects in Togo, closed its Togo office; development aid to Togo fell from 200 million dollars to 50 million dollars (World Bank and UNDP reports 2004:13 cited in Piot 2010:30). Although France continued its interest in a relationship with Togo, its political priorities clearly changed. In 1994t it dropped its aid package to Togo from 200 to 50 million franc per year (ibid,: 30) and devalued CFA Franc by 50% (ibid,:3).

²⁰ United Nations Statistics Division, National Accounts Section, available from the National Accounts Main Aggregates Database website, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/socind/inc-eco.htm> (accessed November 20, 2010).

²¹ Every year more than 5 million people submit their information for the DV lottery, 110,000 are selected randomly by a computer. They are the DV Lottery Winners. However only 55,000 worldwide will receive the visa.They are the DV Lottery Immigrants (DV Visas) (The Department of Homeland Security www.dhs.gov & www.uscis.gov).

²² A detailed discussion of survey method and results is included in Miraftab 2011.

²³ http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Indicators.pdf (accessed November 20, 2010).

²⁴ In this context "flashing" refers to a practice where the caller hangs up the phone before the other party answers. This practice allows the receiver of the call know what number is trying to reach him/her without the caller being charged for the call.

²⁵ Having mentored over 20 youth in his extended family bring them from the village to the city help them go through high school and in few cases college, he was now ready to pass on the torch to his mentees so they mentor other youth in the family. But immigration of the most educated people ruptured this cycle. He states he sees himself in "an endless process."

²⁶ Keep in mind that those working with false social security numbers make contribution to the fund that they cannot access at the end of their productive working cycle.

²⁷ On the role of NGOs in social reproduction of immigrant labor power in the US see Martin 2010.

²⁸ Unlike the Mexican case where the state mediates and promotes the use of remittances for public works and infrastructure through its federal programs such as Three for One, in Togo the state plays no role in determining the flow or the use of remittances sent home by their national emigrants. In absence of a proactive state program like that in Mexico, the funds sent home by the Togolese Diaspora are predominantly consumed at the household and individual levels.