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Introduction: Processes, New Prospects, and Approaches

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Introduction

Processes, New Prospects, and Approaches

Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez and Anna Sampaio

One of the best ways to begin to understand the cultures of the Latina/o populations of the United States is to consider the term as it has been used and appropriated over time. The term “Latino” (Spanish *Latino Americano*), according to David Bushnell (1970: 3) was first used by the Colombian publicist José María Torres Caicedo in 1856 (Miguel Tinker Salas, personal communication, 2001). “Latin” was used in the United States, especially in films from the 1920s through the 1960s as a cover designation that masked the origin of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans superseding the word “Spanish” to accomplish the same function.

“Mexican” was a word of opprobrium in the United States even before the 1846–1848 Mexican war and is associated with cheap labor to this day. However, especially during the eugenics period of the 1920s–1940s in the United States, the population was considered inferior because of “admixture” (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996: 83–84). For some Mexicans this period was important in distinguishing them as “white,” with the word “Spanish” being used to distinguish whiter, middle/upper-class Mexicans from their allegedly darker, working-class “Mexican” brethren. Of course, the actual variation of melanin in the Mexican population is probably as great as that between Anglos. Any cultural value given to darker or whiter is a social creation, since difference of skin color can have no biological or genetic value except as a positively adaptive function.¹

“Puerto Rican” was equally if not more negatively cast on the East Coast of the United States, especially after large-scale Puerto Rican migration in the 1950s. The term “Puerto Rican” was made questionable by a racist ideology that positively valued lighter-skinned Puerto Ricans against those with more melanin and devalued the partial African origins of Puerto Ricans. Like

Mexicans, Puerto Ricans were perceived as cheap labor and initially filled secondary and tertiary jobs, with the result that "whiteness" and class became intertwined. "Puerto Rican" became a negative designation denoting dark/African/working-class status while "Spanish" was its opposite.

In both cases, parts of both populations internalized these racialisms in order to fit a more positively rewarded stereotype that reinforced existing racialisms dating back to the caste system. This was a sixteenth-century Spanish colonial invention that sought to divide admixed populations according to physical characteristics and to limit their legal rights. Those "purest" were the Iberian-born Spaniards, and those at lower levels allegedly reflected their degrees of admixture.² For both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the inherited melanin/caste ideology combined to varying degrees with the U.S. melanin/class designation. Both categories are important for understanding hierarchical dimensions of power and inequality during the colonial periods and later between and among Anglos, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans as well as other Latina/os.

More recently, the U.S. Bureau of the Census has introduced "Hispanic" to capture the various segments of the Spanish-speaking population. "Latina/o" (but not "Latin" in American usage) is used by a segment of the U.S.-born of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Latin American origin as a term of cultural recognition and positive designation of social place. For this part of the population, "Hispanic" lacks legitimacy and authenticity and is a national imposition. In either case, both "Latino" and "Hispanic" tend to homogenize origins, lineality, and geographic associations, but the former term is a self-designation term rather than imposed and Spanish rather than English. We use the word "Latina/o" to refer to all persons residing in the United States whose cultural and national origin is from Mexico, the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, or Latin America. We recognize that while this definition locates the population within geographical boundaries, Latina/o populations often operate in transnational and transgeographic settings. We begin, then, by unpacking the term, distinguishing populations by historical, cultural, and national origin and, where appropriate, geographical context.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

"Latino" populations have their genesis in colonial enterprises that are in reality "transnational," although both nations and the term are nineteenth-century phenomena. The sixteenth and twenty-first centuries share transcontinental and transoceanic economic, political, and demographic movements that are the consequences of capital's moving about without reference to geographic or political borders in an effort to capture human labor, physical space, and

material goods. In the sixteenth century, such investments led to vast human and material exploitation and appropriation. In the Americas, two grand empires (Spain and England) and a few less grand (Portugal, Holland, and France) sought control over vast territories from Tierra del Fuego to the shores of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

"Latinos" for almost three hundred years saw few or no "national" differences, since they were all part of the Spanish colony. In the Southwestern United States the term "Españoles Mexicanos," meaning a subject of Spain but born in New Spain or Mexico, was the favored designation. It was not until the nineteenth century that "national" entities became differentiated after the independence movements in Mexico (which at the time included large parts of North America, Central America, and South America). Puerto Rico, which gained independence from Spain in 1897, was quickly incorporated into the United States as a condition of the Treaty of Paris in 1898. The Foraker Act, passed by Congress in 1907 (giving the United States the power to establish a president and executive council on the island), further solidified this new colonial relationship and bound the territory inextricably to the United States (Jennings, 1988; Rodriguez, 1997).

These new nations were quickly penetrated by capital and by political and colonial intervention from the United States and Europe. Thereafter there developed continuous transcontinental and transoceanic relations in which the expropriation of material, land, and human beings tied these national economies to U.S. and European markets in a type of economic colonialism and indirect rule that largely supported dictators such as Porfirio Diaz of Mexico (1876–1910) and dozens of others throughout the twentieth century in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama, Honduras, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Colombia.

In the case of Mexico, U.S. invasion and expropriation of land and population has created 150 years of asymmetrical transnational economic and political relations with political borders often crossed by capital, goods, and human beings. Three different versions of the U.S.-Mexican political border were imposed by the United States, and crossing and recrossing of "Mexicans" is a simple outcome of proximity and asymmetry. Varying forms of political economy have developed, ranging from the early extractive industries of U.S. and foreign interests of the nineteenth century to today's North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)-generated "open market" structures. Augmented by occasional revolutions, the movement of Mexicans across borders is directly related to the asymmetry of the two countries' economies and their expulsion when economic conditions in the United States defined them as undesirable (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996: 82–83).

All over Latin America, from the nineteenth century to the present, transnational mining, agricultural, banking, construction, assembly, clothing, electronic, and information interests have been developed without

particular allegiance to their national origins. Such corporations are constantly seeking out places, spaces, peoples, and material to appropriate and exploit at the lowest possible cost with the highest possible return. As they expand, populations are forced to move and regions previously unconnected to the First World become the material and resource backyards for transnational investment and expropriation.

The United States and its surrogates (Cuba, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, and El Salvador) have historically subjected Latin American countries to these processes punctuated often by direct or indirect armed interventions. These interventions are often accompanied by ideological convictions such as the "free-market" or "free-trade" megascripts and together create the conditions for transcontinental human movements from all such afflicted areas and especially so from Latin America. Thus the movement in the 1960s of Dominicans into the United States emerged as the direct consequence of a failed popular uprising of an American-supported dictatorship and of the American invasion of 1965 and stimulated the Diasporas of thousands of Dominicans.³ Similarly by 1990, 1.2 million Salvadorans were counted by the Census while only 21,000 had been enumerated 10 years before. Such dramatic increases are the direct consequence of Salvadorans fleeing the latest version of a long historical conflict between Salvadoran oligarchies, the Catholic Church hierarchy, and a U.S.-trained army against indigenous populations, peasants, middle class, and Salvadoran revolutionaries buttressed by both Marxist and localized Catholic liberation theologies. Similarly, in the same period, Guatemalan and Nicaraguan political refugees largely accounted for most of the demographic growth as the aftermath of long periods of political and economic unrest in Guatemala and Nicaragua directly associated with U.S. military assistance programs, U.S. protection of American corporations in agricultural production, and U.S. ideological convictions favoring capitalist transnational strategies.

Yet for many such populations, migration has meant migrating to similar structural conditions in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, New York, Miami, Atlanta, Chicago, and sundry other cities. Simultaneously, other populations are canvassing out to suburban and rural areas seeking employment as agricultural laborers, gardeners, and housekeepers; service workers in restaurants, stores, and hotels; and as caretakers of children, the elderly, and the infirm in homes, hospitals, and old age homes. It is these structural similarities to that which was left that have created a new cultural and political symbiosis with their points of origin. In the process, new cultural forms have emerged, ideologies have shifted, and the idea of spaces and places bound by nationality and origin have become blurred, and new forms of identity, multiculturality, and simultaneity of multiple experience have made their appearances.

Yet many of these characteristics are not limited to the present. What differentiates the transnational period from previous ones has three important

dimensions: (1) the dependent and interdependent structural relations between economies, the fluidity of which is made possible by electronic and other means of communication;⁴ (2) the massive migration of millions of persons and their continued communication with their points of origin; and (3) a totally unintended consequence of the first two, the billions of dollars in remittances that create local, regional, and national dependency upon those revenues and even more closely tie national economies to the sources of international capital in Europe, Asia, and the United States. Thus, the difference between the transnationalism of the late twentieth century and the imperialism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is more a matter of agents and process than of outcome. While the movement of capital between colonial states in the early 1900s was a function largely of formal merchants, diplomats, and state departments, today's migration is fueled as much by the practices of individual migrants themselves (seeking to maintain a clear connection with their countries of origin) as it is by the trade policies or distribution of multinational corporations. Our approach to the study of Latina/o communities must therefore include consideration of these characteristics of contemporary transnationalism at almost every level.

From the point of view adopted here globalization is a form of intense capital expansion that is practically unlimited in time and space. Time and space are in fact overcome by the electronic carriers that facilitate financial and political policy decisions, and these decisions are driving millions of human beings to cross borders to other nations. This border crossing is attended by terrible costs of poverty, illness, and abuse. The process involves not only the continuing appropriation of value from the labor of millions but also the squeezing of populations into "devaluing" spaces (Nagengast and Vélez-Ibáñez, n.d.).

This migration, whether international, national, or regional, entails social dislocation, depopulation of local areas, cultural fracturing of the human developmental process, and virtually forced adaptation to new localities. Each of these consequences has severe impacts on the material provisioning of households and on the ability of households to predict the availability of future subsistence requirements so as to create relatively secure social platforms. (See WEDO, *Codes of Conduct for Transnational Corporations: Strategies Toward Democratic Global Governance* quoted in Hom, 1996: n. 43.) Appropriate provisioning includes not only wages but also security of income, protection of physical and mental health, and educational benefits. A stable social platform includes inherited historical relations and their cultural understandings, familial relations, and nonfamilial social, economic, and political relations and events.

Through the life cycle individuals learn, reject, and/or reconstitute relations and events, and these become the cultural basis for their social platforms. The earliest platform for the neonate is the suckling and bonding between mother

and child. When a child's social platform develops in insecurity, uncertainty, conflict, and basic economic disparity without appropriate provisioning, the following generation may internalize all of the attending psychological and emotional ills, and its own children will become victims as well. Human beings are, however, amazingly plastic and inventive, and Latina/os are no exception. Innovation, negotiation, accommodation, and success are also possible.

Transnational global processes create world pathways for the movement of populations along with capital, goods, and communications, but these processes have no regard for appropriate provisioning to support stable familial social platforms. Populations seem to be reestablishing themselves in new places at the speed of an e-mail message and for Latina/os especially such movement is often a forced dislocation accompanied by extreme psychological and cultural uncertainty and indeterminacy. The consequences for many subsequent generations include disproportionate participation of youth in gangs, too early childbearing, lack of quality education, and high dropout rates (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996: 186–199).

DEMOGRAPHICS OF LATINA/OS IN THE UNITED STATES

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, the total Latina/o population numbered 22 million, almost five times greater than 1960 (Grebler, Moore, and Guzmán, 1970). Of the 1990 population, Mexicans made up more than 13 million, 62 percent of the total Latina/o population. They had in fact increased by more than 50 percent between 1980 and 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). Figure 1 shows the distribution of Latina/os by origin in 2000; of 32.8 million Latina/os, about 12 percent of the total U.S. population, Mexicans made up 66.1 percent, Central and South Americans 14.5 percent, Puerto Ricans 9.0 percent, Cubans 4.0 percent, and Other "Hispanics" 6.4 percent.⁵ The non-Mexican percentages were not significantly different from those of 10 years before.

The Latina/o population will almost double by 2025 and double again by 2070 to make up almost 30 percent of the U.S. population.⁶ While such growth is rooted in historical political factors, globalization influences its speed and intensity. This volume attends centrally to both the historical and the contemporary processes that are reflected in these demographics and to the political and cultural consistencies over time.

The growth described here has exacted a heavy human price. In few places are the costs of globalization more deeply felt than in the U.S. *colonias* that line the border between the United States and Mexico. Their physical and ecological disparities are similar to those suffered by migrants to cities all over Latin America forty years ago but now extend into the

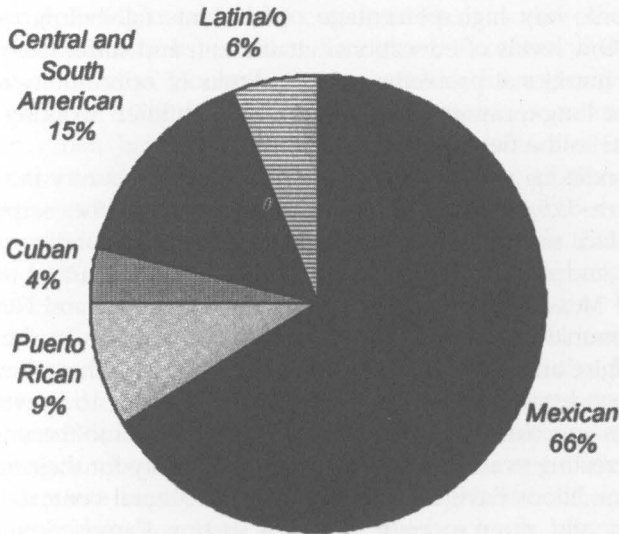


Figure 1. Percentage Distribution of Latina/os by Type, 2000

Source: Current Population Survey, March 2000, P20-535

United States as well. As a microcosmic example, in the middle of a desert bowl, forty dwellings of assorted types lay spread over approximately eighty barren acres. About thirty of the dwellings are former trailers that have been converted to permanency and in some cases have been encased within family-built brick homes. Many of these dwellings have no access to sewerage, water, electricity, or gas, and all at one time or another have lacked all such services. Most residents bought their lots without any amenities or infrastructure for \$4,000 each from owners who had paid one-fourth of that. Eventually the residents themselves create "miracle" communities out of nothing, and with the courage, tenacity, and know-how that those in dire need often display. They fight as *colonos* for basic water services and electricity and for the most part rely on septic tanks that often overflow or incomplete sewerage lines that allow partially filtered but untreated sewage to overflow and collect in pools. Needless to say, children suffer from high rates of gastric and pulmonary diseases, and over 80 percent of adults twenty-five or over suffer from traces of hepatitis A. For the most part, residents work on nearby farms for a minimum wage; a lucky few are employed in a nearby city as service workers or in construction. About a third of this population travels the migrant stream for three or four months a year to provide subsistence for their families when the crop cycle of the

area slows. A very high percentage of residents fall below the poverty level, have low levels of educational attainment, and suffer from untreated health and nutritional problems, and the limits of opportunity tend to reproduce the long-term attendant problems of children working alongside their parents in the fields at too early an age.⁷

These conditions are found not in a Third World country but in a rural Southwestern U.S. state, a few thousand feet from the serpentine Rio Grande. In fact, more than eighteen hundred such communities arose in the early 1980s and now are inhabited by nine hundred thousand to a million residents of Mexican-origin in the border states of Texas and New Mexico. These communities are mini-reproductions of conditions in the residents' point of origin, and they depend on low-wage labor without health coverage, adequate legal protection, or job security. Inability to provision themselves forces approximately 25 percent of households into the underground economy, creating even greater anxiety and insecurity for their members.⁸

Similar conditions have emerged in rural agricultural contexts in California, Arizona, and, more recently, in places such as Kansas, South Carolina, and Oregon, where residents struggle daily not to succumb to conditions that would easily overwhelm even the most seasoned survivor. Mexicans are also reoccupying California rural towns abandoned by non-Latina/os over the past 30 years as the young moved out and their parents followed them to other states or to suburban sites nearby (see Palerm in this volume for a detailed analysis of the reoccupation process in Santa Maria, California). This process is a double-edged sword; while towns are being reoccupied, businesses reborn, and local government revived, poverty, low income, poor housing, and decaying institutions are also being reestablished. There is similar nascent growth of Mexican populations in rural Iowa, Indiana, and Alabama in mostly farming communities where local institutions have been hard-pressed to adjust to the educational and cultural needs of the newcomers. Yet even in these "non-Mexican" regions, Mexican-oriented restaurants, stores, and other services are being developed by migrants who have been contractors for fellow migrants, or in some cases, participants in the underground economy.⁹

These recent developments are but a small part of much larger demographic changes across the Southwest and throughout the United States. In fact, the great majority of the Latina/o population is urban and part of a great movement from south to north, especially since World War II. The size and scope of this movement rivals the great trek westward in the nineteenth century (Gonzalez, 2000: xi). When high birth rates (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000b) are figured into this mix, the Latinization of large parts of the United States is guaranteed.

Entire urban landscapes in large metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles, Santa Fe, San Antonio, San Diego, Tucson, San Francisco, and Albuquerque

are increasingly being occupied by entering Mexicans and other Latina/os joining populations established since the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Others cities, such as Phoenix, Dallas, Houston, and Long Beach, have greatly expanded, especially between 1970 and 1980 when the Latina/o population virtually doubled. In urban border areas like those of Brownsville-Harlingen, El Paso, and Laredo, Mexicans make up over 60 percent of the population. The Los Angeles-Long Beach area has the highest number of "Latino" households, of which the great majority is of Mexican origin (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995)¹¹ (see Rocco in this volume on changing neighborhoods in Los Angeles).

Atlanta, Miami, Chicago, and New York and New Jersey are relocation centers for many of these populations, which follow in the footsteps of Puerto Ricans in New York and New Jersey, previous generations of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago, and Cubans in Florida. As evidenced by the burgeoning numbers of Dominicans in New York, many of these new immigrants move into largely African-American neighborhoods, quickly turning these into culturally mixed arenas in which schools, churches, stores, governing bodies, and electoral politics become new grounds of social and cultural change, intermarriage, conflict, economic relations, and shifts in the U.S. discourse on ethnic relations. Salvadorans in Los Angeles, Peruvians in Washington, DC, Guatemalans in San Francisco, and Nicaraguans in Miami migrate to structural conditions reminiscent of those they have left.

In 1998, slightly more than 27 percent of the U.S. population of Mexican origin, a large percentage of them recent migrants to cities, lived in poverty. Slightly over 30 percent of the population of Puerto Rican origin and 20 percent of that of Central and South American origin suffered from poverty. Cubans, considered "golden exiles," had a poverty rate only slightly higher (13.6 percent) than the general non-Latina/o population (11 percent). Removing the Cuban statistic, Latina/os in the United States would have suffered a poverty rate of 25 percent in 1998 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999a). This is significant because it was only 5 percent lower in the midst of a booming economy than it had been in 1993 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994).

In 1999, the percentage of Latina/os with incomes less than \$10,000 by cultural grouping is even larger than the percentage in poverty (Figure 2). The hardship this imposes is greater given the youth of these populations: 38 percent under eighteen for Mexicans and 35 percent for Puerto Ricans as compared with only 24 percent for Anglos (Figure 3). This is compounded by the fact that households are twice as large among Mexicans than among Anglos. The high percentage of Cubans with incomes less than \$10,000 is primarily due to the large number of aged Cubans no longer in the workforce, with 18 percent being over age sixty-five as compared with 4 and 7 percent for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans (Figures 4 and 5). Even the Anglos' 14 percent is less than the Cubans'.

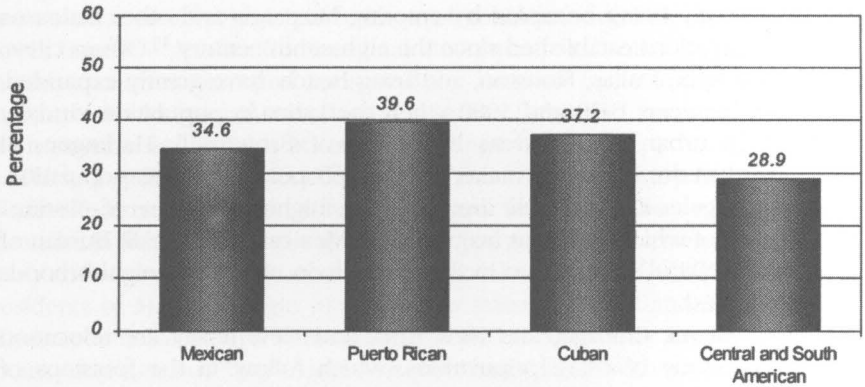


Figure 2. Percentage of Latina/os (15 Years and Older) with Income Less Than \$10,000 in 1998, by Origin

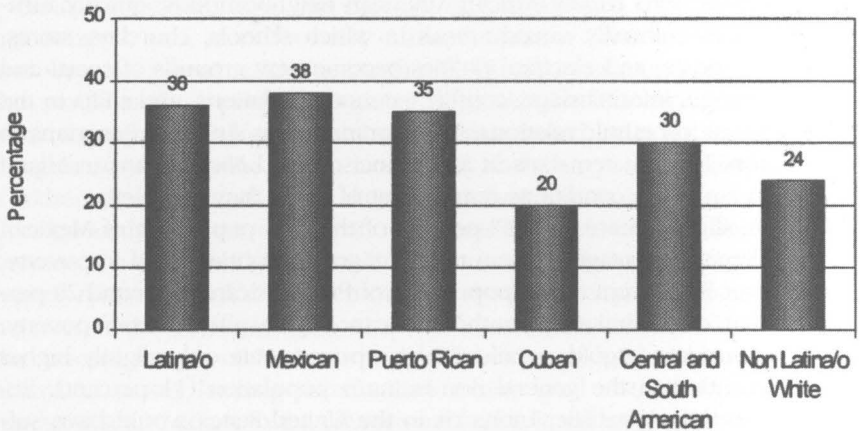


Figure 3. Percentage of Population under Age 18 by Latina/o Origin, 1999

But the percentages are especially troubling with regard to children living below the poverty level. More than 35.4 percent of Mexican children and a startling 43.6 percent of Puerto Rican children were below the poverty line in 1999, as were 26.6 percent of Central and South American children and 16.6 percent of Cuban children. Only 10.6 percent of non-Latina/o white children were so characterized (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999b).

For the most part, however, Latina/os suffer from low wages and underemployment rather than unemployment. In part, this poverty is associated with limited number of blue-collar jobs and the decline in wages in these jobs. For example, real earnings in the clothing and furniture industries in Los Angeles decreased more than \$6,000 a year between 1970 and 1990.¹²

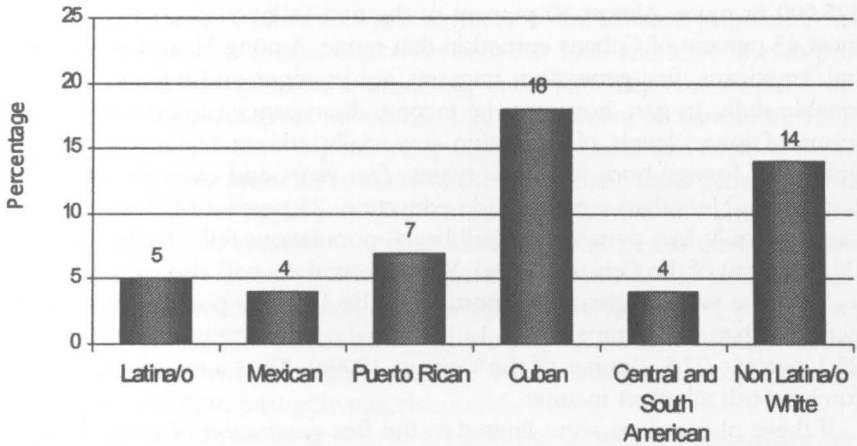


Figure 4. Percentage of Population Aged 65 and Over by Latina/o Origin, 1999

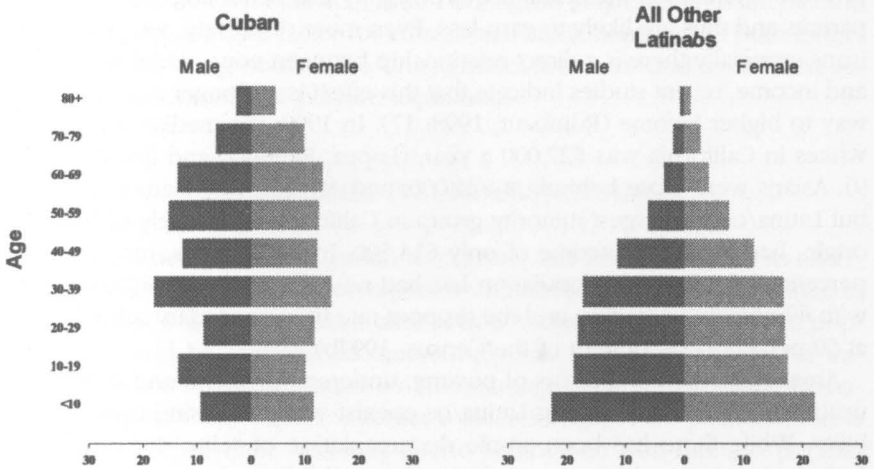


Figure 5. Age Distribution by Sex and Type of Latina/o Origin (in percentage), 1999

Source: Current Population Survey, March 1999, PGP-2

Yet what is often not emphasized sufficiently is that while the vast majority of Latina/os—73 percent Mexicans, 70 percent Puerto Ricans, and 80.1 percent Central and South Americans—fall above the poverty line, the problem lies in their lower wages and limited opportunities for upward mobility in comparison to the non-Latina/o white population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999c).

In 1998 only 25.8 percent of the Mexican population, 38.8 percent of Puerto Ricans, and 30 percent of Central and South Americans earned

\$25,000 or more. Almost 50 percent of the non-Latina/o population and almost 45 percent of Cubans earned in that range. Among Mexicans and Central Americans, first-generation migrants are younger and have fewer marketable skills. In part, however, the income discrepancy can be explained in terms of lower levels of education, especially among first-generation migrants. Of foreign-born Mexicans twenty-five years and over, more than 50 percent had less than a ninth-grade education; 25 percent of Central Americans and only 14.1 percent of "Caribbean" populations fell into this category (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997a). Younger workers will also earn less, and, as we have seen, a greater proportion of the Latina/o population is under eighteen than in the general non-Latino white population where the figure is 25.3 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999c). Thus age, education, and foreign birth all affect income.

If these phenomena were limited to the first generation of migrants, then this income disparity could be understood as a temporary condition that would improve over time. Paradoxically, however, some age groups of third- or fourth-generation Mexicans acquire slightly less schooling than did their parents and thus are likely to earn less. Even more disturbing, while for Mexicans especially there is a direct relationship between educational attainment and income, recent studies indicate that this effect is no longer a certain pathway to higher income (Rumbaut, 1998: 17). In 1999, the median income for whites in California was \$27,000 a year, (Lopez, Ramirez, and Rochin, 1999: 9). Asians were close behind, at \$24,000, and African Americans at \$23,000, but Latina/os, the largest minority group in California and largely of Mexican origin, had a median income of only \$14,500. In many states, moreover, 76 percent of the Latina/o population has had no college education, compared with 49 percent of Anglos, and the dropout rate from secondary school is still at 50 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997b).

Amazingly, these indicators of poverty, underemployment, and lack of educational opportunity among Latina/os coexist with increasing upward mobility. While there has been ample documentation of "elite" Mexicans and Latinos since the earliest communities were established, the rapid increase in the numbers of professional and managerial Latinos, particularly in the same instance as we have seen some of the most devastating poverty, is unique. This phenomenon, of course, is part of the much broader disparity between the very affluent and those earning low wages that has been especially characteristic of the way previously discussed in which communications and finances have created greater gaps.

Between 1975 and 1990 the numbers of Latina/os earning over \$75,000 a year tripled, and the combined numbers earning \$50,000 and \$75,000 a year made up 20 percent of the Latina/o population (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1996: Tables 709, 729). The growth in this income sector is also apparent in their increased presence in universities, professional programs, and

graduate programs. While the largest segment of the Latina/o population averaged fewer years of formal education between 1980 and 1990 than in previous decades, the numbers completing bachelor's degrees, master's degrees, and doctoral degrees increased (U.S. Department of Education, 1996: Tables 7, 202-203). What is particularly significant about this trend is that it represents not only the achievements of the second and third generation but also the migration of upper-income Mexicans and Central and South Americans encouraged by changes in immigration laws and by the increased flow of capital between these regions. In short, the changes in our economic climate have produced unprecedented prosperity for some and devastating poverty for many. The congregation of the population in the larger urban centers has produced "demographic pits"¹³ whose inhabitants may have less hopeful futures than past generations.

Rumbaut and Cornelius (1995: 46-47) point to a negative association between length of residence in the United States and scholastic achievement and aspirations. They state that even though time in the United States is strongly associated with the acquisition of English language skills and should be a positively selective factor for educational attainment, in fact both longer residence and being born in the United States are correlated to reduced academic achievement and positive aspirations.

APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING

The Latina/o population will continue to grow, and Latina/o studies as an essential intellectual and policy enterprise within the academy must continue to grow with it. What has not been clear is how these very heterogeneous populations should be approached theoretically and methodologically. For example, we know that for Latina/os intermarriage is an important factor nationally, and the way in which Latina/o studies engage this phenomenon is important. Intermarriage between Puerto Ricans and non-Latina/o populations such as Anglos and African Americans accounts for at least 35.4 percent of marriages of Puerto Ricans. Another 9.7 percent intermarry with other Latina/o populations, and the remaining 55 percent marry other Puerto Ricans. For Mexican-origin populations, 28.3 percent intermarry with non-Latina/os while 2.3 percent marry other Latina/os so that almost 70 percent marry others of Mexican origin. Cubans marry other Cubans less frequently (63.2 percent), while 25.7 percent marry non-Latina/os. The remaining 11.1 percent marry other Latina/os: much higher than the Mexican rate, but only slightly higher than the Puerto Rican (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998).

However, even these rates may be deceiving and may change, depending on the actual physical location of the populations sampled and the generations in question. A recent study conducted at Fordham sampled 21,000 New York

City marriage records and found that Cubans in New York marry out at much higher rates than do Puerto Ricans (Edmondson, 1996). It may be surmised that the higher intermarriage rate of Cubans with non-Latina/os in New York, which contrasts with the national figures, is due to significant demographic presence of other Cubans and Latina/os in areas such as Miami—especially Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, and, increasingly, Mexicans.

And what of the children of these intermarriages of all types? They account for almost 22 percent of the offspring due to intermarriage among the Mexican populations, 38.4 percent among Puerto Ricans and almost 37 percent among Cubans. Are these children to be considered, as some have suggested, as “hybrids,” doubly rich, triply hyphenated, or ensconced within the general term of “Latino” or “Hispanic?”¹⁴ Do the dense, cross-border households in the desert localities of the Southwest United States, such as Tucson—only 60 miles from the border—guarantee the continued Mexicanization of such offspring? The almost total integration of non-Mexican spouses into very dense Mexican social networks also argues against facile acculturation models of one-way movement from Mexican to “American” cultural assimilation (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996: 149; see Cabán in this volume on the attempted forced assimilation of Puerto Ricans on the island).

Similarly, how do offspring born in New York of Puerto Rican and African American parents negotiate different cultural paths when they travel to Puerto Rico for their annual Christmas and summer visits? Here phenotypic heterogeneity is as common as an evening breeze from the ocean and similarly taken for granted. The rigidity of a group phenotypic classification based on the socially created notion of “race” in the United States is supplanted by a Puerto Rican ideology of hazy phenotypic individual differences between persons in which group stereotype is deemphasized and individual variation is noted. This group-versus-individual premise creates a very different dynamic between individuals and eventually groups in the Puerto Rican case, even though Europeanized “whiteness” is viewed more positively than African “darkness.” Yet this dynamic may be changing because of an even greater emphasis on phenotypic characteristics of groups with the recent migration of Dominicans to Puerto Rico, where they are subject to the same racist stereotypes from which Puerto Ricans suffer in the United States (Duany, 2000: 15-16).

Nevertheless, in the U.S. case all individuals, regardless of actual phenotypic characteristics, are regarded as “black” if they are known to have one “drop” of African ancestry.¹⁵ Thus, individuals have to break down the group definition to move beyond white and black. For Puerto Rican/African American offspring born in the United States these dynamics assume profound emotional, cultural, and psychological importance in their various returns to Puerto Rico and the United States (see Cruz-Janzen in this volume on the development of “Latinegra” identity).

THEORETICAL VIEWS OF POWER, RELATIONSHIPS, PROCESS, SCRIPTS, AND CULTURE

These demographic discussions and ethnographic examples are of such salience and complexity that a more "processual" approach to the study of Latina/o communities is called for. By "processual" we mean focusing on unfolding historical relations between and within populations and within social fields and arenas that may be local, regional, national, and transnational without necessarily reducing the analysis to physical boundaries (see Rocco in this volume for an insightful critique of postmodernist theory for the remapping of Latina/os and Latina/o studies).

This more fluid approach focuses on central questions of contestation over physical, natural, and material resources, property, and goods between and within populations. From such contestation emerge important questions of the movement of capital, investment, expropriation, and the creation or diminution of labor or surplus value. These, in turn, strongly influence the power relations between populations at a variety of levels of human organization and determine the legitimacy and the character of the power associated with relations of gender, class, and ethnicity. As Wolf (1999: 66) has so eloquently stated the case, "Power is brought into play differently in the relational world of families, communities, regions, activity systems, institutions, nations, and between nations." This approach is event-centered and traces the decisions, maneuvers, resources, relationships, and constructs of cultures used at these various organizational levels, from the household to the transnational setting, and the manner in which these unfold within the gender, class, and ethnic relations of power (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1983a: 9; see Sampaio in this volume for an extended discussion of the often complex and at times difficult relations between transnational political policies and national political borders and Oboler for discussion of class differentiation among Latina/os).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL SCRIPTS AND MEGASCRIPTS AND THEIR TRADITIONAL COUNTERPARTS

Such power relations, however, need to be articulated and legitimated through structured references, recognition, symbols, rituals, practices, and expectations. Schools and institutions of many sorts, communications, media, and supralocal juridical, legislative, and executive corporate networks and nodes provide central and created "cultural scripts" for each of the dimensions cited by Wolf, and where appropriation is greatest such cultural scripts are often contested, negotiated, or rejected (see Nájera-Ramírez in this volume for an analysis of the "traditional" cultural form of the *charreada* as

a mode of resistance to imposed "cultural scripts"), but also often assimilated and accepted as true and "natural." Each of these potential temporary conclusions may reinforce, reproduce, eliminate, and/or partially support the relationships of power at each organizational level, between levels, and between and among relations of gender, class, and ethnicity. This is, however, an ongoing process for the simple reason that human populations are not automatons but agents that often reject and internalize their subordination in the "name" of something else such as the "nation," "General Motors," "Jesus," "the doctor," or "father."

These scripts underwrite local, institutional, or transnational relations of power and economy by seeming to cohere between the most abstract order of organization, such as the transnational corporation, and the local household, and correspond to the "appropriate" definitions of the relations of gender, class, and ethnicity. Over time, these scripts become "megascripts" at the most centralized and powerful levels—nations, transnational entities such as the World Trade Organization, and international bodies such as OPEC. Versions of these megascripts are distributed to varying degrees of success, through the means described above. (See Part II for further development of the "megascript").

When coherence breaks down because of the resistance, negotiation, or rebellion expressed by the concerned populations, a reordering of the status quo will emerge. However, such reordering probably will not "cohere," given the simple contradictions that emerge as accommodations are offered, resolutions attempted, and satisfaction temporarily found. (See Pérez in this volume for a discussion of the apparent contradictions of cultural understanding in Chicago that are, in fact, transnational constructions that speak to the seeming "incoherence" of various cultural scripts).

Used in this way, "culture" has a much more dynamic meaning than the common definitional sense, as the following section illustrates. The word "script" allows for an interactive and changing process that involves both agency and internalization, both resistance and accommodation in the same space and place. Which of these factors are more or less influential is often an empirical question.

But how does "culture" as a heuristic device fit critically within this processual approach? For many Latina/o scholars this central question has to be answered from a historical point of view. In fact, "culture" continues to be a focus of contention with regard to its analytical usefulness and its capacity for outlining the various shapes of identity and reference.

The traditional focus on culture often relied on an assumption of unchanging essential characteristics of "a" culture that induced people to follow traditional practices like some sort of frozen road map. This "culturological" approach often reduced Latina/o populations to simple caricatures following patterns of familism, extended kinship, male domination, religiosity, pres-

ent-time orientation, linguistic conservatism, and a provincialism that did not allow for interaction across "ethnic boundaries" (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1983: 9-10).¹⁶ Homogeneity was the hallmark of culture in this approach (see Oboler in this volume for a fresh theoretical point of view on ethnicity, culture, and identity).

In the United States especially, the underlying text was that immigrant populations were "un-American," and educational institutions were mandated to force them to abandon their "traditional" characteristics and values. Assimilation was the assumption that rationalized such a shift. This idea was strongly embedded in U.S. political and policy premises and was in fact part of the folklore whereby all foreign cultural groups eventually became part of the mainstream. This national cultural prism was expressed in the English language, nucleated family systems, achievement motivation, individualism, Protestantism, representative democracy, and covertly and overtly preferred group phenotypes. Without any reference to relations of power between "traditional" Latina/o groups and the mainstream, the preferred groups were expected to achieve closure on their historical cultural orientations by being erased.

THE EMERGENCE OF A LATINA/O CRITIQUE

For many Latina/os this utopian assimilationist view was either theoretically questionable or empirically unsatisfying.¹⁷ A number of anthropological and culturologically oriented works of the 1960s became special targets, concerned as they were with "traditional" Mexican values, ideas, and behaviors, the "culture of poverty," present-time orientation, lack of delayed gratification, and a cultural propensity for criminal behavior.¹⁸

Julian Samora and Patricia Vandel Simon (1977), Octavio Romano (1968), and Nick Vaca (1970a; 1970b) laid out the deficiencies of anthropology and the social sciences in terms of their underlying epistemological and logical formulae. They pointed to issues of ahistoricism and the lack of validity and replicability of many social science studies, and Romano especially was highly critical of one-shot, one-year, bounded and encapsulated "community" studies displaying an "as if" present of unchanging behaviors attributable to "culture."

One aspect of these early critiques was an insistence on more rigid systematic fieldwork, including attention to representativeness, sampling, and an eye to either a grounded theory or some broader theoretical framework within which to understand the specificity of what we wanted to examine. What Latina/o critics questioned was not the nomothetic model, but its inappropriate application or lack of application, resulting in timeless, synchronic, and bounded renditions of Mexican populations. Failure to appreciate power and coherence was particularly questioned, and Vine Deloria's

Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (1969) was very important for many. Similarly, Margaret Mead's debate with James Baldwin in *A Rap on Race* (1971) crystallized aspects of African American–Anglo relations, but it especially laid out the limits of traditional thinking about culture and questions of cultural relativity and its lack of recognition of the power of subordinate/superordinate relations.

For many Latina/o graduate students in the early 1970s, a “Latina/o” filter sought out analytical processes rather than things; understanding relationships and connections rather than boundaries and looking from the inside out rather than from the top down became part of the operating procedure in the social sciences. As Diego Vigil and Robert Alvarez (personal communications, June 27 and December 15, 1997)¹⁹ have pointed out, this array in part emerged from aspects of recalled daily experience. Put simply, many had not assimilated as was expected, and cross-border and cross-water connections with kin in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and other parts of Latin America remained significant.

These critiques coincided with others in Puerto Rican studies, Mexican American studies, Chicano studies, and Latino studies in the 1970s. They attempted to unpack the multilayered political and cultural impositions on these populations by institutions and communication media from books to film. These “cohering” institutions themselves were part of broader structural processes that seemed to be worldwide and were considered as “colonial” projects. International political conditions in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia had spawned various movements in pursuit of freedom from foreign economic and political domination or repressive national governments. Cuba served as the model for both kinds of movements, and in the infancy of that revolution many in Latin America and some Latina/os in the United States felt an admiration if not adoration for its leadership. Puerto Ricans had fought for national status since the “Grito de Lares” in the nineteenth century against Spain, and in the same century the anticolonial struggle was renewed against the United States. Various Puerto Rican political movements that antedated the Cuban Revolution served as background for the political and academic assertions of Puerto Ricans in the United States. As early as 1936 more than ten thousand Puerto Ricans in New York marched for Puerto Rican independence (see Cabán in this volume on U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico).

Many Puerto Rican intellectuals and academics in the United States regarded themselves as subject to a type of “internal colonialism,” especially with regard to language loss, cultural assimilation, and economic exploitation. Internal colonialism was considered an analogue of international colonialism in which territory, population, and material resources were controlled by force and the metropolis was the controlling colonial power. In the case of Puerto Ricans, the island was the colonized entity and most forms of

production were in the hands of colonial agents or their surrogates. Puerto Ricans in New York were basically fleeing to the metropolis as the direct consequence of these colonial relations, and these relations were partially duplicated in the city in the sense that Puerto Ricans were concentrated in particular areas such as the Bronx and political and economic control was in the hands of non-Puerto Ricans or their surrogates. The resulting poverty, undereducation, overrepresentation in the underground economy, unhealthy living conditions, and identity crises were predictable consequences. In an interesting manner, this model echoes our transnational model of analysis in insisting that the structural conditions of the migrating populations in their points of origin are duplicated in their new place of residence.

In the United States, especially on the eastern seaboard, Puerto Ricans struggled for independence as well, but for many experiencing U.S. forms of racism and cultural discrimination it gave a different cast to their analytical frameworks. For many Puerto Ricans racial, ethnic, and class stratification became an important urban condition along with freedom from an oppressive rural existence on the island. Other Puerto Ricans who joined the agricultural migrant stream for higher wages in Florida and followed the crop road to New Jersey during the 1940s and early 1950s became simply migrant statistics rather than part of a problem to be solved because of their origin. However, since the vast majority of Puerto Ricans after 1950 congregated in New York City, job discrimination, political underrepresentation, and poor education became central to the political and intellectual interests of Puerto Ricans in the city with an eye to the independence movements on the island.

For Mexicans, three different historical processes/events created the present border between Mexico and the United States and the related phenomena of Mexicans crossing and recrossing it. The first was the 1836 revolt of Texans against Mexico, with the annexation of Texas by the United States ten years later. The second was the Mexican War of 1846–1848, in which the United States invaded Mexico and eventually forcibly incorporated parts of Colorado, New Mexico, and California into its territory. The third was the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, whereby land in southern Arizona was purchased from Mexico by the United States. While it seemed on the surface to be a voluntary sale, it was preceded by unmistakable indications that there would be unpleasant consequences for Mexico if the transaction were not consummated (Park, 1961: 27). Given these historical events and almost two hundred years of asymmetrical synergy between Mexico and the United States in labor, land, and economy, Mexican scholars of the United States equally embraced much of the colonial model, slightly revamped as “internal colonialism.”²⁰ Associated with this model were issues of land loss, mythic origins, and borderlands identities as well as the central issues of job discrimination, undereducation, poor housing, low wages, and poor health.

By the 1980s the idea of "internal colonialism" had been supplanted by others. Among the most important intellectual developments in social science devoted to Latina/o issues was the theorizing resulting from the formation of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research in the early 1980s. By 1993 the program was calling for a serious questioning of the capacity of the social sciences to meet the myriad needs and issues concerning the Latina/o population on opposite coasts of the United States. Almost at the same time, Bonilla (1998) points out the Gulbenkian Foundation found the social sciences to be floundering without direction and confined to small academic niches of questionable relevance. Dissatisfaction led to a very extended discussion of theoretical approaches that might move beyond the traditional culturological, assimilationist, functionalist, and other utopian versions. Bonilla (1998: ix) underscores four major areas emphasized in the various discussions and conferences on the topic:

the emergent forms of global and transnational interdependence; the negative impact and demographic repercussions within the United States, especially in Latino communities, of economic and political restructuring; changing concepts of and social bases for community formation, citizenship, political participation, and human rights as individuals are obliged to construct identities in more than one sociopolitical setting; and fresh pathways into international relations and issue-oriented social movements and organizations among these highly mobile populations.

Yet there are also elements of transnational theory to which the contributions to this volume are attentive. It is obvious that broad interdependent binational, transnational, and global questions have become an important part of the conversation regarding Latina/os and Latin Americans. This emerges from the understanding that a new economic hegemony was created in the late twentieth century in which the United States is a central player and in which the production of goods and need for services and labor are part of an exchange system between parts of Latin America and the United States. In fact, this exchange relationship is an interdependent one in which inequality in one nation is replicated and created by an international market in the other. According to Pastor (1998: 18), "The inequality that faces both Latin Americans and Latinos, particularly urban residents, is partly the result of internationally induced economic restructuring. In this sense, integration into global economies has had uneven effects for both Latin and Latino Americans." These include the exporting of Fordist technology, bottling up technological innovation in Latin America and "re- and deindustrialization" in urban centers in the United States with a concomitant overcapitalization of finance and communication ventures (see Pastor, 1998: 18-20; Vélez-Ibáñez, n.d.; see also Zamudio in this volume suggesting that these new socioeconomic formations require a rethinking of both labor theory and specific strategies and organizing tactics).

As Pastor (1998: 20) states the case, "The poor of Latin America meet with poor Latinos in the same place and space." These transnational dynamics require different ways of thinking about Latina/os in the United States, employing cultural frameworks that concentrate on coherence, stasis, reproduction, and essential cultural understandings of difference (see Zavella in this volume on the transnational aspects of gendered relations of work in the food-packing industry and the impact of globalization on Mexican women in both the United States and Mexico).

REEXAMINING TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS, PROCESSES, AND CULTURES

Bonilla's excellent guide and Pastor's suggestions for new theoretical approaches have so far been taken up only in part. Much of the transnational approach has focused on migration (Basch, Szanton-Blank, and Glick Schiller, 1994; Guarnizo and Smith, 1998; Kearney, 1991; 1995; Ong and Nonini, 1997; Rouse, 1989; 1991). It has also emphasized the cultural production that emerges in transnational space and the exchange of material goods and symbolic representations (Gupta, 1992; Marcus, 1995). An important part of this focus is the manner in which voluntary associations, social movements, and political protest and organizations have filled the newly created transnational or "hyperspace" (Kearney, 1995). For the most part these works have concentrated on the creation of political identities in such settings and conflated these with the social identities of the actors. This conflation has left out the nonparticipants and the daily created and negotiated hyperspaces in which persons must attend on a daily basis to household provisioning, establishing stable social platforms for the next generation, and negotiating with institutional, work, and service realities. For the most part, those left out are women, men, and children who must constantly reorganize themselves in unstable hyperspaces and often rely on tested methods of reducing the indeterminacy typical of such contexts. The contributions to this volume in part attend to these nonparticipants.

We come away with a conviction that no matter how globalization processes unfold, local-level formations are not just reproductions but contestations, negotiations, and adaptations that are not reducible to a single theoretical construct—materialist, symbolic, or empirical. To use a more current phrase: most local-level niches operate in fields characterized by routine struggles between "prosaic state force and economic grand structures and networked defiance" (Heyman, 1998: 51). The latter may be represented by political organizations in struggles for simple amenities like water, electricity, and sewerage systems in New Mexico, by economic practices such as the rotating credit associations called *tandas*, largely in the hands of women,²¹ by

extended modular households that build and create entire communities from nothing, by networks of Latinas confronting educational authorities throughout the United States in pursuit of quality education, by the creation of new art forms and the replication of traditional ones, and by the creation of funds of knowledge vital to the development of hearth and home.

Heyman (1994: 51) argues that large-scale national and international political and economic institutions help create cultural niches and modes of action that strengthen transnational existences, as they appear in localized arenas and develop cultural places and spaces where they should not exist. Thus in some of the *colonias* of the Southwest, almost a third of households are engaged in a "niche" underground economy in which relatives are recruited from their places of origin and distributed to labor contractors all the way to Kansas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas. The cost to relatives for this service is a third that charged to others, and the migrants themselves feel safety within the kinship relations that make their transnational transport possible. This niche economy operates only a few miles from strict border control checkpoints and the sources of constant institutional observation and intervention. Needless to say, the underlying cultural bases for social relations are being extended from the central Mexican states in which workers are recruited to the *colonias* and on to the agricultural and animal production sites in the Plains, the Southeast, and the Midwest (Vélez-Ibáñez et al., n.d.).

These practices are part of much larger cultural nexuses too often dismissed as unimportant, exotic behaviors rather than being seen as forms that speak to the very basis of a human and social identity. These are, in fact, locally derived scripts that often oppose those created by educational and political institutions. They may develop from transnational localities, and the medium of transmission may vary from extended transnational households to voluntary associations and from cross-border rotating credit associations to the underground networks just described.²²

At the local level these scripts encompass physical and cultural spaces the content of which ranges from the colors used to paint a home to the recreational, ritual, and familial sites selected for use, enhancements, and change. And while the example may seem trivial, in fact such declarations of space use may create community upheavals when the new spatial and perceptual definitions introduced are not based on the proper "ethnic community" script. One of us painted his home a Mexican pink in the midst of the placid gray-blues and pastel hues of the surrounding homes and replaced the perfectly groomed grass with unpatterned red, purple, and yellow flowers and a Mexican colonial fountain.²³ The resulting upheaval generated a series of newspaper articles and letters to the editor, one of which declared that the city in Southern California where the controversy took place was not "Mexico or Spain." Ironically, Juan Bautista de Anza in 1776 had passed through

the area on his way to found the settlement and presidio of San Francisco, and his trail is marked by a number of street and place-names in his honor.

These phenomena contradict the very basis for geographically derived statuses such as citizenship, nationality, cultural identities, spatial and perceptual definitions, and political borders. This last generates political issues such as what constitutes representative governance, individual rights, legal protection, and collective organizing and, most importantly, contradicts the right to be governed by national entities based on geographically defined constructs. Such constructs do not conform to the social and cultural reality of many of the populations discussed in this volume.

The processual method helps provide the means to trace the various dimensions of such phenomena and engage multiple theoretical pathways. In this volume, the contributors adopt a number of different theoretical points of view, but this method guides even the most theoretically oriented discussions. The emphasis is on process rather than on traditional theoretical constructs.

TRADITIONAL ANALYTICAL FRAMES

The traditional analysis that focuses on acculturation as measured by language change, cultural identity, and social relations simply reproduces frameworks tied to a national ideology of monoculturalism and assimilation which is the analogue of the ideological conviction of nationalism. Such traditional approaches fail to consider the bidirectionality of cultural processes, the creation of localized and regional cultural and linguistic forms, the emergence of multidimensional social identities based on class, intermarriage, and binationalism, and the development of localized scripts and localities in the midst of institutional and national repressive policies, actions, and megascripts.

Similarly, a strictly materialist approach that accentuates the totalizing force of capitalism of Latina/o populations is insufficiently supported. While world capitalism does in fact tend toward the flattening out of cultural systems into analogues of itself, localities, communities, and networks of niches simply are not erased. This approach clearly provides useful analytical tools, especially in relation to the devaluing of labor value and the asymmetry of class relations, but it overlooks the amazing ability of populations to deal with the destructive effects of globalizing economies and their various "distributions of sadness" (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996: 182-206): the statistical overrepresentation in low-paid jobs, prisons, and jails, high-risk behaviors such as gang membership and drug use, specific mental and physical health disorders and problems, and even war. For the most part, this approach fails to test the limits of human creativity and to recognize the reality of agency and of consistent cultural reformulation and contestation.

As Leacock and Lee (1982: 6-7) have pointed out,

The materialist approach's invaluable contribution is that Marxist methodology resolves the conflict between generalizing and particularizing emphases, for it both enables fine-grained analyses of underlying determinant relations in specific instances and articulates these analyses with a comprehensive general theory of human history.

While committed to the importance of historical and cultural specificity, a dialectical and historical-materialist approach requires the search for underlying regularities or "laws." While committed to the significance of social cohesion, the approach calls for definition of the basic disharmonies, conflicts, or "contradictions" within socio-economic structures that impel change.

The Marxist approach often fails to attend to agency and resistance as well as accommodation within these broader socioeconomic structures. While it seeks out underlying relations in specific instances, it incompletely recognizes innovation and creativity in the process, often failing to acknowledge the tendency to create social and cultural places and spaces in spite of determinant relations. Its emphasis on changes in class formations as globalizing and transnational processes that collect more and more adherents to the megascripts of unmatched wealth and consumerism is, however, an invaluable intellectual and theoretical tool. Examining class relations in the abstract and in the empirical world simultaneously, it reveals details of these processes without which history becomes only the telling of one script after another. Accompanied by the processual method, class analysis not only reveals the myriad scripts that rationalize the basic relations of power and value among different populations but also pinpoints the loci of power, the strategies of contestation that need to be developed, and the probable outcomes of these strategies.

Yet a materialist approach that focuses only on class relations often fails to deal with the realities of the "naturalizing" processes that affect gender and cultural scripts. It does not contend with the power relations between populations and within the same population that reproduce sexism and subordination of women to men. Both gender and cultural relations are more than class. The naturalizing processes whereby the exploitation of women or of Mexicans as commodities is made acceptable originate in subtle and even unspoken messages and behaviors that are not reducible to class expectations. A rigorous processually oriented analysis can capture these messages and render a much more accurate account of the relations of power and their genesis.

Somewhat similar to the materialist approach, but lacking its dynamic theoretical machinery concerning the creation of labor value, is a "structural" approach that defines ethnicity as an artifact of labor market integration and residential proximity. From this sociological "structural" point of view, there

is a direct relationship between immigration history, the availability of wages, spatial context, technology, and the structure of the organization of production and the emergence of ethnicity (Nelson and Tienda, 1997: 9). Residential isolation and participation in segmented labor leads to interaction and the creation of cultural bonds, relationships, and finally ethnic identity in the same residential area. As Yancey, Erikson, and Juliani (1976: 392) put it, "Ethnicity may have relatively little to do with Europe, Asia, or Africa, but much more to do with the requirements of survival and the structure of opportunity in this country."

This point of view, although partially supported by empirical data, is in the present transnational period only partly explanatory. It fails to recognize the importance of the reality of often-crossed political borders, cross-border households, intensive informal and underground economies, and networks and webs of migration and relations that occupy spaces and places that are in fact borderless, nonresidential, and, because of communications and rapid travel, almost simultaneous. These both maintain linguistic and cultural knowledge and create new versions of both, such as augmented *Hispanicized English* and *Americanized Spanish*.

The limitations of this structural approach are in part epistemologically associated with the assimilationist model, which ultimately erases "ethnic" populations by equating proximity of residence and labor market participation with cultural and social relations. It seems to suggest that by a change in the labor market and residential moves out of their neighborhoods, these populations will come to be characterized by nucleated households, frequent divorce, few children, and monolingualism. In fact, such erasure does not have to occur, despite the elimination of "structural" factors. There are countless examples of *Latina/o* populations in the United States maintaining long-distance social relations by travel, communication via the Internet, visits, and sojourner and circular migration. The creation of *Latina/o* studies programs and the explosion of creative literature and art over the past thirty-five years contradict this view.²⁴ The contributions to this volume stress an understanding of culture and ethnicity not merely as an artifact of place and pay but as the result of populations' contesting the impacts of economic globalization and the structural impediments created by monolingual schooling, misrepresentations in the media, the commoditization of identity, and an emphasis on a one-dimensional "ethnic" identity.

Among the most promising theoretical points of view for understanding *Latina/os* is the postmodernist model, which has contributed to a strong analytical emphasis on multiculturalism and multidimensional forms of analysis including such constructs as critical race theory.²⁵ As Rocco (this volume) asserts, critical race theory critiques notions of progress and points out that Western ideas of inclusion have depended on the exclusion of marginalized peoples. The premise of Western ideas of mobility, advancement, economic betterment,

and the eventual elimination of class by the efforts of a few creates the basis for the exploitation of populations defined as lazy, as commodities, or as cheap labor or assigned to subordinate positions because of presumed intellectual and social limitations. The postmodernist critique would suggest that processes such as class mobility guarantee inequality and marginalization. The state creates the institutional means by which this process is made possible and guarantees a stratified society. Yet the postmodernist approach largely precludes any extended understanding of class conflict, the relations of such conflict to the massive accumulation of wealth, and people's inventiveness, creativity, and sheer determination. It largely fails to provide a substantiated analysis of the way in which Latina/os must negotiate, contradict, and sometimes overcome their overrepresentation in the distribution of sadnesses.

The contributions to this volume strongly suggest that these approaches must be informed by the broad questions of transnational economy that basically undermine national theories of culture, society, polity, and economy. At the same time, they must attend to the manner in which affected populations manage the formal, informal, and underground economies, and therefore contestation, negotiation, and local invention and practice must also become part of Latina/o studies. No single theoretical venture can be successful in the midst of the constant movement of populations and resources and the rapid changes in cultural scripts based on localized actions and behaviors of persons tied to each other by short- and long-term relations and interests. We suggest that the analytical "glue" that is most helpful for integrating an array of analytical tools and theories is a processual approach coupled with a class analysis in which human actions and behaviors are assumed not to follow any predetermined course and not to lead to any obvious solution.

ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME

The volume has three parts: Part I, "Reconceptualizing Latina/o Studies and the Study of Latina/o Subjects," Part II, "Cultural Processes and Changing Forms of Ethnic Identity," and Part III, "Transforming Work, Labor, Community, and Citizenship." Each part is provided with an introductory guide to the chapters in the book.

In part I, Anna Sampaio's "Transforming Chicana/o and Latina/o Politics: Globalization and the Formulation of Transnational Resistance in the United States and Chiapas" is a significant example of the manner in which the processual approach handles the difficult analytical relations between transnational political policies designed for economic unification and their impacts on national political borders. These impacts lead to a reconfiguration of the idea of traditional national citizenship, the development of understandings dealing with the creation of transnational localities, and the dis-

turbance of coherent cultural scripts at local, regional, national, and transnational levels. This fluidity creates a need for attention to the multidirectionality of transnational cultural scripts in which borders at best are something to cross.

Suzanne Oboler's "The Politics of Labeling: Latino/a Cultural Identities of Self and Others" focuses on the emergent processual properties of identity among Latina/os. She describes the way in which class and race background shape the meaning and social value that individuals attribute to self-identifying terms and points out that the relationship between Latina/os and others is central to their identity and ethos. Identity, she says, echoing Stuart Hall, is emergent and always in relation to multiple versions of self, regardless of the homogenizing effect of "Americanization."

Raymond A. Rocco's "Reframing Postmodernist Constructions of Difference: Subaltern Spaces, Power, and Citizenship" argues that in transnational contexts coherence at many levels may become so fluid that new conceptualizations are needed to capture the dynamics of the situation. More important, he broadens the scope of the discourse on citizenship to include the experiences of immigrants as central to the process of defining (and redefining) Latina/o communities and civil society. His examination of the ongoing tensions between Latina/os and newly arrived Latin Americans is equally significant because it reveals the changing boundaries and definitions of the United States and Latin America and the changing roles of occupants of both of these spaces.

In part II, Pedro Cabán's "The Colonizing Mission of the United States in Puerto Rico, 1898-1930" is a historical analysis of attempts at the Americanization of Puerto Rico and the role in these efforts of an underlying national script designed to provide an amenable and pliable population for capitalist expansion and use. This thirty-two-year-long process, which combined major "cohering" U.S. institutions including the Department of Education, the Interior Department, and the Office of the Attorney General, imposed legal, juridical, educational, labor, and social models leading to Americanization throughout the island in an exact copy of the Spanish colonization of five hundred years before. However, this imposition created the basis for its own contradiction: the development of Puerto Rican nationalism and cultural identity.

Marta Cruz-Jansen's "Ethnic Identity and Racial Formations: Race and Racism American-Style and *a lo latino*" begins from a multiracial and multiethnic position to describe the formation of Latina/o identities in the United States and links contemporary Latina/os with the history of race and ethnicity in Latin America. Ultimately, however, Cruz-Jansen's strongest contribution is her unfolding processual testimonial as a *Latinegra*, a Latina whose racial heritage is largely African. This perspective goes a long way toward producing a fresh multidimensional understanding of Latina/os in the United States and introduces a complex, processual and dialectical discussion of race, class, and ethnicity that explains the multidimensionality of this population.

Olga Nájera-Ramírez's "Haciendo patria: The *charreada* and the Formation of a Mexican Transnational Identity" examines the Mexican rodeo as a means of *haciendo cultura y patria* among Mexicans on both sides of the border. Although the physical properties of this performance are similar in Mexico and the United States, Nájera-Ramírez points to its different meanings for these two populations, paying particular attention to the way in which it constitutes a form of oppositional politics in the United States. Using ethnographics and historical data, she demonstrates that the *charreada's* performance in the United States becomes a political gesture aimed at constructing a viable social space for expression and valorizing Mexican identity in the face of contemporary anti-Mexican discourse. Her work is significant in that it situates this process in the larger context of shifting cultural commodities in global capital that dissolve the boundaries between Mexicans and Mexican Americans and contribute to the traffic of people and processes as well as culture and ideas.

Gina M. Pérez's "*La tierra's* Always Perceived as Woman?: Imagining Urban Communities in Chicago's Puerto Rican Community" uses multidimensional methods of exposition to show how "traditional" scripts that reflect a mythic rural existence in Puerto Rico are used in the mobilization of ideas concerning hearth, home, and culture and in the gendered definition of "cultural work" in response to the large-scale Mexicanization of Chicago, resistance to Americanization, and the refashioning of important links to an imagined and real motherland.

In part III, "Transforming Work, Labor, Community, and Citizenship," Margaret Zamudio's "Segmentation, Conflict, Community, and Coalitions: Lessons from the New Labor Movement" examines the condition of Latina/o workers in the context of the restructuring of the U.S. economy. Except for the United Farm Workers, no labor union in recent history has been as successful in appealing to and organizing Latina/o workers as Local 11 of the Hotel Employees' and Restaurant Employees' Union, an organization whose work is highlighted in her case study of labor practices at Los Angeles's New Otani Hotel. She makes excellent use of ethnographic data to preserve the voices of her subjects, and her opposition to more orthodox readings of segmented labor market theory is processually analyzed and effectively counters the traditional interpretation of racial/ethnic issues as merely epiphenomenal to the structure of occupational segmentation. Her approach opens up opportunities for reexamining how race, racism, and racial identities inform aspects of working life from employers' hiring, promotion, and assignment practices to the possibilities for interethnic and interracial coalitions among workers themselves.

Patricia Zavella's "Engendering Transnationalism in Food Processing: Peripheral Vision on Both Sides of the U.S.-Mexican Border" examines the class, ethnic, regional, and engendered dynamics encountered by Mexican

food-processing workers in Watsonville, California, and Irapuato, Mexico. She highlights the gendered dimensions of work in the food-packing industry and the impact of increasing globalization (and especially the relocation of one major food-processing employer in Watsonville) on Mexican women in the United States and Mexico. Finally, she examines the ways in which workers have adapted to and overcome the obstacles created by deterritorialization through the formations of transnational communities that escape the boundaries of the new capitalist order.

Juan Vicente Palerm's "Immigrant and Migrant Farmworkers in the Santa Maria Valley" offers an important analysis of the reintensification of California agribusiness and its effect on the new farmworker communities emerging throughout the rural portion of the state. In particular, Palerm demonstrates the need to retheorize rural farmworking communities processually in light of changing trends in the economy of agriculture and the resulting changes in the settlement patterns and practices of this population. His contribution ties the actual energy and labor needs of changes in production strategies to the need for more labor resources and points out that the recruitment of such labor is not accompanied by the provision of appropriate housing, familial support, and security.

Raymond A. Rocco's "Citizenship, Civil Society, and the Latina/o City" examines the convergence of race, class, and culture in a discussion of the nature of citizenship in light of the emergence of new immigrants and new political/economic formations. Specifically, Rocco offers a critique of the burgeoning literature on citizenship, noting its fascination with globalization and multiculturalism as new constructs of citizenship and its failure to examine the institutional nature of these processes. He maintains that while class and the distribution of capital are still fundamental to our understandings of globalization, current political and social theorists have not appreciated the way in which the nature of class itself has been altered and therefore undervalue issues such as immigration and ethnicity. He also points out that to the extent that immigration and ethnicity have been theorized within a global framework, it has tended to be as forms of "otherness" rather than as globalized elements with their own local manifestations. To address this problem, which he sees as an obstacle to theory building around the citizenship or civic practices of emerging Latina/o communities in Los Angeles, he explores theories of civil society that promote new explorations of citizenship and redefines the discourse of contemporary political participation as emergent and processual. He supports his assessments with case studies of Latina/o associational organizations in Southeast Los Angeles.

The final argument points out the limitations of past understandings that have not benefited from processual analysis. Alternative methodologies are recommended that link human identities and power and economic relations

to broader processes but recognize that the local and the supralocal are intimately linked and populations must negotiate these creatively. Local-level niches and the scripts produced are not necessarily carbon copies of those that have induced their emergence; experimentation and originality constantly intervene in their creation.

NOTES

1. Melanin content is merely the selective phenotypic trait most generally thought to confer an evolutionary advantage. The positive adaptive qualities of more or less melanin are associated with latitudes according to intensity of sunlight with darker skin protecting against the damage of sunlight and lighter skin absorbing the sunlight needed for the synthesis of vitamin D. In Europe, the farther south one goes, the greater the melanin. In North Africa, melanin intensity also increases as one moves south, reaching its maximum at the equator. The same process holds in Asia, with color hues in southern India matching those of equatorial Africa (see Rensberger, 1994). Children with more melanin in higher latitudes had the probability of developing rickets—a bone-deforming disease caused by a lack of vitamin D—before fortified milk was available.

2. The justification for the Spanish caste system was highly problematic to begin with, especially given Spain's seven hundred years of Moorish occupation, the heterogeneous origins of inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, and the fact that no such system can remain in force for long. There is simply no justification of any sort for any racialist stratified system.

3. This paragraph is partly a compression of data and historical information found in Gonzalez (2000: 117-148).

4. The speed of electronic communication is itself the consequence of enormous capital investment.

5. Therrien and Ramirez, 2000; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000a. "Hispanic" is the census designation for any person of Spanish-speaking origin whether from Latin America, the Caribbean, or Spain.

6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000a; 2000b. We have substituted "Latina/o" for "Hispanic."

7. This description is based on fieldwork conducted by Vélez-Ibáñez in five *colonias* in a Southwestern state on the Mexican-U.S. border. The word *colonia* has a legal definition in Mexico and the United States, but for the latter it refers to a settlement situated within fifty miles of the U.S.-Mexican border that is characterized by low-cost land, nonexistent infrastructure, mostly modular housing that is locally or familiarly constructed, and an absence of roads, schools, fire protection, health facilities, and police. The *colonia* in Mexico and in Mexican neighborhoods in the United States is a locality primarily composed of Mexican or Spanish-speaking populations that may or not have the characteristics just listed. Thus the Colonia Chapultepec in Mexico City probably has more millionaires per capita than any other part of Latin America and would not fit the appropriated U.S. term. The appropriation of the term in the United States by federal authorities has served a number of economic and po-

litical interests, especially in already established townships that suffered lack of infrastructure and redefined themselves according to the federal definition.

8. This percentage is an estimate based on fieldwork conducted by Vélez-Ibáñez between 1998 and 2001.

9. In a work in press (Vélez-Ibáñez, Nunez, and Rissolo, 2002) Vélez-Ibáñez will argue that these processes are possible only in a highly segregated labor market.

10. Many of these traditional cities were founded in different historical periods as the Spanish colonies expanded from Mexico beginning in the sixteenth century. Santa Fe, for example, was founded in 1610, three years after Jamestown, and Albuquerque one hundred years later. San Antonio was founded in 1731, San Diego as a garrison, in 1769, Tucson and San Francisco in 1776, and Los Angeles in 1781.

11. Mexicans have always preferred to settle in the Southwest and since 1960 have especially settled in urban areas. In 1910 only 5.7 percent of the population of Mexican origin lived outside of the Southwest. By 1960, however, this figure had increased to 12.8 percent, and in 1990 it was 16.4 percent. Illinois has been the preferred state outside of the Southwest for the past twenty-five years (see Grebler, Moore, and Guzmán, 1970: 112; Bean and Tienda, 1987: 80; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Of over 20 million persons of Mexican origin in 2000, over 15 million live in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, and Texas. Over 1 million Mexican-origin persons reside in Illinois, while the rest are distributed over the entire U.S., with Vermont attracting the lowest number (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000b).

12. How much undocumented migration accounts for a depression of wages is not known for this sector.

13. "Demographic pits" is a metaphor for dense urban settlements to which Mexican and Latina/o migrants have concentrated as a result of the deindustrialization/reindustrialization process. High employment, low wages, and minimal job security characterize the labor sectors in these areas, while poor housing, decaying institutions, limited transportation, and high levels of personal safety result from their high density. See Vélez-Ibáñez, "'The Border Crossed Us and We Cross the Border': The Emergence of the Commoditization and Devalorization of the Mexican Population of the Southwest United States," in press.

14. Conceptually the notions of race, nationality, and ethnicity are problematic since all such categories are historical, social, political, and economic constructions. Certainly the U.S. Census Bureau is finding its categories increasingly archaic.

15. The perennial confusion between biology and culture is prominent in this discussion. Sixteenth-century racist ideologies promoted "purity of blood" as a means of establishing claims to inheritance. This often got mixed up with the cultural practices of different populations, with the result that indigenous populations of Africa, Asia, and the Americas were considered both biologically inferior and characterized by exotic cultural practices that were compared to devil worship. It followed that intermarriage or concubinage between European and indigenous populations would create offspring bearing the worst characteristics of both biology and culture.

16. At the same time, Steward et al. (1956) were attentive to cultural heterogeneity, class formation, and their relationship to the demands of international commodity markets and the global reorganization of productive relations.

17. Three paragraphs of this section appear in Vélez-Ibáñez (1998).

18. The educational literature in the 1960s and early 1970s took up the idea that Mexican children suffered from an inability to delay gratification and that Mexican culture was present-time oriented. The two constructs dovetailed nicely, since parents who cannot or will not plan for the future cannot save for a rainy day, and it follows that their children will be taught to gratify themselves immediately. Emerging from the anthropological works by Clyde Kluckhohn on New Mexican villages and George Foster's idea of "the image of the limited good" and reinforced by Oscar Lewis's notion of a "culture of poverty," they encouraged the idea that Mexican children in the United States were destined to fail given that U.S. educational institutions were constructed with opposite "value orientations," delayed gratification and an emphasis on individual achievement in mind. Celia Heller took up the task of providing a unified field theory that attached some of these concepts to a cultural propensity of Mexican youth to commit crimes. All in all, a tortured construct termed "culturally disadvantaged" then took root, from which were developed many other constructs to account for the behavior of Mexican children. Then educational authorities were required to create a watered-down "culturally appropriate" curriculum for these "disadvantaged" students who suffered from Mexican value orientations. Mexican students found themselves in "special" education classes that, in time, made them special—unable to handle the simplest of composition assignments and without many times being challenged beyond "consumer math." It was implicit that algebra would be reserved for the "culturally appropriate" students. What many of us observed even as youngsters were the behavioral consequences: economic despair, racist and ethnocentric relationships, miseducation and "tracking," and a type of political manipulation of our communities which would have delighted the famous Mayor Daley of Chicago.

19. This conversation reminded Vélez-Ibáñez of the motivating force of internal dissatisfaction. He can recall visiting one of his future graduate professors at UCSD and stating rather arrogantly that he intended to provide badly needed correctives to the way "my people" were being described. In hindsight, Professor F.G. Bailey treated his pronouncement with extraordinary kindness and a puckish twinkle and then proceeded to test the depths of his convictions. After much training, he guided Vélez-Ibáñez towards developing much greater analytical force and depth to treat what he felt but did not know.

20. For the application of the concept to U.S. Mexican populations, see Barrera, Muñoz, and Ornelas (1972).

21. Oscar Lewis (1959; 1961; 1968) first reported their existence in the *vecindades* of Mexico City but did little analysis, while Kurtz collected data between 1968 and 1969 in Tijuana, B.C., and the adjoining border community of San Ysidro, California (Kurtz, 1973; Kurtz and Showman, 1978). Yet rotating credit associations were not associated with Mexicans in the United States until the analysis by Vélez-Ibáñez (1983b). *Bonds of Mutual Trust: The Cultural Systems of Urban Mexican/Chicano Rotating Credit Associations*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

22. These familial smuggling networks devote themselves to bringing only relatives in order to avoid the many dangers of border crossing. There may be ranches along the U.S.-Mexican border to which persons are brought and crossed over using back roads and then proceed into various border rural areas of the United States. The kin smugglers basically charge \$750 per person for the service but with almost guar-

anteed security, given their kin and point-of-origin ties. Whole villages in some rural states of central Mexico have been largely stripped of their working-age populations.

23. While Vélez-Ibáñez and his wife were away conducting fieldwork in Mexico, the painter was interrupted by irate non-Mexican neighbors who threatened to sue the painter personally if he continued. On their return they found half of their house painted pink and the rest the original pasty yellow. The issue was resolved by Vélez-Ibáñez placing "bills of comportment" on the doors of the offending trespassers and instructing the painter to videotape verbal and physical threats.

24. Literature and art are not simply the expression of ethnicity and rage but the use of cultural symbols, styles, social relations, economy, and psychological orientation as intersected by race and gender as well. For Latina/os this process has been expressed in murals across the southwestern United States (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996: 213-264).

25. The major emphasis of critical race theory is the construction of race as an analytical and causal relation that explains the statuses, positions, and dynamic political and power differences between populations and nations. However, this construction cannot capture the complex economic and political relations that result in the use of a melanin-related term or process to exclude populations, as the critique by Antonia Darder and Rodolfo D. Torres (1999) has indicated.

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